

Finding poetry treasure hidden in prose

On the automatic detection of hexameters in prose

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Contents

1	Introduction	2
2	On quoting poetry in Latin prose	3
2.1	On the attribution of quotations	4
2.2	On the identification of quotations	6
2.3	On the obtaining of quotations	7
2.4	On the use cases of quotations	9
3	Automatically finding quotations	14
3.1	Creating candidate hexameters	14
3.2	Scanning candidate hexameters	16
3.2.1	Scanning with an LSTM	17
3.2.2	Scanning with Anceps	18
3.2.3	Scanning with Pedecerto	18
3.3	Qualitative pruning	20
4	Qualitative investigation	21
4.1	De Clementia	21
4.2	Noctes Atticae	24
5	Conclusion	40

1 Introduction

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Chapter 2 will first take a look at the different types of including poetry in prose, followed by the possible ways of attributing the citation. Next, it will take a look how the reader or listener can detect and pinpoint the quotations. Continuing, the way authors would obtain citations is related, after which various uses of quotation are looked at.

Chapter 3 will ...

2 On quoting poetry in Latin prose

There are multiple ways for a prose author to weave poetry into a text. Van den Hoek distinguishes three ways of introducing of citation based on the degree of affinity between a quotation and its original text¹:

- Quotations, having (almost) verbatim degree of literality.
- Paraphrase, having only a few words of the original source present.
- Eminiscence, having no literal correspondence, but using theme or thought.

To illustrate the three categories, the following passage from Seneca's letters contains a verbatim quotation preserving meter and wording², where the author, using Vergil's *Georgics*, expresses the notion that it is pointless to predict events which cannot be avoided:

*Scias ista, nescias: fient.
Si vero solem ad rapidum stellasque sequentes
ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallet
hora, nec insidiis noctis capiere serenae*³

Whether you know these things, or do not know: they will take place.
If you will truly behold the fleeting sun and the stars,
following in its track, never will tomorrow's hour cause to you fall,
nor will you be seized in an ambush of a clear night⁴

An example of paraphrasing can be found in Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae*, where he decorates his text with Vergil (referred to as the *poeta praeclarus*) as follows:

*Erat secundi loci post Antoninum, ut ait poeta praeclarus longo proximus intervallo.*⁵

He [Craugasius of Nisibis] was in second place after Antoninus, as the eminent poet says, *close* by a long interval.

In this case we do not see a verbatim quotation, as the original line from Vergil reads: *proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo*⁶. Although all words used by Ammianus Marcellinus can be found in the *Aeneid*, the hexameter and its metrical features as a whole are lost due to this paraphrasing⁷.

Lastly, the idea of eminiscence can be found in Tacitus, in the passage where he discusses the ethnic origin of the Jews:

¹A. Van den Hoek. "Techniques of quotation in Clement of Alexandria: A view of ancient literary working methods". In: *Vigiliae Christianae* 50 (1996), pp. 223–243.

²D. Dueck. "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography". In: *Hermes* 137 (2009), pp. 170–189, p. 171.

³Sen. *Epist.* 88.15–16, referencing Verg. *Georg.* 1.424–426.

⁴All translations in this paper are mine.

⁵Amm. Marc. *Res Gestae* 19.9.7, referencing Verg. *Aen.* 5.320.

⁶See footnote 5.

⁷It was also possible to paraphrase Greek poetry by providing a Latin translation. For example, Cicero provides a translation of 31 lines of the *Iliad* (2.299–330) in *De Divinatione* (2.63–64), and of a verse from Euripides' *Andromeda* in *De Finibus* (2.105). See D. Dueck. "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Philosophy". In: *Hermes* 137 (2009), pp. 314–334, pp. 318, 323.

*Sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, (...). Clara alii Iudaeorum initia, Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditae urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse.*⁸

There are those that would describe them as Assyrian hordes, (...). Others [describe] the origins of the Jews as illustrious, that they were the Solymi, a people celebrated in the poems of Homer, and that they gave the name Hierosolyma to the city they founded, after their own name.

In this passage, Tacitus alludes to Homer's *Iliad* or *Odyssee* by mentioning the Solymi. No Greek is quoted, nor translated to Latin: Tacitus simply mentions the thought that the Solymi people are already mentioned by Homer.

2.1 On the attribution of quotations

These three examples show how authors might interweave poetry in various contexts via verbatim quotation or more indirectly via paraphrasing or reminiscence. Often, the poetry is accompanied by an attribution to the original author and/or the original text, like Tacitus mentioning Homer and Ammianus calling Vergil *poeta praeclarus*. Additionally, in the case of verbatim quotations, attribution is quite trivial, as the quote might be found in the extant corpus, like Seneca's citation of the *Georgics*. However, it becomes more difficult if the quotation is from a lost work or in the form of a paraphrase or reminiscence. In these latter cases, the only clue for a poetic citation would be the author's specific announcement⁹.

This announcement can take many forms, mentioning one or more of the three components of poet, poem and/or context¹⁰, or none at all, leaving the citation anonymous¹¹. To illustrate these possible announcements, I will start with a quote by Aulus Gellius, showing that Roman authors were able to precisely refer to certain passages in a way that resembles our current (text-oriented) quotation practices¹².

*'Sinni' inquit 'Capitonis, doctissimi ueri, epistulae sunt uno in libro multae positae, opinor, in templo Pacis. Prima epistula scripta est ad Pacuuium Labeonem, cui titulus praescriptus est pluria, non plura dici debere.'*¹³

He said: 'Of Sinnius Capito, a very learned man, there are many letters in a single book, (which are) deposited, I think, in the Temple of Peace. The first letter is addressed to Pacuvius Labeo, which is prefixed by the title *Pluria*, not *plura*, should be said.'

However, so much information does not help the natural flow of the written prose. Most attributions are therefore much shorter. For example, when Suetonius describes the funeral of Julius Caesar, he writes:

⁸Tac. *Hist.* 5.2, referencing Hom. *Il.* 6.184 or *Od.* 5.283.

⁹Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography", p. 171.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹¹In the majority of cases, if source indications are given, they include only the author's name. For statistics, see Tische 2009. p. 47.

¹²U. Tischer. "Quotations in Roman Prose as Intermedial Phenomena". In: *Trends in Classics* 11 (2019), pp. 34–50, p. 48.

¹³Gel. *NA* 5.21.10.

Inter ludos cantata sunt quaedam ad miserationem et invidiam caedis eius accommodata, ex Pacuui Armorum iudicio:

*men seruasse, ut essent qui me perderent?*¹⁴

At the (funeral) games, these words from Pacuvius' *Award of Arms* were sung, appropriate for the pity and indignation towards his death:

That I have saved (them), just so that they would become
those who would murder me?

The mentioning of both the author Pacuvius and his tragedy called *Armorum iudicium* fits nicely in the prose text, providing the reader with some background information regarding the quotation¹⁵. Continuing, it is also possible to mention only the poet, like Cicero does in *De natura deorum*:

*quod ni ita esset, qui potuisset adsensu omnium dicere Ennius aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem*¹⁶

Were it then not so, how could it have been possible that Ennius speaks to the approval of everyone "look upon this, shining so sublimely, who all men call Jupiter"

In contrast to mentioning only poet, one can also mention only the work from which the quotation came, like the grammarian Varro does in the following passage, citing the *Andromacha* from Ennius:

*templum tribus modis dicitur: ab natura, ab auspicando, a similitudine; ... sub terra, ut in Andromacha: "Acherusia templa alta Orci salвете infera"*¹⁷

Templum is used in three different ways: regarding nature, regarding the taking of auspices, regarding similarity; ... beneath the earth, like in *Andromacha*: "Be greeted deep Acherusian, underworld temples of Orcus"

It should be noted however that this is only possible if the quoted if the title is unique to a specific author, like only Ennius having written a play called *Andromacha*:

Last but not least, it is also possible to leave out any attribution, like this example from Seneca's *De Clementia*:

*Ille est enim vinculum, per quod res publica cohaeret (...)
Rege incolumi mens omnibus una;
amisso rupere fidem.
Hic casus Romanae pacis exitium erit*¹⁸

Indeed, he is the link by which the commonwealth is united (...)

While there king is safe, (they have) one mind for all,
(but) after he has been lost, they lose all hope.

Such misfortune would be the ruin of the Roman peace.

¹⁴Suet. *Jul.* 84.2, referencing F45 W.

¹⁵Technically, a quotation is quoted, as Suetonius quotes Caesar quoting Pacuvius.

¹⁶Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.4, referencing Enn. *Thyestes*, 134 TrRF.

¹⁷Varro *De lingua latina* 7.6, referencing Enn. *Trag.* 70–72 R³; 107–110 Va.²; 113–116 W.; 98 Joc.; 24 TrRF.

¹⁸Sen. *De Clem.* 1.4.1–2, referencing Verg. *Georg.* 4.212–213.

2.2 On the identification of quotations

The precise identification of the quotation is different to the search for visible quotation marks we are used to today, as written Latin texts did not provide these¹⁹. Instead, several approaches to mark a quotation exist. Firstly, there are the *inquit formulae*²⁰, marking that someone said something, followed by the quotation. Examples of this are the mentioned passages by Suetonius providing the marker *cantata sunt* and from Ammianus Marcellinus (19.9.7) writing *ait*.

Secondly, a quotation can be deictic, indicated by demonstrative pronouns like *illud* and *haec*, like Nepos indicating the paraphrasing of Homer in his bibliography of Dion with the words *haec sententia*.

*Non tulit hoc animo aequo Dion et versum illum Homeri rettulit ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo haec sententia est: non posse bene geri rem publicam multorum imperiis.*²¹

Dion could not bear this with quiet spirit and recalled that verse of Homer from his second book, in which this maxim appears: that a state cannot be governed well with too many in command.

Thirdly, quotations can be spotted by conjunctions as *ut* and *sicut*, like in this quotation of Vergil by Seneca:

*Te quoque proteget illa quae "tarda venit seris factura nepotibus umbram," ut ait Vergilius noster, qui non quid verissime sed quid decentissime diceretur asperxit, nec agricolas docere voluit sed legentes delectare*²²

It shall protect you too, [the tree] which "grows slowly, the bringer of shadow for later grandchildren," as our Vergil said, who considered not what was most true, but what would be most appropriate to say, and did not want to teach farmers but to delight the readers.

This quote also demonstrates that the markers can be used in combination with each other (*ait* and *ut*), as well as combined with references to author (and possibly text). Other examples of this are Seneca's *Homericum illum exclamans versum*²³ and *ut ait ille tragicus*²⁴.

Fourthly is the rhythmic marker, as the poetic quotation, if quoted verbatim, is written in verse and is therefore recognisable by its metric formulae. For many quotations, this marker is the only way the quotation can be recognised as such. To illustrate, Cicero quotes an anonymous verse while demonstrating how simple things can be described in superfluously elaborated ways:

Mea causa me mones quod non intellegam: quid me igitur mones? Ut si quis medicus aegroto imperet ut sumat

¹⁹A small arrow sometimes put in the margins of ancient papyrus books, used to reference quotations, cf. McGurk 1961; McNamee 1992, 16, 32–34.

²⁰Tischer, "Quotations in Roman Prose as Intermedial Phenomena", p. 48.

²¹Nep. *Di.* 6.4, referencing Hom. *Il.* 2.204–205.

²²Sen. *Ep.* 86.15, referencing Verg. *G.* 2.58.

²³Sen. *Dial. De Ira*, 1.20.8–9

²⁴Sen. *Ep.* 49.12

*terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam,
potius quam hominum more "cocleam" diceret*²⁵

You give me advice for my own good in a way I cannot understand: why then do you advise me? That is like if some doctor would order a patient to take a earth-born, grass-crawling, house-bearing, bloodless thing rather than that he would say in normal way 'snail'.

2.3 On the obtaining of quotations

Such poetic quotations without any form of attribution is common in prose. One explanation for this could be that the author deemed that the quotation should be known and that his readers could therefore easily attribute the verse²⁶. Another explanation could be that the attribution details were simply not necessary for its use in the new prose context and were therefore neglected²⁷. This agrees with the very essence of a poetic citation, which is to detach the original verse from the context of the poem and to insert it into a new and usually different context²⁸.

A last explanation could be that certain verses had become proverbial: short maxims completely detached from their original context, to be used freely in suitable new contexts²⁹. In this case, the authors themselves might not have known the origin of the quotation. To illustrate, Ammianus Marcellinus says that the prerequisite for happiness is to live in a glorious fatherland, attributing this idea to the poet Simonides:

*Ut enim Simonides lyricus docet, beate perfecta ratione victuro ante alia patriam esse convenit gloriosam.*³⁰

As indeed the lyric poet Simonides teaches, for him who shall live happily with the perfect reason, it is, above all else, convenient to have a glorious fatherland.

Plutarch attributes the same idea to Euripides, who might have mentioned the idea according to the prevailing report. However, Plutarch does not rule out the attribution to someone else:

ὁ μὲν γράψας τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἵπποδρομίας εἰς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐγκώμιον, εἴτ' Εὐριπίδης, ὡς ὁ πολὺς κρατεῖ λόγος, εἴθ' ἕτερός τις ἦν, Σόσσιε, φησὶ χρῆναι τῷ εὐδαίμονι πρῶτον ὑπάρξαι 'τὰν πόλιν εὐδόκιμον'³¹

The author of the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race of Olympia, whether he was Euripides, as the prevailing report has it, or whether it was someone else, my dear Sosius, says that, for prosperity, it is first necessary to be born 'in a glorious city'

²⁵Cic. *Div.* 2.133.

²⁶Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Philosophy", p. 319.

²⁷Ibid., p. 317.

²⁸Ibid., p. 331.

²⁹Ibid., p. 319.

³⁰Amm. *Res Gestae*, 14.6.7.

³¹Plut. *Dem.*, 1.1.

The saying must therefore have been known independently of the original poem, making the identity of the original author doubtful, ambiguous or even irrelevant³².

A verse of poetry being a well known maxim would allow the author to quote it without any trouble. One of the most employed techniques to find and use a quote was therefore simply from memory. This is illustrated beautifully by Seneca, who has trouble remembering the exact author to attribute the word *unicum* to.

*Quare dixerit Messala unicum, sive Valgius, apud utrumque enim legi, non reperio*³³

Why Messala has called it "unique", or was it Valgius, for I have read both,
I cannot make out

More striking even is Seneca misquoting a verse from the *Aeneid*, in which he writes (the still metrically fitting) *corpore* instead of the correct *pectore*. This indicates that ancient authors were able to quote other authors by heart³⁴.

