We cannot establish on historical grounds which of the two came first. For Messalla's remark the terminus post quem is Dellius' final desertion from Antony to Octavian just before Actium (Sen. loc. cit.) and the terminus ante quem is the death of Messalla himself in A.D. 8. For Ovid's poem the limits are ca. 25 B.C., when he may be assumed to have begun writing the Amores, and the last decade of the century, which is the time of the publication of the second edition.1 We might suppose that Messalla's remark was made within a few years of the battle of Actium, when it would have had most point, and that his desultor metaphor thus preceded Ovid's, even if Amores 1. 3 was one of Ovid's earliest poems; but this is a mere supposition, which needs some confirmation.

An interesting link between the two desultor metaphors is provided by Horace. The couplet following the one in which desultor amoris occurs (i.e., Am. 1. 3. 17–18) contains the phrase fila sororum, referring to the threads of the Fates. For this the editors (see Brandt ad loc.) quote as a parallel sororum fila trium at Horace Odes 2. 3. 15–16. Even though the phrase fila sororum cannot otherwise be

hesitate to assert that Ovid had Horace's phrase in mind, but for one fact: Odes 2. 3 is addressed to none other than Dellius. Either this is a remarkable coincidence, or it suggests that Dellius was already known as a desultor before the composition of Amores 1. 3. For the likeliest explanation of the echo is that Ovid had Dellius in mind