*Cuicumque autem deest aliquid ad bonum, malus est. Sed
si cui virtus animusque in corpore praesens,
hic deos aequat*³⁵

However, whoever is lacking anything (that makes) for goodness, is bad. But
if virtue and spirit dwells in his body,
he is equal to the gods.

In addition to remembering a quote, T.J. Cornell³⁶ notices that around 25% of Ennian fragments derive from the first book of the *Annals*, which, in his opinion, indicate that authors deliberately searched for quotations, naturally starting at the beginning of the poem³⁷. Furthermore, quotations could derive from collections of sententiae. One example is the list of sententiae from Publilius Syrus, consisting of seven hundred moral maxims in iambic and trochaic verse, sorted in alphabetical order, but without any attribution³⁸. Along the same line, anthologies, epitomes and handbooks could have been sources for quotations³⁹. Lastly, authors could have saved quotations to their notebooks for later use. For example, Pliny the Younger relates about the notes and excerpts his uncle made from the books he had read that day⁴⁰, and Plutarch talks about his private notebooks in *De Tranquillitate Animi*:

ἀνελεξάμην περὶ εὐθυμίας ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὧν ἑμαυτῷ πεποιημένος ἐτύγχανον
ἡγούμενος⁴¹

I gathered observations on the tranquility of mind from my notes, which I
happened to have made for myself

³²Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography", p. 176. Also, TODO: Wer noch geliebt wort, ist nicht tot: aan iedereen toegeschreven

³³Sen. *Ep.* 51.1.

³⁴Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Philosophy", p. 332.

³⁵Sen. *Ep.*, 92.29-30, referencing Verg. *Aen.* 5.363-4.

³⁶T.J. Cornell. "The Annals of Quintus Ennius". In: *JRS* 76 (1986), pp. 244–250, p. 76.

³⁷These results could be skewed however by the idea that one remembers the first book best.

³⁸Syrus.

³⁹Hoek, "Techniques of quotation in Clement of Alexandria", p. 224.

⁴⁰Plin. *Ep.* III 5,7 ff.

⁴¹Plut. *De Tranq.* 464f.

Interestingly, an author could also quote himself, like Cicero humoristically does in his fictional dialogue *De Divinatione*, letting his interlocutor speak the following words:

*Sed quo potius utar out auctore out teste quam te? Cuius edidici etiam versus, et lubenter quidem, quos in secundo [de] consulatu Urania Musa pronuntiat*⁴²

But what authority or what witness can I better employ than yourself? I have even learned by heart and with great pleasure the following lines uttered by the Muse, Urania, in the second book of your poem entitled On Consulship...

2.4 On the use cases of quotations

Especially interesting about the self quoting of Cicero is the mentioning of authority. The interlocutor uses the words of Cicero because they bear a certain power. One of the use cases for a quotation was therefore its ability to provide a certain authority. This provision of authority is two-fold. First, it grants the one who quotes a certain prestige, showing that they are familiar with poetry, which was considered a desirable property in good Roman society⁴³. To illustrate, Seneca relates of the rich Calvisius Sabinus who wished to appear learned:

*Hanc itaque compendiarium excogitavit: magna summa emit servos, unum qui Homerum teneret, alterum qui Hesiodum; novem praeterea lyricis singulos assignavit... Habebat ad pedes hos, a quibus subinde cum peteret versus quos referret... Me tamen in ea opinione erat ut putaret se scire quod quisquam in domo sua sciret*⁴⁴

He devised this short cut to learning: he paid fabulous prices for slaves - one to know Homer by heart and another to know Hesiod; he also delegated a special slave to each of the nine lyric poets... he would keep these fellows at the foot of his couch and ask them from time to time for verses which he might repeat... he held to the opinion that what any member of his household knew, he himself knew also.

Apparently, being able to cite poetry on the right occasions was considered a mark of social status, and, in the case of Sabinus, worth a fortune. The other side of the mentioned authority derives from the status of the cited poet. According to Dueck, Greek and Roman intellectuals argued about the social and literary role of poets and poems, concluding that poets are to be considered somewhere between teachers and entertainers⁴⁵. If we do view a poet as a teacher, a quotation can be compared to what we would call a footnote. In a footnote, we rely on others we do not personally know for legitimacy, asserting that the referred person is worth listening to. In other words, a footnote, and therefore a quotation when used in this context, confers authority to the writer⁴⁶. And because Romans did not have footnotes like we do, this authoritative information was included in the running text.

⁴²Div. 1.17

⁴³Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Philosophy", p. 333.

⁴⁴Ep. 27.6-7

⁴⁵Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography", p. 170.

⁴⁶Grafton.

To illustrate, a quotation can be used in a historic sense, either as a primary source or as a secondary source preserving primary information⁴⁷. Livy, while discussing the actions of Fabius Maximus during the Second Punic War, cites Ennius as a primary source when stating:

*cautior tamen quam promptior hic habitus; et sicut dubites utrum ingenio cunctator fuerit an quia ita bello proprie quod tum gerebatur aptum erat, sic nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait.*⁴⁸

He was held to be cautious rather than energetic, and though it may be a question whether he was naturally slow in action or whether he adopted these tactics as especially suitable to the character of the war, nothing is more certain than that, as Ennius says, "one man by his slowness restored the State."

Cicero quotes the same illustrious poet as a secondary source for the solar eclipse during the Peloponnesian War. Although Ennius did not witness the eclipse first hand, Cicero uses the quotation and the authority of Ennius to give weight and credibility to the factuality of the eclipse:

*Id autem postea ne nostrum quidem Ennium fugit; qui ut scribit, anno trecentesimo quinquagesimo fere post Romam conditam
Nonis Iunis soli luna obstitit et nox.*⁴⁹

Even our own Ennius was not ignorant of it, for he wrote that in about the three hundred and fiftieth year after Rome was founded

On the fifth of June, the moon and night obscured the shining sun.

In addition to history, it is also possible to refer to poetry for geography. For instance, Ammianus Marcellinus calls upon Homer for his description of Thrace. What is especially interesting about this reference is Ammianus' doubt about the factuality of Homer. He thus refers to Homer for his authority, immediately continuing to question the very things Homer mentions about Thrace, calling it either a fable or wondering whether Homer's definition of Thrace was different:

*Has terras immensa quondam camporum placiditate aggerumque altitudine fuisse porrectas, Homeri perennis auctoritas docet, aquilonem et zephyrum fventos exinde flare fingentis, quod aut fabulosum est, aut tractus antehac diffusi latissime . . . cuncti Thraciarum vocabulo censebantur.*⁵⁰

That this land formerly consisted of a boundless expanse of gentle plains and lofty mountains, we know from the immortal testimony of Homer⁵¹, who imagines that the north and west winds begin to blow from there; but this is either a fable, or else in former times the widely extended tracts ... were all included under the name of Thrace.

⁴⁷Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography", p. 177.

⁴⁸(30.26.9)

⁴⁹Rep. 1.25

⁵⁰(27.4.3)

⁵¹9.5-6

The same author also relies on the same poet⁵² for his discussion of the effects of plagues. Here the authority of poetry seems a better fit to describe these medical circumstances than a book on medicine:

*Adfirmant etiam aliqui terrarum halitu densiore crassatum aera emittendis corporis spiraminibus resistentem necare nonnullos, qua causa animalia praeter homines cetera iugiterprona Homero auctore et experimentis deinceps multis, cum talis incesserit labes, ante novimus interire.*⁵³

Some also assert that when the air is made heavy by grosser exhalations from the earth, it checks the secretions that should be expelled from the body, and is fatal to some; and it is for that reason, as we know on the authority of Homer as well as from many later experiences, that when such a pestilence has appeared, the other animals besides man, which constantly look downward, are the first to perish.

Of course, it is also possible to cite poetry for more philosophical applications. Authors like Cicero and Seneca fondly detached verses from their original context to use them in a new context suiting their philosophical aims⁵⁴. In order to convey his ideas about the importance of a ruler in a state in the clearest way for his audience, Seneca takes a verse from Vergil's *Georgics* about the behaviour of bees and uses it to refer to the behaviour of humans:

*Ille est enim vinculum, per quod res publica cohaeret...
Rege incolumi mens omnibus una;
amisso rupere fidem.
Hic casus Romanae pacis exitium erit*⁵⁵

...He is the bond by which the commonwealth is united...
If safe their king, one mind to all,
Bereft of him, they troth recall.
Such a calamity would be the destruction of the Roman peace.

However, this quote deviates from using poetry as purely authoritative to a more illustrative use case. To further this point, Seneca also quotes Lucretius⁵⁶ when speaking of fear. Here, Lucretius' poetry is included because of its aptness within Seneca's argumentation and used to demonstrate an opinion of Seneca in an argumentative manner.

*iam apparebit quam brevia, quam incerta, quam tuta timeantur. Talis est animorum nostrorum confusio qualis Lucretio visa est:
nam veluti pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis
in tenebris metuunt, ita*⁵⁷ *nos in luce timemus
...Sed falsum est, Lucreti, non timemus in luce: omnia nobis fecimus tenebras*⁵⁸

⁵²Homer 1.50

⁵³(19.4.6)

⁵⁴Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Philosophy", p. 320.

⁵⁵De Clem. 1.4.1-2, Verg *Georgics* 4.212-213

⁵⁶(Lucr. 2.55)

⁵⁷(sic in lucr)

⁵⁸Ep. 110.6-7

...It will be clear how fleeting, how unsure, and how harmless are the things which we fear. The disturbance in our spirits is similar to that which Lucretius detected:

Like boys who cower frightened in the dark,
So grown-ups in the light of day feel fear.

...But you were wrong, Lucretius; we are not afraid in the daylight; we have turned everything into a state of darkness.

If no authority was needed in a piece of prose, authors could still cite poetry. In this case, it would serve the purpose of decoration, either for the adornment of the author's narrative style or for breaking the monotony of the prose⁵⁹. For example, Ammianus Marcellinus decorates his description of Craugasius being second place after Antoninus with a few neatly fitting words by Vergil:

*Erat secundi loci post Antoninum, ut ait poeta praeclarus 'longo proximus intervallo'.*⁶⁰

He [i.e. Craugasius] held the second place after Antoninus, but was, as the eminent poet says, "next by a long interval".

The same type of prose decoration can be seen in Cicero, when he seemingly effortlessly weaves a Pacuvian quotation into his own narrative:

*Nunc autem, si quis illo Pacuviano 'invehens alitum anguim curru' multas et varias gentis et urbes despicere et oculis conlustrare conlustrare possit, videat primum in illa incorrupta maxime gente Aegyptiorum... bovem quendam putari deum...*⁶¹

If one could visit many diverse nations and cities and examine them, traveling about in Pacuvius' famous 'chariot of winged snakes', he could see first of all that in Egypt... a bull is deemed a god...

The seemlessness of Cicero's use of the content of Pacuvius' play can even be surpassed by using a longer quotation that suits the grammatical formation too. For example, in Ep. 18.12-13, Seneca addresses his friend Lucilius in the imperative form. At the same time, he decorates his prose with a Vergilian verse which is also in the imperative:

*Incipe cum paupertate habere commercium;
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo.
Nemo alius est deo dignus quam qui opes contempsit*⁶²

Establish negotiations with poverty;

Dare, O my friend, to scorn the sight of wealth,
And mould thyself to kinship with thy God.

For he alone is in kinship with God who has scorned wealth.

⁵⁹Dueck, "Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Historiography and Biography", p. 184.

⁶⁰19.9.7

⁶¹Rep 3.14

⁶²Ep. 18.12-13, Aen. 8.364-5

Lastly, a poetic quotation could simply be added because the verse expresses the idea an author tries to convey better or more stylishly⁶³, as Cicero states in *De Finibus*:

*Quern quidem locum comit cum multa venustate et omni sale idem Lucilius,
(...):*⁶⁴

I am again referring to Lucilius who relates the anecdote with much neatness and point (...):

⁶³Dueck, “Poetic Citations in Latin Prose Works of Philosophy”, p. 329.

⁶⁴De Finibus 1.9

3 Automatically finding quotations

The previous chapter mentioned how not all quotations are accompanied by an attribution. If there are also no visible markers (see Section 2.2), the only possible way to detect citations is by their metrical features. However, for a modern reader, these are hard to find in a large body of prose text. This chapter will therefore describe the process of creating an automated tool to find hexameters in prose.

3.1 Creating candidate hexameters

To illustrate this process, we have selected Seneca's *Epistle* 88:14-17. This text contains the quotation of Vergil's *Georgics* as seen in Section 2, surrounded by two bodies of prose:

Hoc scire quid proderit? ut sollicitus sim cum Saturnus et Mars ex contrario stabunt aut cum Mercurius vespertinum faciet occasum vidente Saturno, potius quam hoc discam, ubicumque sunt ista, propitia esse nec posse mutari? [15] Agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis cursus; per statas vices remeant et effectus rerum omnium aut movent aut notant. Sed sive quidquid evenit faciunt, quid immutabilis rei notitia proficiet? sive significant, quid refert providere quod effugere non possis? Scias ista, nescias: fient.

[16] Si vero solem ad rapidum stellasque sequentes ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallit hora, nec insidiis noctis capiere serena.

Satis abundeque provisum est ut ab insidiis tutus essem. [17] 'Numquid me crastina non fallit hora? fallit enim quod nescienti evenit.' Ego quid futurum sit nescio: quid fieri possit scio. Ex hoc nihil deprecabor, totum expecto: si quid remittitur, boni consulo. Fallit me hora si parcat, sed ne sic quidem fallit. Nam quemadmodum scio omnia accidere posse, sic scio et non utique casura; itaque secunda expecto, malis paratus sum.

Of what benefit will it be to know this? That I shall be disturbed because Saturn and Mars are in opposition, or when Mercury sets at eventide in plain view of Saturn, rather than learn that those stars, wherever they are, are propitious,[13] and that they are not subject to change? 15. They are driven along by an unending round of destiny, on a course from which they cannot swerve. They return at stated seasons; they either set in motion, or mark the intervals of the whole world's work. But if they are responsible for whatever happens, how will it help you to know the secrets of the immutable? Or if they merely give indications, what good is there in foreseeing what you cannot escape? Whether you know these things or not, they will take place. 16. Behold the fleeting sun,

The stars that follow in his train, and thou
Shalt never find the morrow play thee false,

Or be misled by nights without a cloud.[14] It has, however, been sufficiently and fully ordained that I shall be safe from anything that may mislead me. 17. "What," you say, "does the 'morrow never play me false'? Whatever happens without my knowledge plays me false." I, for my part, do not know what is to be, but I do know what may come to be. I shall have no misgivings in this matter; I await the future in its entirety; and if there is any abatement

in its severity, I make the most of it. If the morrow treats me kindly, it is a sort of deception; but it does not deceive me even at that. For just as I know that all things can happen, so I know, too, that they will not happen in every case. I am ready for favourable events in every case, but I am prepared for evil.

When scanning this text, we would at least like to find the three hexameters by Vergil. Additionally, we would like to locate any hidden hexameters. To do this, we need to create a set of candidate hexameters, which are sequences of syllables that could in theory be an hexameter. The first step is to syllabify the entire prose text. To illustrate, the first sentence of paragraph fifteen would look as follows:

a git - il la - con ti nu us - or do - fa to rum - et
- in e vi ta bi lis - cur sus

Here, all words are split in their respective syllables. Whitespaces between words are denoted with a dash: (-). This is necessary to serve as a distinction between the whitespace that now signifies the separation between syllables⁶⁵. If we would not do this, there would be no possible way to distinguish between word and syllable separation, which is important as the next paragraph will illustrate. Lastly, all punctuation has been removed and all words have been lowercased to allow for the smooth operation of the program.

The second step is to note that an hexameter has at least twelve long or short syllables if it is completely spondaic, and seventeen if it is completely dactylic⁶⁶. Furthermore, hexametric verses tend to have a maximum of three elisions per verse. For example, Vergil's *Aeneid* has no verse with more than three elisions, resulting in a maximum length of twenty syllables per hexameter. In addition, hexameters always start and end at a word boundary, never in the middle of a word. Using these constraints, we can start looking for candidate hexameters in the syllabified text.

The approach we take is crude but effective. Starting at the beginning of the text, we create a list of the nine possible hexameters, having a length from twelve to twenty syllables. Concretely, the first candidate hexameter consists of the first twelve syllables of the prose text, the second of the first thirteen, the third of the first fourteen and so on, until we have a candidate of twenty syllables. To illustrate, the first three candidates and their lengths are shown below:

- (12) agit illa continuus ordo fato
- (13) agit illa continuus ordo fatorum
- (14) agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et

For all nine candidates, we now check whether they begin and end with a word boundary. If not, we remove them from our list of candidates. For example, the candidate *agit illa continuus ordo fato* has to be removed, as we do not want a split within *fatorum*. This results in the following three remaining candidates from the first nine possibilities:

- (13) agit illa continuus ordo fatorum

⁶⁵We could also have used the dash to denote syllable separation and the whitespace to denote word separation: this is a matter of implementation and preference.

⁶⁶Five dactylic feet followed by a trochaic foot.

- (14) agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et
- (20) agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis

We now have all hexameter candidates starting from the first word in the prose text. To process the entire passage by Seneca, we keep deleting the first word from the prose while repeating the finding of candidates in the next twelve to twenty syllables at every step. To illustrate, let's imagine that the first search for candidates was within the following piece of text:

Agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis cursus;

We then delete the first word and start looking again:

illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis cursus;

We stop the process of deleting the first word if the remaining text has less than twelve syllables remaining, since there are no more hexameters to be had. Using this process and paragraph fifteen as an example, we find seven candidates in total:

- agit illa continuus ordo fatorum
- agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et
- agit illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis
- illa continuus ordo fatorum et
- illa continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis
- continuus ordo fatorum et inevitabilis
- ordo fatorum et inevitabilis

These seven strings have the absolute minimum requirements to be technically an hexameter: twelve to twenty syllables that start and end at a word boundary. However, a quick glance at the third candidate shows the crudeness of finding candidates. Although an hexameter verse can in theory contain twenty syllables, it does mean that three elisions need to occur. Regrettably, there is maybe one possibility for an elision in this verse, between *fatorum* and *et*. This means that the verse cannot be scanned as an hexameter, as there is simply no possibility to fit two additional elisions in the line.

3.2 Scanning candidate hexameters

The next thing to do is therefore to check whether the candidates could be an hexameter metrically. As these four paragraphs from Seneca already contain 633 candidate hexameters, we need to automate this process. This is done using three validation steps.

3.2.1 Scanning with an LSTM

The first step employs a Long short-term memory (LSTM) model, which is a neural network that is able to learn which parts of a context are important for the long and the short term. In practical terms and as far as the model is concerned, this means that syllables can influence each other, having an impact on each other’s long, short or elision labels. Because an LSTM does not allow the input of character strings, we will employ a model where all syllables are one-hot encoded. In such a model, every unique syllable is represented by a unique integer. To illustrate, the first three words of Vergil’s *Aeneid* could look as follows to the model:

ar - ma - space - vi - rum - que - space - ca - no

10 - 12 - 3 - 26 - 18 - 19 - 3 - 11 - 15

Furthermore, as the LSTM requires all input to be of the same length, which verse clearly is not, post padding was used to make all lines of an even size⁶⁷.

Having trained the model for twenty-five epochs on 56,5000 lines of dactylic meter⁶⁸, we reach an average f1-score of 99% on our test sets⁶⁹. This means that one in every one hundred syllables is scanned incorrectly. The next step is to let the model scan all 633 candidates and check whether the resulting scansion could be an hexameter. To cope with the possible mislabeling of the model, the hexameter is allowed to contain one mistake. For instance, if the first foot is scanned as *long short long*, but the rest of the line contains valid feet, we allow the candidate to persist.

From the given 633 candidates, the LSTM deems it possible to scan 42 as an hexameter. Although this is a much smaller number, a qualitative investigation into the 42 results shows an overzealous model. Take a look at the following candidates:

sim cum saturnus et mars ex contrario stabunt

discam ubicumque sunt ista propitia esse

In the first example, the LSTM tries to argue that the verse begins with four spondees. However, for this to work, we would need to read *saturnus* as *sa-tu-rnus* to allow the first *u* to be scanned long. But as *-rnus* is not pronounceable as a syllable, we can state that this line should not be seen as an hexameter. Furthermore, this line has one syllable too much, which would make it an incomplete heptameter.

In the second example, the model tries to force an hexameter by scanning *-que* as long. However, this is simply not possible, as this syllable should always be read as short.

⁶⁷Regarding the structure of the one-hot LSTM, an embedding layer with fifty output dimensions was used, followed by a dropout of 0.1 to prevent overfitting. Subsequently a bidirectional LSTM was used with a recurrent dropout of 0.1. Via a softmax activation and the *rmsprop* optimiser, the model was fitted using a batch size of 32.

⁶⁸The following authors were used to train the model: Juv. *Saturae*, Lucr. *De Rerum Natura*, Ov. *Met.*, Pers. *Saturae*, Verg. *Aen.*, Prop. *Elegiae* and Ov. *Elegiae*.

⁶⁹The following authors were used to test the model: Boe. *Cons.*, Catul *Carmina*, Enn. *Ann.*, Hor. *Ars.*, Luc. *Pharsalia*, Stat. *Theb.* and Tib. *Elegiae*. The model was also tested on the training texts using cross validation, returning similar f1-scores.

3.2.2 Scanning with Anceps

We therefore need to prune our remaining 42 results further. To do this, we employ Anceps, which is a computer-assisted tool by Sasha Fedchin⁷⁰ for the scansion of Latin poetry. It scans Latin by using meter as a constraint. First, it loads dictionaries⁷¹ that lists all theoretically possible ways a word can be macronised⁷². Next, it considers all the possible ways the syllables in a verse might be labeled in order to be consistent with the meter and the possible scansions from the dictionaries. The result is a macronised line that fits the constraints of the meter. To illustrate, Anceps reads the candidate *discam ubicumque sunt ista propitia esse* and considers every possible combination of spondees, dactyls and elisions. One of the scansion possibilities is the one the LSTM came up with:

dīscam̄ ūbicūmq̄ē sūnt īstā prōpītīā ēsse

Anceps then takes a look into its dictionaries and sees that the *-que* in *ubicumque* cannot be long. Based on this, it rejects this scansion possibility. Additionally, Anceps cannot come up with any other scansions given the constraints, therefore rejecting the candidate completely. The other LSTM candidate, *sim cum saturnus et mars ex contrario stabunt*, will also be rejected by Anceps, as the loaded dictionaries will not allow the first *-u* in *saturnus* to be scanned long. After running Anceps, thirteen candidates remain.

3.2.3 Scanning with Pedecerto

The last pruning method is Pedecerto. This is a rule-based Python program for automatic scansion of Latin hexameter and pentameter verses developed by the Università di Udine⁷³. It is part of the MusisQue DeoQue digital archive⁷⁴, which contains Latin poetry texts from the archaic period to the 7th century CE. From this archive, it has already successfully scanned 247k of the 263k dactylic verses available as of the time of this writing. Although the program only works on dactylic meter, it is a bit more sophisticated than Anceps, as it has some qualitative investigative abilities, like providing comments and reasoning if a scansion is considered odd. To illustrate, three lines are scanned with warnings:

rēspiciēs nūmq̄ām tē crāstina fāllet hōra
ēst ut ab īnsidiūs tūtūs ēssēm nūmq̄ūd me
respicias numquam te crastina fallet hora nec

The first two lines need to be scanned as spondaic, which means that the fifth foot is a spondee. Although this is not impossible, such a scansion is uncommon⁷⁵. It is only rarely used to convey heavy emotions or to illustrate a certain slowness. For example, in

⁷⁰A. Fedchin et al. “Senecan Trimeter and Humanist Tragedy”. In: *American Journal of Philology* Forthcoming (2020).

⁷¹The dictionaries are made available by the MusisQue DeoQue project and the Morpheus project.

⁷²We can specify a minimum frequency of occurrences. For example, we can only allow a scansion if it happens more than three times in the entire known corpus. We use three occurrences for author count and five for scansion count.

⁷³Pedecerto Project.

⁷⁴MQDQ Project.

⁷⁵For example, Lucretius only has thirty-two spondaic lines in the 7415 lines of *De Rerum Natura*, less than half a percent.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1:732), Io, having been transformed into a cow by Jupiter and being held prisoner by the many-eyed Argus, is tormented by an enraged Juno and moos sadly for help:

et gemitū et lacrimās et luctisonō mūgītū

translation

Similarly, in Vergil's *Aeneid* (2:68), Sinon, the Greek deserter, looks around slowly at the hostile Trojans who surround him:

cōstitit atque oculīs Phrygia agmina circumspexit

translation

Within the hexameter, this rarity was allowed if the fourth foot is a dactyl. Breaking this additional rule is even rarer: Vergil does it only twice in the *Aeneid* and once in his *Georgics*⁷⁶. Lastly, the end of the fifth foot should not coincide with a word boundary, as this prematurely gives the impression that a verse has ended.

If we take a look at *rēspiciēs nūmqūām tē crāstina fāllēt hōra*, we notice how the fourth foot is a dactyl. However, there is no word boundary after the fifth foot, making it extremely unlikely that this candidate is a valid hexameter. The second candidate, *ēst ut ab īnsidiīs tūtūs ēssēm nūmqūid me*, has a spondee in the fourth and fifth feet, making it almost impossible to be a proper hexameter.

Because of this rarity, we will reject all spondaic candidates in our analysis. Although we might miss some hexameters which could convincingly be spondaic, Chapter 4 will show that prose texts of longer sizes will return numerous candidates. Pre-emptive pruning is therefore necessary to allow a proper qualitative investigation in the remaining myriad of candidates.

Returning to the third candidate, *respicies numquam te crastina fallet hora nec*, Pedecerto issues a warning because of the unusual prosody for the word *hora*. A dictionary will indeed indicate the word to be scanned as *long short*. However, Pedecerto (and Anceps) allow unusual prosodies using the mentioned Morpheus and MusisQue DeoQue dictionaries. We will not reject these candidates outright, but we will make sure that the *uncommon* scansion appears at least five times in the Anceps dictionaries with at least three different authors. Lastly, we will not reject candidates ending with a monosyllable. Although this too is uncommon and undesired, it is not impossible⁷⁷. Furthermore, and this is important, we could always remove some word from a candidate during the qualitative approach, which leaves a hexameter-like candidate, which could very well be a quotation, as these did not always have to be full lines.

In addition to the three verses with warnings, Pedecerto also rejects five verses outright. For example, the LSTM and Anceps argue that the following verse could be scanned with twelve spondees:

sit nescio quid fieri possit scio

However, this would never be picked up by a reader in a prose text, so rejection is an apt solution to these theoretical hexameter verses. Therefore, before any qualitative pruning, we would remain with six candidates:

⁷⁶Simon Winbolt. *Latin Hexameter Poetry*. Cambridge, 2011, p. 95.

⁷⁷Find in Winbolt

*sive significant quid refert providere quod
 si vero solem ad rapidum stellasque sequentes
 ordine respicies numquam te crastina fallet
 respicies numquam te crastina fallet hora nec
 hora nec insidiis noctis capiere serenae
 fallit enim quod nescienti evenit ego quid*

3.3 Qualitative pruning

This is as far as the LSTM, Anceps and Pedecerto can bring us. We can however keep pruning. For example, we can remove any known quotations from the candidates, as we already know that these are hexameters. Furthermore, we reject hexameters that are found within known hexameters. For example, *respicies numquam te crastina fallet hora nec* is part of the second and third quoted line, which is of course hexametric, but has no chance of being a standalone quotation.

Regarding the analysis in the next chapter, we will also prune hexameters that are syntactically incorrect. For example, if we refer back to the line *discam ubicumque sunt ista propitia esse*, the *-a* in *ista* had to be scanned long for the hexameter to work. However, *ista* goes with *propitia* and is therefore not an ablative: scanning it as long would thus be impossible from a syntactical standpoint.

We will furthermore scrap any instances where the hypothetical hexameter stretches across two clauses, or where some key semantic or syntactic complement is missing, and enjambment is not possible. However, in these cases, we will still check whether a half-line is possible (beginning from a major caesura for example). It is then important that the half-line is not totally spondaic, as this would not to be picked up as part of a hexameter.

Using these constraints, we can take a look at the two remaining candidates:

sive significant quid refert providere quod (ēffugerē nōn pōssis?)

Or if they merely give indications, what good is there in foreseeing what (you cannot escape?)

fallit enim quod nescienti evenit ego quid

Whatever happens without my knowledge plays me false.” I, for my part,

The first line starts out strong, almost sounding like a sententia. It fizzles out because the conjunction, which ruins the syntactical integrity of the hexameter. Additionally, ending with a monosyllable is less than ideal. However, the candidate might be saved if we continue it to the end of the sentence, as seen within the parentheses. Adding this half-line would complete the candidate, making it hexametrical and syntactically and semantically sound.

The second line is more interesting, starting very strong with a complete sententia. However, *ego quid* is also part of the hexameter, disallowing a clear cut between it and the sententia *fallit enim quod nescienti evenit*. Nevertheless, there is a certain flow in the sentence, with *ego quid* following directly upon *fallit enim quod nescienti evenit* while also providing a great contrast: *whatever happens without my knowledge escapes me, but I for my part (...)*. Although in this form this candidate might not be a quotation, it could be inspired by one, or else serve as a form of prose rhythm.

4 Qualitative investigation

4.1 De Clementia

*Ille est enim vinculum, per quod res publica cohaeret, ille spiritus vitalis, quem haec tot milia trahunt nihil ipsa per se futura nisi onus et praeda, si mens illa imperii subtrahatur. "Rege incolumi mens omnibus una; amisso rupere fidem." **Hīc cāsūs Rōmānae pācīs ēxitium ērit**, hic tanti fortunam populi in ruinas aget;*⁷⁸

He is the bond which fastens the commonwealth together, he is the breath of life to all those thousands, who by themselves would become merely an encumbrance and a source of plunder if that directing mind were withdrawn: "Bees have but one mind, till their king doth die, but when he dies, disorderly they fly." **Such a misfortune will be the end of the peace of Rome**, it will wreck the prosperity of this great people;

*ēst ergō, ut dīcēbām, clēmētiā omnibus quidem hominibus secundum naturam, maxime tamen decora imperatoribus, quanto plus habet apud illos, quod servet, quantoque in maiore materia apparet.*⁷⁹

Clemency therefore, as I said before, befits all mankind naturally, but more especially rulers, because in their case there is more for it to save, and it is displayed upon a greater scale.

*Clementia, in quamcumque domum pervenerit, eam felicem tranquillamque praestabit, sed in **rēgiā, quō rārīōr, ēō mīrābīlīōr. quid** (...)*⁸⁰

On the other hand, clemency renders every house into which it is admitted happy and peaceful ; but though **it is more rare, it is on that account even more admirable in a palace. What** (...)

'īstā' inquis 'servitus est, non imperium.' Quid? tu non experiris istud nobis esse, tibi servitutem?⁸¹

"This," you say, "is to be a subject, not a king." What, do you not find that we have the command, you the subjection?

*Multa circa te **lūx ēst, omnium in istam cōvērsi oculi sunt**; prodire te putas? Oriris.*⁸²

All around you **a strong light is, the eyes of all are turned towards it.** Do you think you are leaving your house? nay, you are dawning upon the world.

*Loqui non potes, nisi ut vocem tuam, quae ubique sunt gentes, excipiant; irasci non potes, nisi ut omnia tremant, quia neminem adfligere, **nīsī ut, quīdquīd cīrcā fūērīt, quātīātur.***⁸³

⁷⁸1.4.1-2. SSSS. Note: heptameter.

⁷⁹1.5.2. SSSS. Note: heptameter.

⁸⁰1.5.4. DSDS. Note: unusual prosody for RARIOR.

⁸¹1.8.1. SSDS. Note: Ista is not ablative

⁸²1.8.4. SDSS.

⁸³1.8.5. SSDS.

You cannot speak without all nations everywhere hearing your voice; you cannot be angry, without making everything tremble, because you can strike no one **without shaking all around him**.

*'Quid ērgō? Nōn rēgēs quōquē occidīrē sōlēt?' Sed quotiens id fieri publica utilitas persuadet; tyrannis saevitia cordi est.*⁸⁴

"What, then," say you, "do not kings also put men to death?" They do, but only when that measure is recommended by the public advantage: tyrants enjoy cruelty.

*Verecundiam pēccāndī faciūt ipsā clēmēntiā rēgētis; gravior multo poena videtur, quae a miti viro constituitur.*⁸⁵

Clemency in a sovereign even makes men ashamed to do wrong: for punishment seems far more grievous when inflicted by a merciful man.

*Quid enim pōtēst quīsq̄uam āb ēō spērārē, quēm mālūm ēsse docuit?*⁸⁶

What, indeed, can he expect from those whom he has taught to be wicked?

*ūt dē clēmēntiā scribērēm, Nērō Caesar, una me vox tua maxime compulit, quam ego non sine admiratione et, cum diceretur, audisse memini et dēindē āliīs nārrāssē, vōcēm gēnērōsam,*⁸⁷

I have been especially led to write about clemency, Nero Caesar, by a saying of yours, which I remember having heard with admiration and which I afterwards told to others: a noble saying

*Nūnc prōfēctō cōnsēntīrē dēcēbāt ād aequum bonumque expulsa alieni cupidine,*⁸⁸

Now in truth we ought all to agree to love righteousness and goodness; covetousness, ought to be driven away

*fērrī. ūt illam: 'ōdērīnt, dūm mētūānt,' cūī Graecus versus similis est*⁸⁹

"Let them hate me, provided that they fear me," which is like that Greek verse,

*Huic contrariam imperiti putant severitatem; sēd nullā vīrtūs vīrtūti cōtrāriā est. Quid ergo opponitur clementiae?*⁹⁰

The unlearned think that its opposite is strictness: **but no virtue is the opposite of another virtue.** What, then, is the opposite of mercy?

⁸⁴1.12.1. SSDS.

⁸⁵1.12.3. SDSS. Note: unusual prosody for CLEMENTIA

⁸⁶1.26.1. SDSS.

⁸⁷2.1.1. SSSS + SDSD. Note: unusual prosody for CLEMENTIA.

⁸⁸2.1.4. SSSD. Note: unusual prosody for PROFECTO

⁸⁹2.2.2. DSSD. Note: unusual prosody for CUI

⁹⁰2.4.1. SSSS. Note: unusual prosody for CONTRARIA.

*Haec, si per se ponantur, inuisa sunt; videntur enim nullam relinquere spem humanis erroribus, sed **ōmnīā dēlīcta ād poēnām dēdūcērē. quōd si*** (...)⁹¹

These doctrines, if taken separately, are indeed odious, for they appear to give men no hope of repairing their mistakes but **exact a penalty for every slip. if this** (...)

*Hānc sāpīēns quārē nōn dēbēāt dārē, rēddunt rationem diutius, quibus hoc propositum est;*⁹²

The reasons why the wise man ought not to grant this remission are given at length by those of whom this question is specially asked:

⁹¹2.5.2. DSSS.

⁹²2.7.1. DSSS. Note: unusual prosody for DEBEAT.

4.2 Noctes Atticae

quali proportione quibusque collectionibus plutarchus ratiocinatum esse pythagoram philosophum dixerit de comprehendenda corporis proceritate qua fuit hercules, cum vitam inter homines viveret. plutarchus in libro quem de herculis quam diu inter homines fuit, animi corporisque ingenio atque virtutibus conscripsit, scite subtiliterque ratiocinatum pythagoram philosophum dicit in reperienda modulandaque status longitudinisque eius praestantia. nam **cum fere constaret curriculum stadii, quod** est pisis apud iovem olympium, herculem pedibus suis metatum idque fecisse longum pedes sescentos, cetera quoque stadia in terra graecia ab aliis postea instituta pedum quidem esse numero sescentum, sed tamen esse aliquantulum breviora, facile intellexit modum spatiumque plantae herculis ratione proportionis habita tanto fuisse quam aliorum procerius, quanto olympicum stadium longius esset quam cetera. comprehensa autem mensura herculani pedis, quanta longinquitas corporis ei mensurae conveniret secundum naturalem membrorum omnium inter se competentiam modificatus est atque ita id collegit, quod erat consequens, tanto fuisse herculem corpore excelsiorem quam alios, quanto olympicum stadium ceteris pari numero factis anteiret. ab herode attico **tempestive deprompta in quendam iactantem et** gloriosum adulescentem, specie tantum philosophiae sectatorem, verba epicteti stoici, quibus festiviter a vero stoico seiunxit volgus loquacium nebulonum qui se stoicos nuncuparent. herodes atticus, vir et graeca facundia et consulari honore praeditus, accersebat saepe, nos cum apud magistros athenis essemus, in villas ei urbi proximas **me et clarissimum virum servilianum** compluresque alios **nostrates, qui roma in graeciam ad capiendum** ingenii cultum concesserant. **atque ibi tunc, cum essemus apud eum in villa, cui nomen est cephisia, et aestu** anni et sidere autumnii flagrantissimo, propulsabamus incommoda caloris lucorum umbra ingentium, longis ambulacris et mollibus, aedium positu refrigeranti, lavacris nitidis et abundis et collucentibus totiusque villae venustate aquis undique canoris atque avibus personante. erat ibidem nobiscum simul adulescens philosophiae sectator, disciplinae, ut ipse dicebat, stoicae, sed loquacior inpendio et promptior. is plerumque in convivio sermonibus, qui post epulas haberi solent, multa atque inmodica de philosophiae doctrinis intempestive atque insubide disserebat praeque se uno ceteros omnes linguae atticae principes gentemque omnem togatam, quodcumque nomen latinum rudes esse et agrestes praedicabat atque interea vocabulis haut facile cognitis, syllogismorum captionumque dialecticarum laqueis strepebat et et aliosque id genus griphos neminem posse dicens nisi se dissolvere. rem vero ethicam naturamque humani ingenii virtutumque origines **officiaque earum et confinia aut contra** morborum vitiorumque fraudes animorumque labes et pestilentias, asseverabat nulli esse ulli magis ea omnia explorata, comperta meditataque. cruciatibus autem doloribusque corporis et periculis mortem minitantibus habitum statumque vitae beatae, quem se esse adeptum putabat, neque laedi neque inminui existimabat ac ne oris quoque et vultus serenitatem stoici hominis umquam ulla posse aegritudine obnubilari. has ille inanes glorias cum flaret iamque omnes finem cuperent verbisque eius defetigati pertaeduissent, **tum herodes graeca, uti plurimus ei mos** fuit, oratione utens permittite, inquit, philosophorum amplissime, quoniam respondere nos tibi, quos vocas idiotas, non quimus, recitari ex libro, quid **de huiusmodi magniloquentia vestra** senserit dixeritque epictetus, stoicorum maximus, iussitque proferri dissertationum epicteti digestarum ab arriano primum librum, in quo ille venerandus senex iuvenes, qui se stoicos appellabant, neque frugis neque operae probae, sed theorematis tantum nugalibus et puerilium isagogarum commentationibus deblaterantes obiurgatione iusta incessivit.

lecta igitur sunt ex libro, qui prolatus est, ea, quae addidi; quibus verbis epictetus severe simul et festiviter seiunxit atque divisit a vero atque sincero stoico, qui esset procul dubio vulgus aliud nebulonum hominum, qui se stoicos nuncuparent atraque verborum et argutiarum fuligine ob oculos audientium iacta sanctissimae disciplinae nomen ementirentur: his ille auditis insolentissimus adulescens obticuit, tamquam si ea **omnia non ab epicteto in quosdam alios, sed ab herode in eum ipsum dicta essent. quod chilo consilium anceps** pro salute amici cepit; quodque est circumspecte et anxie considerandum, an pro utilitatibus amicorum delinquendum aliquando sit; notataque inibi et relata, quae et theophrastus et cicero super ea re scripserunt. lacedaemonium chilonem, virum ex illo incluto numero sapientium, scriptum est in libris eorum qui vitas resque gestas clarorum hominum memoriae mandaverunt, eum chilonem **in vitae suae postremo, cum iam inibi mors** occuparet, ad circumstantis amicos sic locutum: dicta, inquit, mea factaque in aetate longa pleraque omnia fuisse non paenitenda, fors **sit ut vos etiam sciatis. ego quidem in hoc** certe tempore non fallo me nihil esse quicquam commissum a me, cuius memoria mihi aegritudini sit, ni illud profecto unum sit, quod rectene an perperam fecerim, nondum mihi plane liquet. super amici capite iudex cum duobus aliis fui. ita lex fuit, uti eum hominem condemnari necessum esset. aut amicus **igitur capitis perdendus aut adhibenda** fraus legi fuit. multa cum animo meo ad casum tam ancipitem medendum consultavi. visum est esse **id, quod feci, praequam erant alia, toleratu** facilius: ipse tacitus ad condemnandum sententiam tuli, is qui simul iudicabant, ut absolverent, persuasi. sic mihi et iudicis et amici officium in re tanta salvum fuit. hanc capio ex eo facto molestiam, quod metuo, ne a perfidia **et culpa non abhorreat in eadem re eodemque** tempore inque communi negotio, quod mihi optimum factu duxerim, **diversum eius aliis suasisse. et hic autem** chilo, praestabilis homo sapientiae, quonam usque debuerit contra legem contraque ius pro amico progredi, dubitavit, **eaque res in fine quoque vitae ipso animum eius** anxietate, et alii deinceps multi philosophiae sectatores, ut in libris **eorum scriptum est, satis inquisite satisque** sollicitae quaesiverunt, ut verbis, quae scripta sunt, ipsis utar, **ea verba significant quaesisse eos, an** nonnumquam contra ius contrave morem faciendum pro amico sit et in qualibus causis et quemnam usque ad modum. super hac quaestione cum ab aliis, sicuti dixi, multis, tum vel diligentissime a theophrasto disputatur, viro in philosophia peripatetica modestissimo doctissimoque, eaque disputatio scripta **est, si recte meminimus, in libro eius** de amicitia primo. eum librum cicero videtur legisse, cum ipse quoque librum de amicitia componeret. **et cetera quidem, quae sumenda a theophrasto** existimavit, ut ingenium facundiaque eius fuit, sumpsit et transposuit commodissime aptissimeque; hunc autem locum, de quo satis quaesitum esse dixi, omnium rerum aliarum difficillimum **strictim atque cursim transgressus est, neque ea, quae a theophrasto pensiculate** atque enucleate scripta sunt, exsecutus est, sed anxietate illa et quasi morositate disputationis praetermissa genus ipsum rei tantum paucis verbis notavit. ea verba ciceronis, si recensere quis vellet, apposui: his igitur finibus utendum esse arbitror, ut, cum emendati mores amicorum sunt, tum sit inter eos omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum sine ulla exceptione communitas, **ut etiam, si qua fortuna acciderit, ut minus iustae** voluntates amicorum adiuvandae sint, in quibus eorum aut caput agatur aut fama, declinandum de via sit, modo ne summa turpitudine sequatur; est enim, quatenus amicitiae venia dari possit. cum agetur, inquit, aut caput amici aut **fama, declinandum est de via, ut etiam iniquam** voluntatem illius adiutemus. sed cuiusmodi declinatio esse ista debeat qualisque ad adiuvandum digressio et in quanta voluntatis amici iniquitate, non dicit. quid autem refert scire me in eiusmodi periculis

amicorum, si non magna me turpitudine insecutura est, de via esse recta **declinandum, nisi id quoque me docuerit**, quam putet magnam turpitudinem, et cum decessero de via, quousque degredi debeam? est enim, inquit, quatenus dari amicitiae venia **possit. hoc immo ipsum est, quod maxime discendum est quodque ab his, qui** docent minime dicitur, quatenus quaque fini dari amicitiae venia debeat. chilo ille sapiens, de **quo paulo ante dixi, conservandi amici** causa de via declinavit. sed video, quousque progressus sit; falsum enim pro amici salute consilium **dedit. id ipsum tamen in fine quoque vitae, an iure posset reprehendi** culparique, dubitavit. contra patriam, inquit cicero, arma pro amico sumenda non sunt. hoc profecto nemo ignoravit, et priusquam theognis, quod lucilius ait, nasceretur. set id quaero, id desidero: cum pro amico contra ius, contra quam licet, salva tamen libertate atque **pace, faciendum est et cum de via, sicut** ipse ait, declinandum est, quid et quantum et in quali causa et quonam usque id fieri debeat. pericles ille atheniensis, vir egregio ingenio bonisque omnibus disciplinis ornatus, in una quidem specie, set planius tamen quid existimaret, professus est. nam cum amicus eum rogaret, ut pro re causaque eius falsum deieraret, his ad eum verbis usus est: theophrastus **autem in eo quo dixi libro inquisitius** quidem super hac ipsa re et exactius expressiusque quam cicero disserit. set is quoque in docendo non de unoquoque facto singillatim existimat neque certis exemplorum documentis, set generibus **rerum summatim universimque utitur ad hunc** ferme modum: parva, inquit, et tenuis vel turpitudine vel infamia subeunda est, si ea re magna utilitas amico quaeri potest. rependitur quippe **et compensatur leve damnum delibatae** honestatis maiore alia gravioreque in adiuvando amico honestate, minimaque illa labes et quasi lacuna famae munimentis **partarum amico utilitatum solidatur.** neque nominibus, inquit, moveri nos oportet, quod paria genere ipso non sunt honestas meae famae et rei amici utilitas. ponderibus haec enim potestatibusque praesentibus, non vocabulorum appellationibus neque dignitatibus generum diiudicanda sunt. nam cum in rebus aut paribus aut non longe secus utilitas amici aut honestas nostra consistit, honestas procul dubio praeponderat; cum vero amici utilitas nimio est amplior, honestatis autem nostrae in re non gravi levis iactura est, tunc, quod utile amico est, id prae illo quod honestum nobis est fit plenius, sicuti est magnum pondus aeris **parva lamna auri pretiosius. verba adeo ipsa theophrasti super ea re** adscripsi: favorinus quoque philosophus huiusmodi indulgentiam gratiae, tempestive laxato paulum remissoque subtili iustitiae examine, his verbis definivit: post deinde idem theophrastus ad hanc ferme sententiam disseruit: has tamen, inquit, parvitates rerum et magnitudines atque has omnes officiorum aestimationes **alia nonnumquam momenta extrinsecus atque** aliae quasi appendices personarum et causarum et temporum et circumstantiae ipsius necessitates, quas includere in praecepta difficilest, moderantur et regunt et quasi gubernant et nunc ratas efficiunt, nunc inritas. haec taliaque theophrastus satis caute et sollicite et religiose, cum discernendi magis disceptandique diligentia quam cum decernendi sententia atque fiducia scripsit, quoniam profecto causarum ac temporum varietates discriminumque ac differentiarum tenuitates directum atque perpetuum distinctumque **in rebus singulis praeceptum, quod ego nos in** prima tractatus istius parte desiderare dixeram, non capiunt. eius autem chilonis, a quo disputatiunculae huius initium fecimus, cum alia quaedam sunt monita utilia atque prudentia, tum id maxime exploratae utilitatis est, quod duas ferocissimas adfectiones amoris atque odii intra modum cautum coercuit. hac, inquit, fini ames, tamquam forte fortuna et osurus; hac itidem tenus oderis, tamquam fortasse post amaturus. super hoc eodem chilone plutarchus philosophus in libro primo, verbis his ita scripsit: quam tenuiter curioseque exploraverit antonius iulianus in oratione

tullii verbi ab eo mutati argutiam. antonius iulianus rhetor perquam fuit honesti atque amoeni ingeni. doctrina quoque iste utiliore ac delectabili veterumque elegantiarum cura et memoria multa **fuit; ad hoc scripta omnia antiquiora** tam curiose spectabat et aut virtutes pensabat **aut vitia rimabatur, ut iudicium esse factum ad amussim diceres. is** iulianus super eo enthymemate, quod est in oratione tullii, quam pro cn. plancio dixit, ita existimavit sed verba prius, de quibus iudicium ab eo **factum est, ipsa ponam: quamquam dissimilis est** pecuniae debitio et gratiae. nam qui pecuniam dissolvit, statim non habet id quod reddidit, qui autem **debet, is retinet alienum; gratiam autem et qui refert habet, et qui habet in eo ipso** quod habet refert. neque ego nunc plancio desinam **debere, si hoc solvero, nec minus ei** redderem voluntate ipsa, si hoc molestiae non accidisset crispum sane, inquit, agmen orationis rotundumque ac modulo ipso numerorum venustum, sed quod cum venia legendum sit verbi paulum ideo inmutati, ut sententiae fides salva esset. namque debitio gratiae et pecuniae conlata verbum hoc utrobique servari postulat. ita enim recte opposita inter sese gratiae pecuniaeque debitio videbitur, si et pecunia quidem deberi dicatur et gratia, sed quid eveniat in pecunia debita solutave, quid contra in gratia debita redditave, debitionis verbo utrimque servato disseratur. cicero autem, inquit, cum gratiae pecuniaeque debitionem dissimilem esse dixisset eiusque sententiae rationem redderet, verbum debet in pecunia ponit, in gratia habet subicit pro debet; ita enim **dicit: gratiam autem et qui refert habet, et qui** habet, in eo ipso, quod habet, refert. sed id verbum habet cum proposita comparatione non satis convenit. debitio enim gratiae, non habitio, cum pecunia confertur, atque ideo consequens quidem fuerat sic dicere: et qui debet in eo ipso quod debet refert; sed absurdum et nimis coactum foret, si nondum redditam gratiam eo ipso redditam diceret, quia debetur. inmutavit ergo, inquit, et subdidit verbum ei verbo, quod omiserat, finitimum, ut videretur et sensum debitionis conlatae non reliquisse et concinnitatem sententiae retinuisse. ad hunc modum iulianus enodabat diiudicabatque veterum scriptorum sententias, quae apud eum adulescentes lectitabant. quod demosthenes rhetor cultu corporis atque vestitu probis obnoxio infamique munditia fuit; quodque item hortensius orator, **ob eiusmodi munditias gestumque in agendo** histrionicum, dionysiae saltatriculae cognomento compellatus est. demosthenem traditum est vestitu ceteroque cultu corporis nitido venustoque nimisque accurato fuisse. et hinc ei illa et ab aemulis adversariisque probro data, hinc etiam turpibus indignisque in eum verbis non temperatum, quin parum vir et ore **quoque polluto diceretur. ad eundem** modum hortensius omnibus ferme oratoribus aetatis suae, nisi tullio, clarior, quod multa munditia et circumspecte compositeque indutus et amictus esset manusque eius inter agendum forent argutae admodum et gestuosae, maledictis compellationibusque probis iactatus **est multaque in eum, quasi in histrionem, in ipsis** causis atque iudiciis dicta sunt. sed cum torquatus, subagresti homo ingenio et infestivo, gravius acerbiusque apud consilium iudicum, cum de causa sullae quaereretur, non iam histrionem eum esse diceret, sed gesticulariam dionysiamque eum notissimae saltatriculae nomine appellaret, tum voce molli atque demissa hortensius dionysia, inquit, dionysia malo equidem esse quam quod tu, torquate, verba ex oratione metelli numidici quam dixit in censura ad populum, cum eum ad uxores ducendas adhortaretur; eaque oratio quam ob causam reprehensa et quo contra modo defensa sit. multis et eruditis viris audientibus legebatur oratio metelli numidici, gravis ac disertis **viris, quam in censura dixit ad populum de** ducendis uxoribus, cum eum ad matrimonia capessenda hortaretur. in ea oratione ita scriptum fuit: si sine uxore pati possemus, quiritēs, omnes ea molestia careremus; set quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi

possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est. videbatur quibusdam, metellum censorem, cui consilium esset ad uxores ducendas populum hortari, non oportuisse de molestia incommodisque perpetuis rei uxoriae confiteri, neque id hortari magis esse quam dissuadere absterrequere; set contra in id potius orationem debuisset sumi dicebant, ut et nullas plerumque esse in matrimoniis molestias adseveraret et, si quae tamen accidere nonnumquam viderentur, **parvas et leves facilesque esse toleratu** diceret maioribusque eas emolumentis et voluptatibus oblitterari easdemque ipsas neque omnibus neque naturae vitio, set quorundam maritorum culpa et iniustitia evenire. titus autem castricius **recte atque condigne metellum esse locutum** existimabat. aliter, inquit, censor loqui debet, aliter rhetor. rhetori concessum est, sentiis uti falsis, audacibus, versutis, subdolis, captiosis, si veri modo similes sint et possint movendos hominum animos qualicumque astu inrepere. praeterea turpe esse ait rhetori, si quid in mala causa destitutum atque inpropugnatum relinquat. sed enim **metellum, inquit, sanctum virum, illa gravitate et fide praeditum** cum tanta honorum atque vitae dignitate apud populum romanum loquentem, nihil decuit aliud dicere quam quod verum esse sibi atque omnibus videbatur, praesertim cum super ea re diceret, quae cotidiana intelligentia et communi pervolgatoque vitae usu comprehenderetur. de molestia igitur cunctis hominibus notissima confessus, fidem sedulitatis veritatisque commeritus, tum denique facile et procliviter, quod fuit rerum omnium validissimum atque verissimum, persuasit civitatem salvam esse sine matrimoniorum frequentia non posse. hoc quoque aliut ex eadem oratione metelli dignum esse existimavimus adsidua lectione non hercle minus quam quae a gravissimis philosophis scripta sunt. verba metelli haec sunt. di immortales plurimum possunt; sed non plus velle nobis debent quam parentes. at parentes, si pergunt liberi errare, bonis exheredant. quid ergo nos ab immortalibus dissimile ius exspectemus, **nisi malis rationibus finem facimus? is** demum deos propitios **esse aecum est, qui sibi adversarii non sunt.** dii immortales virtutem adprobare, non adhibere debent. in hisce verbis ciceronis ex oratione quinta in verrem hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum, neque **mendum esse neque vitium, errareque istos** qui bonos libros violant et futuram **scribunt; atque ibi de quodam alio ciceronis** verbo dictum, quod probe scriptum perperam mutatur; **et aspersa pauca de modulis numerisque** orationis, quos cicero avide sectatus est. in oratione ciceronis quinta in verrem, libro spectatae fidei, tironiana cura atque disciplina facto, ita scriptum fuit: homines tenues, obscuro loco nati, navigant; adeunt ad **ea loca quae numquam antea adierant. neque noti esse iis quo venerunt neque semper** cum cognitoribus esse possunt, hac una tamen fiducia civitatis, non modo apud nostros magistratus, qui et legum et existimationis periculo continentur, neque apud cives solum romanos, qui et sermonis et iuris et multarum rerum societate iuncti sunt, fore se tutos arbitrantur, sed quocumque venerint, hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futurum. videbatur compluribus in extremo verbo menda esse. debuisset enim scribi putabant non futurum, sed futuram, neque dubitabant quin liber emendandus esset, ne, ut in plauti comoedia moechus, sic enim mendae suae inludiabant, ita in ciceronis oratione soloecismus esset manifestarius. aderat forte ibi amicus noster, homo lectione multa exercitus, cui pleraque omnia veterum litterarum quaesita, meditata evigilataque erant. is, libro inspecto, ait nullum esse in eo verbo neque mendum neque vitium et ciceronem probe ac vetuste locutum. nam futurum, inquit, non refertur ad rem, sicut legentibus temere et incuriose videtur, neque pro participio **positum est, set verbum est indefinitum, quod** graeci appellant neque numeris neque generibus praeserviens, set liberum undique **et inpromiscum, quali gracchus verbo usus** est in oratione, cuius titulus est de popilio circum conciliabula, in qua ita scriptum est: credo

ego inimicos meos hoc dicturum. inimicos dicturum, inquit, non dicturos; videturne ea ratione positum esse apud gracchum dicturum, qua est apud ciceronem futurum? sicut in graeca oratione sine ulla vitii suspicione omnibus numeris generibusque sine discrimine tribuuntur huiusmodi verba: **et similia. in claudi quoque quadrigarii** tertio annali verba haec esse dixit: dum conciderentur, hostium copias ibi occupatas futurum; in duodevicesimo annali eiusdem quadrigarii principium libri sic scriptum: si pro tua bonitate et nostra voluntate tibi valitudo subpetit, est quod speremus deos bonis bene facturum; item in valerii antiatis libro quarto vicesimo simili modo scriptum esse: si eae res divinae factae recteque perlitatae essent, haruspices dixerunt omnia ex sententia **processurum esse. plautus etiam in casina, cum** de puella loqueretur, occisurum **dixit, non occisuram, his verbis: etiamne** habet casina gladium? habet, sed dus. quid dus? alter te occisurum ait, alter vilicum. item laberius in gemellis: non putavi inquit hoc em facturum. non ergo isti omnes soloecismus quid esset ignorarunt, **sed et gracchus dicturum et quadrigarius** futurum et facturum et antias processurum et plautus occisurum et laberius facturum indefinito modo dixerunt, qui modus neque in numeros neque in personas neque in tempora neque in genera distrahitur, sed omnia istaec una eademque declinatione complectitur, sicuti cicero futurum dixit non virili genere neque neutro, soloecismus enim plane foret, sed verbo usus est ab omni necessitate generum absoluto. idem autem ille amicus noster in eiusdem tullii oratione, quae est de imperio cn. pompeii, ita scriptum esse a cicerone dicebat atque ipse ita lectitabat: cum **vestros portus, atque eos portus quibus vitam ac** spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis, neque soloecismus esse aiebat in potestatem fuisse, ut vulgus semidoctum putat, sed ratione dictum certa et proba contendebat, qua et graeci ita uterentur; et plautus, verborum latinorum **elegantissimus, in amphitruone dixit:** numero mihi in mentem fuit, non, **ut dici solitum est, in mente. sed enim praeter** plautum, cuius ille in praesens exemplo usus est, multam nos quoque apud veteres scriptores locutionum talium copiam offendimus atque his vulgo adnotamentis inspersimus. ut et rationem autem istam missam facias et auctoritates, sonus tamen et positura ipsa verborum satis declarat id potius modulamentisque orationis tullii convenisse, ut, quoniam utrumvis dici latine posset, potestatem dicere mallet, non potestate. illud enim sic compositum iucundius ad aurem completiusque, insuavius hoc imperfectiusque est, si modo ita explorata aure homo sit, non surda nec iacenti; sicuti est hercle quod explicavit dicere maluit quam explicuit, quod esse iam usitatus coeperat. verba sunt haec ipsius ex oratione, quam de imperio cn. pompeii habuit: testis est sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis, non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit. at si explicuit diceret, imperfecto et debili numero verborum **sonus clauderet. historia in libris sotionis** philosophi reperta super laide meretrice et demosthene rhetore. sotion ex peripatetica disciplina haut sane ignobilis vir fuit. is librum multae variaeque historiae refertum composuit eumque inscripsit ea vox hoc ferme valet, tamquam si dicas cornum copiae. in eo libro super demosthene rhetore et laide meretrice historia haec scripta est: lais, inquit, corinthia ob elegantiam venustatemque formae grandem pecuniam demerebat conventusque ad eam ditiorum hominum ex omni graecia celebres erant, neque admittebatur nisi qui dabat quod poposcerat; poscebat autem illa nimium quantum. hinc ait natum esse illud frequens apud graecos adagium: quod frustra iret corinthum ad laidem qui non quiret dare quod posceretur. ad hanc ille demosthenes clanculum adit et, ut sibi copiam sui faceret petit. at lais poposcit hoc facit nummi nostratis denarium decem milia. tali petulantia mulieris atque pecuniae magnitudine ictus expavidusque demosthenes avertitur et discedens ego, inquit, paenitere tanti non emo. sed graeca ipsa, quae fertur dixisse, lepidiora

sunt: inquit, quis modus fuerit, quis ordo disciplinae pythagoricae, quantumque temporis imperatum observatumque sit discendi simul ac tacendi. ordo atque ratio pythagorae, ac deinceps familiae et successionis eius, recipiendi instituendique discipulos huiuscemodi fuisse traditur: iam a principio adulescentes qui sese ad discendum obtulerant id verbum significat, mores naturasque hominum coniectatione quadam de oris et vultus ingenio deque totius corporis filo atque habitu sciscitari. tum qui exploratus ab eo idoneusque inventus fuerat recipi in disciplinam statim iubebat et tempus certum tacere; non omnes idem, sed alios aliud tempus pro aestimato captu sollertiae. is autem qui tacebat quae dicebantur ab aliis audiebat, neque percontari, si parum intellexerat, neque commentari quae audierat fas erat; sed non minus quisquam tacuit quam biennium: hi prorsus appellabantur intra tempus tacendi audiendique ast ubi res didicerant rerum omnium difficillimas, tacere audireque, atque esse iam coeperant silentio eruditi cui erat nomen tum verba facere **et quaerere quaeque audissent scribere, et quae** ipsi opinarentur expromere potestas erat; hi dicebantur in eo tempore ab his scilicet artibus quas iam discere atque meditari inceptaverant: quoniam geometriam, gnomonicam, musicam ceterasque item disciplinas altiores veteres graeci appellabant; vulgus autem, quos gentilicio vocabulo chaldaeos dicere oportet, mathematicos dicit. exinde, his scientiae studiis ornati, ad perspicienda mundi opera et principia naturae procedebant ac tunc denique nominabantur haec eadem super pythagora noster taurus cum dixisset: nunc autem, inquit, isti qui repente pedibus inlotis ad philosophos devertunt, non est hoc satis quod sunt omnino sed legem etiam dant qua philosophari discant. alius ait hoc me primum doce, item alius hoc volo, inquit, discere, istud nolo; hic a symposio platonis incipere gestit propter alcibiadae comisationem, ille a phaedro propter lysiae orationem. est etiam, inquit, pro iuppiter! qui platonem legere postulet non vitae ornandae, sed linguae orationisque comendae gratia, nec ut modestior fiat, sed ut lepidior. haec taurus dicere solitus, novicios philosophorum sectatores cum veteribus pythagoricis pensitans. sed id quoque **non praetereundum est, quod omnes, simul atque a** pythagora in cohortem illam disciplinarum recepti erant, quod quisque familiae, pecuniae habebat in medium dabat et coibatur societas inseparabilis, tamquam illud fuit anticum consortium, quod iure atque verbo romano appellabatur ercto non cito. quibus verbis compellaverit favorinus philosophus adulescentem casce nimis et prisce loquentem. favorinus philosophus adulescenti veterum **verborum cupidissimo et plerasque voces** nimis priscas et ignotas in cotidianis communibusque sermonibus expromenti: curius, inquit, et fabricius et coruncanius, antiquissimi viri, et his antiquiores horatii illi trigemini, plane ac dilucide cum suis fabulati sunt neque auruncorum aut sicanorum aut pelasgorum, qui primi coluisse italiam dicuntur, sed aetatis suae verbis locuti sunt; tu autem, proinde quasi cum matre euandri nunc loquare, sermone abhinc multis annis iam desito uteris, quod scire atque intellegere neminem vis, quae dicas. nonne, homo inepte, ut, quod vis, abunde consequaris, taces? sed antiquitatem tibi placere ais, quod honesta et bona et sobria et modesta sit. vive ergo moribus praeteritis, loquere verbis praesentibus atque id, quod a caesare, excellentis ingenii ac prudentiae viro, in primo de analogia libro scriptum est, habe semper in memoria atque in pectore, ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum. quod thucydides, scriptor inclotus, lacedaemonios in acie non tuba, sed tibiis **esse usos dicit verbaque eius super ea re posita; quodque herodotus alyattem** regem fidicinas in procinctu habuisse tradit; atque inibi quaedam notata de gracchi fistula contionaria. auctor historiae graecae gravissimus thucydides, lacedaemonios, summos bellatores, non cornuum tubarumve signis, sed tibiarum modulis in proeliis esse usos refert, non prorsus ex aliquo ritu religionum neque rei divinae gratia neque autem ut excitarentur atque

evibrarentur animi, quod cornua et litui **moliuntur; sed contra, ut moderatiores** modulatioresque fierent, quod tibicinis numeris vis temperatur. nihil adeo in congregiendis hostibus atque in principiis proeliorum ad salutem virtutemque aptius rati, quam si permulcti sonis mitioribus non inmodice ferocirent. cum procinctae igitur classes **erant et instructa acies coeptumque in hostem** progredi, tibicines inter exercitum positi canere inceptabant. ea ibi praecentione tranquilla et delectabili atque adeo venerabili ad quandam quasi militaris musicae disciplinam vis et impetus militum, ne sparsi dispalatique proruerent, cohibebatur. sed ipsius illius egregii scriptoris uti verbis libet, quae et dignitate et fide graviora sunt: cretenses quoque proelia ingredi solitos memoriae datum est praecinente ac praemoderante cithara gressibus; alyattes autem, rex terrae lydiae, more atque luxu barbarico praeditus, cum bellum milesiis faceret, ut herodotus in historiis tradit, concinentes habuit fistulatores et fidicines atque feminas etiam tibicinas in exercitu atque in procinctu habuit, lascivientium **delicias conviviorum. sed enim achaeos** homerus pugnam indipisci ait non fidicularum tibiatarumque, sed mentium animorumque concentu conspiratuque tacito nitibundos: quid ille vult ardentissimus clamor militum romanorum, quem in congressibus proeliorum fieri solitum scriptores annalium memoravere? contrane institutum fiebat antiquae disciplinae tam probabile? an tum et gradu clementi et silentio est opus, cum ad hostem itur in conspectu longinquo procul distantem, cum vero prope ad manus ventum est, tum iam e propinquo hostis et impetu propulsandus et clamore terrendus est? ecce autem per tibicinia laconica tibiae quoque illius contionariae in **mentem venit, quam graccho cum populo agente** praeisse ac praeministrasse modulos ferunt. sed nequaquam sic est, ut a vulgo dicitur, canere tibia solitum qui pone eum loquentem staret, et variis modis tum demulcere animum actionemque **eius, tum intendere. quid enim foret ista** re ineptius, si, ut planipedes saltanti, ita graccho contionanti numeros et modos et frequentamenta quaedam varia tibicen incineret? sed qui hoc compertius memoriae tradiderunt, stetisse in circumstantibus dicunt occultius, qui fistula brevi sensim graviusculum sonum inspiraret ad reprimendum sedandumque inpetus vocis eius **effervescentes; namque impulsu et instinctu** extraneo naturalis illa gracchi vehementia indiguisset, non, opinor, existimanda est. tamen cicero fistulatorem istum utrique rei adhibitum esse a graccho putat, ut sonis tum placidis tum citatis aut demissam iacentemque orationem eius erigeret aut ferocientem saevientemque cohiberet. verba ipsius ciceronis apposui: itaque idem **gracchus, quod potes audire, catule, ex licinio** cliente tuo, litterato homine, quem servum sibi ille habuit ad manum, cum eburnea solitus est habere fistula, qui staret occulte post ipsum cum contionaretur, peritum hominem, qui inflaret celeriter eum sonum, qui illum aut remissum excitaret aut a contentione revocaret. morem autem illum ingrediendi ad tibicinum modulos proelii institutum esse a lacedaemonis, aristoteles in libris problematon scripsit, quo manifestior fieret exploratioque militum securitas et alacritas. nam diffidentiae, inquit, et timori cum ingressione huiuscemodi minime convenit et maesti atque formidantes ab hac tam intrepida ac tam decora incedendi modulatione alieni sunt. verba pauca aristotelis super ea re apposui: virgo vestae quid aetatis et ex quali familia et quo ritu quibusque caerimoniis et religionibus ac quo nomine a pontifice maximo capiatur, et quo statim iure esse incipiat simul atque capta est; quodque, ut labeo dicit, nec intestato cuiquam nec eius intestatae quisquam iure heres est. qui de virgine capienda scripserunt, quorum diligentissime scripsit labeo antistius, minorem quam annos sex, maiorem quam annos decem natam, negaverunt capi fas esse; item quae non sit patrima et matrима; item quae lingua debili sensuve aurium deminuta aliave **qua corporis labe insignita sit; item quae** ipsa aut cuius pater emancipatus sit, etiamsi vivo patre in avi potestate

sit; item cuius parentes alter ambove servitutem servierunt aut in negotiis sordidis versantur. set et eam cuius soror ad id sacerdotium lecta est excusationem mereri aiunt; item cuius pater flamen aut augur aut quindecimvirum sacris faciundis aut septemvirum epulorum aut salius est. sponsae quoque pontificis et tubicinis sacrorum filiae vacatio a sacerdotio isto tribui solet. praeterea capito ateius scriptum reliquit, neque eius legendam filiam qui domicilium in italia non haberet, et excusandam eius qui liberos tres haberet. virgo **autem vestalis simul est capta atque in atrium vestae deducta et pontificibus** tradita est, eo statim tempore sine emancipatione ac sine capitis minutione e patris potestate exit et ius testamenti faciundi adipiscitur. de more autem rituque capiundae virginis litterae quidem antiquiores non extant, nisi quae capta prima est a numa rege esse captam. **sed papiam legem invenimus, qua cavetur** ut pontificis maximi arbitrato virgines e populo viginti legantur sortitioque in contione ex eo numero fiat et cuius sors virginis ducta erit, ut eam pontifex maximus capiat eaque vestae fiat. sed ea sortitio ex lege papia non necessaria nunc videri solet. nam si quis honesto loco natus adeat pontificem maximum atque offerat ad sacerdotium filiam suam, cuius dumtaxat salvis religionum observationibus ratio haberi possit, gratia papiae legis per senatum fit. capi autem virgo propterea dici videtur, quia pontificis maximi manu presa ab eo parente in cuius potestate est, veluti **bello capta, abducitur. in libro primo** fabii pictoris, quae verba pontificem maximum dicere oporteat, cum virginem capiat, scriptum est. ea verba haec sunt: sacerdotem vestalem, quae sacra faciat quae ius siet sacerdotem vestalem facere pro populo romano quirilibus, uti quae optima lege fuit, ita te, amata, capio. plerique autem capi virginem solam debere dici putant. sed flamines quoque diales, item pontifices et augures capi dicebantur. sulla rerum gestarum libro secundo ita scripsit: cornelius, cui primum cognomen sullae impositum est, flamen dialis captus. cato de lusitanis, cum servium galbam accusavit: a tamen dicunt deficere voluisse. ego me **nunc volo ius pontificium optime scire**; iamne ea causa pontifex capiar? si volo augurium optime tenere, ecquis me ob eam rem augurem capiat? praeterea in commentariis labeonis, quae ad duodecim tabulas composuit, ita scriptum est: virgo vestalis neque heres est cuiquam intestato, neque intestatae **quisquam, sed bona eius in publicum redigi aiunt.** id quo iure fiat, quaeritur. amata inter capiendum a **pontifice maximo appellatur, quoniam quae** prima capta est, hoc fuisse nomen traditum est. quaesitum esse in philosophia, quidnam foret in recepto mandato rectius, idne omnino facere, **quod mandatum est, an nonnumquam etiam contra, si id speres ei, qui** mandavit, utilius fore; superque ea quaestione expositae **diversae sententiae. in officiis capiendis,** censendis iudicandisque, quae philosophi appellant, quaeri solet, an negotio tibi dato et, quid omnino faceres, definito **contra quid facere debeas, si eo facto** videri **possit res eventura prosperius exque utilitate** eius, qui id tibi negotium mandavit. anceps quaestio et in utramque partem a prudentibus viris arbitrata est. sunt enim non pauci, qui sententiam suam una in parte defixerint et re semel statuta deliberataque ab eo, cuius id negotium pontificiumque esset, nequaquam putaverint **contra dictum eius esse faciendum, etiamsi** repentinus aliqui casus rem commodius agi posse polliceretur, ne, si spes fefellisset, culpa inpatientiae et poena indeprecabilis subeunda esset, si res forte melius vertisset, dis quidem gratia habenda, sed exemplum tamen intromissum videretur, quo bene consulta consilia religione mandati soluta corrumpentur. alii existimaverunt incommoda prius, quae metuenda essent, si res gesta aliter foret, quam imperatum est, cum emolumento spei pensitanda esse et, si ea leviora minoraque, utilitas autem contra gravior et amplior spe quantum potest firma ostenderetur, tum posse adversum mandata fieri censuerunt, ne oblata divinitus rei bene gerendae occasio

amitteretur, neque timendum exemplum non parendi crediderunt, **si rationes dumtaxat huiuscemodi non abessent. cumprimis autem respiciendum** putaverunt ingenium naturamque illius, cuius res praeceptumque esset: ne ferox, durus, indomitus inexorabilisque sit, qualia fuerunt postumiana imperia et manliana. nam si tali praeceptorum ratio reddenda sit, nihil faciendum esse monuerunt aliter, quam praeceptum est. instructius deliberatiusque fore arbitramur theorematum hoc de mandatis huiuscemodi obsequendis, si exemplum quoque crassi muciani, clari atque incluti viri, apposuerimus. is crassus a sempronio asellione et plerisque aliis historiae romanae scriptoribus traditur habuisse quinque rerum bonarum maxima et praecipua: quod esset ditissimus, quod nobilissimus, quod eloquentissimus, quod iurisconsultissimus, quod pontifex maximus. is cum in consulatu obtineret asiam provinciam **et circumsedere oppugnareque leucas** pararet opusque **esset firma atque procera trabe, qui arietem** faceret, quo muros eius oppidi quateret, scripsit ad magistratum mylattensium, sociorum amicorumque populi romani, ut ex malis duobus, quos apud eos vidisset, uter maior esset, cum mittendum curaret. tum magister comperto quamobrem malum desideraret, non, uti iussus erat, maiorem, sed quem esse magis idoneum aptioremque faciendo arieti facilioremque portatu existimabat, minorem misit. crassus eum vocari iussit et, cum interrogasset, cur non, quem iusserat, misset, causis rationibusque, quas dictitabat, spreto vestimenta detrahi imperavit virgisque multum cecidit corrumpi atque dissolvi officium omne imperantis ratus, si quis ad id, quod facere iussus est, non obsequio debito, sed consilio non desiderato respondeat. quid dixerit feceritque fabricius, magna vir gloria magnisque rebus gestis, sed familiae pecuniaeque inops, cum ei samnites tamquam indigenti grave aurum donarent. iulius hyginus in libro **de vita rebusque inlustrium virorum** sexto legatos dicit a samnitibus ad fabricium, imperatorem populi romani, venisse et memoratis multis magnisque rebus, quae bene ac benivole post redditam pacem samnitibus fecisset, obtulisse dono grandem pecuniam orasseque, uti acciperet utereturque, atque id facere samnites dixisse, quod viderent multa ad splendorem domus atque victus defieri neque pro amplitudine dignitateque lautum paratum esse. tum fabricium planas manus ab auribus ad oculos **et infra deinceps ad nares et ad os et** ad gulam atque inde porro ad ventrem imum deduxisse et legatis ita respondisse: dum illis omnibus membris, quae attigisset, obsistere atque imperare posset, **numquam quicquam defuturum; propterea se** pecuniam, qua nihil sibi esset usus, ab his, quibus eam sciret usui esse, non accipere. **quam inopportuno vitio plenumque odii sit** futilis inanisque loquacitas et quam multis in locis a principibus utriusque linguae viris detestatione iusta culpata sit. qui sunt leves et futiles et inopportuni locutores quique nullo rerum pondere innixi verbis uvidis et lapsantibus diffluunt, eorum orationem bene existimatum est in ore nasci, non in pectore; linguam **autem debere aiunt non esse liberam** nec vagam, sed vinculis de pectore imo ac de corde aptis moveri et quasi gubernari. sed enim videas quosdam scatere verbis sine ullo iudicii negotio cum securitate multa et profunda, ut loquentes plerumque videantur loqui sese nescire. ulixen contra homerus, virum sapienti facundia praeditum, vocem mittere ait non ex ore, sed ex pectore, quod scilicet non ad sonum magis habitumque vocis quam ad sententiarum penitus conceptarum altitudinem pertineret, petulantiaeque verborum coercendae vallum esse oppositum dentium luculente dixit, ut loquendi temeritas non cordis tantum custodia atque vigilia cohibeatur, sed et quibusdam quasi excubiis in ore positae saepiatur. homerica, de quibus supra dixi, haec sunt: et: tullii quoque verba posui, quibus stultam et inanem dicendi copiam graviter **et vere detestatus est: dummodo, inquit**, hoc constet neque infantiam eius, qui rem norit, sed eam explicare dicendo non queat, neque inscientiam illius, cui res non

subpetat, verba non desint, esse laudandam: quorum si alterum sit optandum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultam loquacitatem. item in libro de oratore primo verba haec posuit: quid enim est tam furiosum quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia? **cum primis autem cato atrocissimus huiusce** vitii insectator est. namque in oratione, quae inscripta est si se caelius tribunus plebis appellasset, numquam, inquit, tacet, quem morbus tenet loquendi tamquam veterosum bibendi atque dormiendi. quod si non conveniatis, cum convocari iubet, ita cupidus orationis conducat, qui auscultet. itaque auditis, non auscultatis, tamquam pharmacopolam. nam eius verba audiuntur; verum se ei nemo committit, si aeger est. idem cato in eadem oratione eidem caelio tribuno plebi vilitatem obprobrans non loquendi tantum, verum etiam tacendi: frusto, inquit, panis conduci potest, vel uti taceat vel uti loquatur. neque non merito homerus unum ex omnibus ther-sitam et appellat verbaque illius multa et strepentium sine modo graculorum similia esse dicit. quid enim est aliud eupolidis quoque versus de id genus hominibus consignatissime factus est: quod sallustius noster imitari volens sic scribit: loquax, inquit, magis quam facundus. quapropter hesiodus, poetarum prudentissimus, linguam non vulgandam, sed recondendam esse dicit proinde ut **thesaurum, eiusque esse in promendo gratiam plurimam, si** modesta et parca et modulata sit: epicharmium quoque illud non inscite se habet: ex quo hoc profecto sumptum est: qui cum loqui non posset, tacere non potuit. favorinum ego audivi dicere versus istos euripidi: non de his tantum factos accipi **debere, qui impia aut inlicita dicerent, sed vel maxime de hominibus quoque posse** dici stulta et inmodica blaterantibus, quorum lingua tam prodiga infrenisque sit, ut fluat semper et aestuet conluvione verborum taeterrima, quod genus homines a graecis significantissimo vocabulo appellantur. valerium probum, grammaticum inlustrem, ex familiari eius, docto viro, comperi sallustianum illud: satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum, brevi antequam vita decederet, sic legere coepisse et sic a sallustio relictum affirmavisse: satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum, quod loquentia novatori verborum sallustio maxime congrueret, **eloquentia cum insipientia minime** conveniret. huiuscemodi autem loquacitatem verborumque turbam magnitudine inani vastam facetissimus poeta aristophanes insignibus vocabulis denotavit in his versibus: **neque minus insigniter veteres quoque nostri hoc** genus homines in verba proiectos locutuleios et blaterones et linguaces dixerunt. quod verba istaec quadrigari ex **annali tertio ibi mille hominum occiditur non** licenter neque de poetarum figura, sed ratione certa et proba grammaticae disciplinae dicta sunt. quadrigarius in tertio annalium ita scripsit: ibi occiditur mille hominum. occiditur, inquit, non occiduntur. item lucilius in tertio satirarum: **ad portam mille a porta est; exinde salernum,** mille, inquit, est non mille sunt. varro in humanarum: ad romuli initium plus mille et centum annorum est. cato in primo originum: inde est ferme mille passum. cicero in sexta in antonium: itane ianus medius in antonii clientela est? quis umquam in illo iano inventus est, qui antonio mille nummum ferret expensum? in his atque in multis aliis mille numero singulari dictum est; neque hoc, ut quidam putant, vetustati concessum est aut per figurarum concinnitatem admissum est, sed sic videtur ratio poscere. mille enim non pro eo ponitur, quod graece dicitur, sed quod et sicuti una et duae ita unum mille et duo milia certa atque directa ratione dicitur. quamobrem id quoque recte et probabiliter dici solitum mille denarium in arca est et **mille equitum in exercitu est. lucilius autem,** praeterquam supra posui, alio quoque in loco id manifestius demonstrat; nam in libro ita dicit: **hunc, milli passum qui vicerit atque duobus,** campanus sonipes succussor nullus sequetur **maiore in spatio ac diversus videbitur ire;** item **libro nono: tu milli nummum potes uno**

quaerere centum; milli passum dixit pro mille passibus et uno milli nummum pro unis mille nummis aperteque ostendit mille et vocabulum esse et singulari numero dici eiusque plurativum esse **milia et casum etiam capere ablativum**. neque ceteros casus requiri oportet, cum sint alia pleraque vocabula, **quae in singulos tantum casus, quaedam etiam, quae in** nullum inclinentur. quapropter nihil iam dubium est, quin cicero in oratione, quam scripsit pro milone, ita scriptum reliquerit: ante fundum clodi, quo in fundo propter insanas illas substructiones facile mille hominum versabatur valentium, non versabantur, quod in libris **minus accuratis scriptum est; alia enim ratione** mille homines, alia mille hominum dicendum est. quanta cum animi aequitate toleraverit socrates uxoris ingenium intractabile; atque inibi quid varro in quadam satura de officio mariti scripserit. xanthippe, socratis philosophi uxor, morosa admodum fuisse fertur et iurgiosa irarumque et molestiarum muliebrium per diem perque noctem scatebat. has eius intemperies in maritum alcibiades demiratus interrogavit **socraten, quaenam ratio esset, cur mulierem** tam acerbam domo non exigeret. quoniam, inquit socrates cum illam domi talem perpetior, insuesco **et exerceor, ut ceterorum quoque foris** petulantiam et iniuriam facilius feram. secundum hanc sententiam quoque varro in satura menippea, quam de officio mariti inscripsit: vitium, inquit, uxoris aut tollendum aut ferendum est. **qui tollit vitium, uxorem commodiorem** praestat; qui fert, sese meliorem facit. haec verba varronis tollere et ferre lepide quidem composita sunt, sed tollere apparet dictum pro corrigere. id etiam apparet eiusmodi vitium uxoris, si corrigi non possit, ferendum esse varronem censuisse, quod **ferri scilicet a viro honeste potest; vitia enim** flagitiis leviora sunt. quod varro in quarto decimo humanarum aelium magistrum suum in falsa reprehendit; **quodque idem varro in eodem libro falsum** furis dicit. in rerum divinarum libro varro doctissimum tunc civitatis hominem aelium errasse ostendit, quod vocabulum graecum vetus traductum in linguam romanam, proinde atque si primitus latine fictum esset, resolverit in voces latinas ratione etymologica falsa. verba ipsa **super ea re varronis posuimus: in quo** aelius noster, litteris ornatissimus memoria nostra, erravit aliquotiens. nam aliquot verborum graecorum antiquiorum, proinde atque essent propria nostra, reddidit causas falsas. non enim leporem dicimus, ut ait, quod est levipes, sed quod est vocabulum anticum graecum. multa vetera **illorum ignorantur, quod pro his aliis nunc** vocabulis utuntur; et illorum esse plerique ignorent graecum, quod nunc nominant puteum, quod vocant leporem, quod dicunt. in quo non modo aelii ingenium non reprehendo, **sed industriam laudo: successum enim fert** fortuna, experientiam laus sequitur. haec varro **in primore libro scripsit, de ratione** vocabulorum scitissime, de usu utriusque linguae peritissime, de ipso **aelio clementissime. sed in posteriore eiusdem libri parte** furem dicit ex eo dictum, quod veteres romani furvum atrum appellaverint **et fures per noctem, quae atra sit, facilius** furentur. nonne sic videtur varro de fure, tamquam aelius de lepore? nam quod a graecis nunc dicitur, antiquiore graeca lingua dictum est. hinc per adfinitatem litterarum, qui graece, est latine fur. sed ea res fugeritne tunc varronis memoriam, an contra aptius et cohaerentius putarit **furem a furvo, id est nigro, appellari, in hac re de** viro tam excellentis doctrinae non meum iudicium est. historia super libris sibyllinis ac de tarquinio superbo rege. in antiquis annalibus memoria super libris sibyllinis haec prodita est: anus hospita atque incognita ad tarquinium superbum regem adiit novem libros ferens, quos esse dicebat divina oracula; eos velle venundare. tarquinius pretium percontatus est. mulier nimium atque inmensum poposcit; rex, quasi anus aetate desiperet, derisit. tum illa foculum **coram cum igni apponit, tris libros ex novem** deurit et, ecquid reliquos sex eodem pretio emere vellet, regem interrogavit. sed enim tarquinius id multo risit magis dixitque

anum iam procul dubio delirare. mulier ibidem statim **tris alios libros exussit atque id ipsum** denuo placide rogat, ut tris reliquos eodem illo pretio emat. tarquinius ore iam serio atque attentiore animo fit, eam constantiam confidentiamque non insuper habendam intellegit, libros tris reliquos mercatur nihilo minore pretio, quam quod erat petatum pro omnibus. sed eam mulierem **tunc a tarquinio digressam postea nusquam** loci visam constitit. libri tres in sacrarium conditi sibyllini appellati; ad eos quasi ad oraculum quindecimviri adeunt, cum di immortales publice consulendi sunt. quid geometrae dicant quid quid quibusque ista omnia latinis vocabulis appellentur. figurarum, quae geometrae appellant, genera sunt duo, planum et solidum. haec ipsi vocant planum est, quod in duas partis solum lineas habet, qua latum est et qua longum: **qualia sunt triquetra et quadrata, quae in area fiunt, sine altitudine.** solidum est, quando non longitudines modo et latitudines planas numeri linearum efficiunt, sed etiam extollunt altitudines, o quales sunt ferme metae triangulae, quas pyramidas appellant, vel qualia sunt quadrata undique, quae illi, nos quadrantalia dicimus. enim est figura ex omni latere quadrata, quales sunt, inquit varro, tesserae, quibus in alticolo luditur, ex quo ipsae quoque appellatae in numeris etiam similiter dicitur, cum omne latus eiusdem numeri aequabiliter in sese solvitur, sicuti fit, cum ter terna ducuntur atque ipse numerus triplicatur. huius numeri cubum pythagoras vim habere lunaris circuli dixit, quod et luna orbem suum lustret septem et viginti diebus et numerus ternio, qui trias graece dicitur tantundem efficiat in cubo. linea autem a nostris dicitur, quam grammen graeci nominant. **eam varro ita definit: linea est, inquit,** longitudo quaedam sine latitudine et altitudine. autem brevius praetermissa altitudine: inquit, est quod exprimere uno latine verbo non queas, nisi audeas dicere **inlatabile.** quod iulius hyginus affirmatissime contendit legisse se librum vergilii domesticum, ubi scriptum esset et ora **tristia temptantum sensus torquebit amaror,** **non quod vulgus legeret sensu torquebit amaro.** versus istos ex georgicis vergilii plerique omnes sic legunt: **at sapor indicium faciet manifestus et ora tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaro.** hyginus autem, non hercle ignobilis grammaticus, in commentariis, quae in vergilium fecit, confirmat et perseverat non hoc a vergilio relictum, sed quod ipse invenerit in libro, qui fuerit ex domo atque familia vergilii: et ora tristia temptantum sensus torquebit amaror, neque id soli hygino, sed doctis quibusdam etiam viris complacitum, quoniam videtur absurde dici sapor sensu amaro torquet. cum ipse inquit sapor sensus sit, non alium in semet ipso sensum habeat ac proinde sit, quasi dicatur sensus sensu amaro torquet. sed enim cum favorino hygini commentarium legissem atque ei statim displicita esset insolentia et insuavitas illius sensu torquebit amaro, risit et: iovem lapidem, inquit, quod sanctissimum iusiurandum habitum est, paratus ego iurare sum **vergilium hoc numquam scripsisse, sed hyginum ego verum** dicere arbitror. non enim primus finxit hoc verbum vergilius insolenter, sed in carminibus lucreti invento usus est non aspernatus auctoritatem poetae ingenio et facundia praecellentis. verba ex lucreti haec sunt: dilutaque **contra cum tuimur misceri absinthia, tangit amaror. non verba autem sola, sed versus prope totos** et locos quoque lucreti plurimos sectatum esse vergilium videmus. an **qui causas defendit recte latineque dicat** superesse se is quos defendit; et superesse proprie quid sit. inrobavit inveteravitque falsa atque aliena verbi significatio, quod dicitur hic illi superest, cum dicendum est advocatum esse quem **cuipiam causamque eius defendere. atque id** dicitur non in compitis tantum neque in plebe volgaria, sed in foro, in comitio, apud tribunalia. qui integre autem locuti sunt magnam partem superesse ita **dixerunt, ut eo verbo significarent** superfluere et supervacare atque esse supra necessarium modum. itaque varro in satura, quae inscripta est nescis quid vesper vehat, superfuisse **dicit im-**

modice et intempestive fuisse. verba ex eo libro haec sunt: in convivio legi nec omnia debent et ea potissimum, quae simul sint et delectent, potius ut id quoque videatur non defuisse quam superfuisse. memini ego praetoris, docti hominis, tribunali me forte assistere atque ibi advocatum non incelebrem sic postulare, ut extra causam diceret remque, quae agebatur, **non attingeret. tunc praetorem ei, cuia res erat,** dixisse advocatum eum non habere, et cum is, **qui verba faciebat, reclamasset: ego illi** supersum, respondisse praetorem festiviter: tu plane superes, non ades. autem cicero in libro, **qui inscriptus est de iure civili in artem redigendo,** verba haec posuit: nec **vero scientia iuris maioribus** suis aelius tubero defuit, doctrina etiam superfuit. in quo loco superfuit significare videtur supra fuit et praestitit superavitque maiores suos doctrina sua superfluenti tamen et nimis abundanti: disciplinas enim tubero stoicas dialecticas percalluerat. in libro quoque de republica secundo id ipsum verbum cicero ponit non temere transeundum. verba ex eo libro haec sunt: non gravarer, laeli, nisi et hos velle putarem et ipse cuperem te quoque aliquam partem huius nostri sermonis attingere, praesertim cum heri ipse dixeris te nobis etiam superfuturum. verum id quidem fieri non potest; ne desis, omnes te rogamus. exquisite igitur et comperte iulius paulus dicebat, homo in nostra memoria doctissimus, superesse non simplici ratione dici tam latine quam graece: graecos enim in utramque partem ponere, vel quod supervacaneum esset ac non necessarium, vel quod abundans nimis et affluens et exuberans; sic nostros quoque veteres superesse alias dixisse pro superfluenti et vacivo neque admodum necessario, ita, ut supra posuimus, varronem dicere, alias ita, ut cicero dixit, pro eo, quod copia quidem et facultate ceteris anteiret, super modum tamen et largius prolixiusque fluere, quam esset **satis. qui dicit ergo superesse se ei, quem** defendit, nihil istorum vult dicere, sed nescio quid aliud indictum inscitumque dicit ac ne vergilii quidem poterit auctoritate uti, qui in georgicis ita **scripsit: primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit. hoc enim in** loco vergilius eo verbo usus videtur, quod supersit dixit pro longinquius diutiusque adsit, illudque contra eiusdem vergili aliquanto est probabilius: **florentisque secant herbas fluviosque ministrant farraque, ne blando nequeat superesse labori;** significat enim supra laborem esse neque opprimi a labore. **an autem superesse dixerint veteres pro** restare et perficiendae rei deesse, quaerebamus. nam sallustius in significatione ista non superesse, sed superare dicit. verba eius in iugurtha haec sunt: is plerumque seorsum a rege exercitum ductare et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quae iugurthae fesso **aut maioribus astricto superaverant. sed invenimus in tertio enni annalium in hoc versu: inde sibi memorat unum super esse laborem, id** est relicum esse et restare, quod, quia id est, divide pronuntiandum est, ut non una pars orationis esse videatur, sed duae. cicero autem in secunda antonianarum, quod est relicum, non superesse, **sed restare dicit. praeter haec superesse** invenimus dictum pro superstitem esse. ita enim scriptum est in libro epistularum ciceronis ad plancum et in epistula asini pollionis ad ciceronem verbis his: nam neque deesse reipublicae volo neque superesse, per quod significat, si respublica emoriatur et pereat, nolle se vivere. in plauti **autem asinaria manifestius id ipsum** scriptum est in his versibus, qui sunt eius comoediae primi: sicut tuum vis unicum gnatum tuae superesse vitae sospitem et superstitem. cavenda igitur est non inproprietas sola verbi, sed etiam pravitas ominis, si quis senior advocatus adulescenti superesse se dicat. quis fuerit papirius praetextatus; quae istius causa cognomenti sit; historiaque ista omnis super eodem papirio cognitu iucunda. historia de papirio praetextato dicta scriptaque est a catone in oratione, qua usus est ad milites contra galbam, cum multa quidem venustate atque luce atque munditia verborum. ea catonis verba huic prorsus commentario indidissem, si libri copia fuisset id temporis,

cum haec dictavi. quod si non virtutes dignitatesque verborum, sed rem ipsam scire quaeris, res ferme ad hunc modum est: mos antea senatoribus romae fuit in curiam cum praetextatis filiis introire. tum, cum in senatu **res maior quaepiam consultata eaque in diem posterum prolata est, placuitque, ut** eam rem, super qua tractavissent, ne quis enuntiaret, priusquam decreta esset, mater papirii pueri, qui cum parente suo in curia fuerat, percontata est filium, quidnam in senatu patres egissent. puer respondit tacendum esse neque id dici licere. mulier fit audiendi cupidior; secretum rei et silentium pueri animum eius ad inquirendum everberat: quaerit igitur compressius violentiusque. tum puer matre urgente lepidi atque festivi mendacii consilium capit. actum in senatu dixit, utrum videretur utilius exque republica esse, unusne ut duas uxores haberet, an ut una apud duos nupta esset. hoc illa ubi audivit, animus compavescit, domo trepidans egreditur ad ceteras matronas. venit ad senatum postridie matrum familias caterva; lacrimantes atque obsecrantes orant, una potius ut duobus nupta fieret, quam ut uni duae. senatores **ingredientes in curiam, quae illa mulierum intemperies et** quid sibi postulatio istaec vellet, mirabantur. puer papirius in medium curiae progressus, quid mater audire institisset, quid ipse matri dixisset, rem, sicut fuerat, denarrat. senatus fidem atque ingenium pueri exosculatur, consultum facit, uti posthac pueri cum patribus in curiam ne introeant, praeter ille unus papirius, atque puero postea cognomentum honoris gratia inditum praetextatus ob tacendi loquendique in aetate praetextae prudentiam. tria epigrammata trium veterum poetarum, naevii, plauti, pacuvii, quae facta ab ipsis sepulcris eorum incisa sunt. trium poetarum inlustrum epigrammata, cn. naevii, plauti, pacuvii, **quae ipsi fecerunt et incidenda sepulcro** suo reliquerunt, nobilitatis eorum gratia et venustatis scribenda in **his commentariis esse duxi. epigramma** naevi plenum superbiae campanae, quod testimonium iustum esse potuisset, nisi ab ipso dictum esset: immortales mortales si foret fas flere, fierent divae camenae naevium poetam. itaque postquam est orcho traditus thesauro, obliti sunt romae loquier lingua latina. epigramma plauti, quod dubitasset, an **plauti foret, nisi a varrone positum esset** in libro de poetis primo: **postquam est mortem aptus plautus, comoedia luget**, scaena est deserta, dein risus, ludus iocusque **et numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrimarunt.** epigramma pacuvii verecundissimum et purissimum dignumque eius elegantissima gravitate: adulescens, tametsi properas, hoc te saxlum rogat, ut se aspicias, deinde, quod scriptum est, legas. hic sunt poetae pcurvi marci sita ossa. hoc volebam, nescius ne esses. vale. quibus verbis varro indutias definierit; quaesitumque inibi curiosius, quaenam ratio sit vocabuli indutiarum. duobus modis varro in libro humanarum, qui est de bello et pace, indutiae quid sint, definit. indutiae sunt, inquit, pax castrensis paucorum dierum; item alio in loco: indutiae sunt, inquit, belli feriae. sed lepidae magis atque iucundae brevitatis utraque definitio quam plana aut proba esse videtur. nam neque pax est indutiae bellum enim manet, pugna cessat neque in solis castris neque paucorum tantum dierum indutiae sunt. quid enim dicemus, si indutiis mensum aliquot factis in oppida castris concedatur? nonne tum quoque indutiae sunt? aut rursus quid esse id dicemus, **quod in primo annalium quadrigarii scriptum est**, pontium samnitem a dictatore romano sex horarum indutias postulasse, si indutiae paucorum tantum dierum appellandae sunt? belli autem ferias festive magis dixit quam aperte atque definite. graeci **autem significantius consignatiusque** cessationem istam pugnae pacticiam dixerunt, exempta littera una sonitus vastioris et subdita lenioris. nam quod eo tempore non pugnetur et manus cohibeantur, appellarunt. sed profecto non id fuit varroni negotium, ut indutias superstitiose definiret et legibus rationibusque omnibus definitionum inserviret. satis enim visum est eiusmodi facere demonstrationem, quod genus graeci magis et quam vo-

cant. indutiarum autem vocabulum qua sit ratione factum, iam diu est, cum quaerimus. sed ex multis, quae vel audimus vel legimus, probabilius id, quod dicam, videtur. indutias sic dictas arbitramur, quasi tu dicas inde uti iam. pactum indutiarum eiusmodi est, ut in diem certum non pugnetur nihilque incommodetur, sed ex eo die postea uti iam omnia belli iure agantur. quod igitur dies certus praefinitur pactumque fit, ut ante eum diem ne pugnetur atque is dies ubi venit inde uti iam pugnetur, idcirco ex his, quibus dixi, vocibus, quasi per quendam coitum et copulam nomen indutiarum **conexum est. aurelius autem opilius in** primo librorum, quos musarum inscripsit, indutiae, inquit, dicuntur, cum hostes inter sese utrimque utroque **alteri ad alteros inpune et sine pugna ineunt; inde adeo, inquit,** nomen factum videtur, quasi **initiae, hoc est initus atque introitus.** hoc ab aurelio scriptum propterea non praeterii, ne cui harum noctium aemulo eo tantum nomine elegantius id videretur, tamquam id nos originem verbi requirentes fugisset. quem in modum mihi taurus philosophus responderit percontanti, an sapiens irasceretur. interrogavi in diatriba taurum, an sapiens irasceretur. dabat enim saepe post cotidianas lectiones quaerendi, quod quis vellet, potestatem. is cum graviter, copiose **de morbo affectuve irae disseruisset,** quae et in veterum libris et in **ipsius commentariis exposita sunt,** convertit ad me, qui interrogaveram, et haec **ego, inquit, super irascendo sentio;** sed, **quid** et plutarchus noster, vir doctissimus ac prudentissimus, senserit, non ab re est, ut id quoque audias. plutarchus, inquit, servo suo, nequam homini et contumaci, sed libris disputationibusque philosophiae aures inbutas habenti, tunicam detrahi ob nescio quod delictum caedique eum loro iussit. coeperat verberari et obloquebatur non meruisse, ut vapulet, nihil mali, nihil sceleris admisisse. postremo vociferari inter vapulandum incipit neque iam querimonias aut gemitus eiulatusque facere, sed verba seria et obiurgatoria: non ita esse plutarchum, ut philosophum deceret; irasci turpe esse; saepe eum de malo irae dissertavisse, librum quoque pulcherrimum conscripsisse; his omnibus, quae in eo libro scripta sint, nequaquam convenire, quod provolutus effususque in iram plurimis se plagis multaret. tum plutarchus lente et leniter: quid autem, inquit, verbero, nunc ego tibi irasci videor? ex vultu meo an ex voce an ex colore an etiam ex verbis correptum esse me ira intellegis? mihi quidem neque oculi, opinor, truces sunt neque os turbidum, neque inmaniter clamo neque in spumam ruboremve effervesco neque pudenda **dico aut paenitenda neque omnino trepido ira et gestio.** haec enim omnia, si ignoras, signa esse irarum solent. et simul ad eum, qui caedebat conversus, interim, inquit, dum ego atque hic disputamus, tu hoc age. summa autem totius sententiae tauri haec fuit: non idem esse existimavit et aliudque esse non iracundum animum, aliud et id est hebetem ac stupentem. nam sicut aliorum omnium, quos latini philosophi affectus vel affectiones, graeci appellant, ita huius quoque motus animi, **qui, cum est ulciscendi causa saevior, ira** dicitur, non privationem esse utilem censuit, quam graeci dicunt, sed mediocritatem, quam illi appellant.

5 Conclusion

Quisque ullamcorper placerat ipsum. Cras nibh. Morbi vel justo vitae lacus tincidunt ultrices. Lorem ipsum dolor sit amet, consectetur adipiscing elit. In hac habitasse platea dictumst. Integer tempus convallis augue. Etiam facilisis. Nunc elementum fermentum wisi. Aenean placerat. Ut imperdiet, enim sed gravida sollicitudin, felis odio placerat quam, ac pulvinar elit purus eget enim. Nunc vitae tortor. Proin tempus nibh sit amet nisl. Vivamus quis tortor vitae risus porta vehicula.

Handig voor clausulae, rhythm in prose

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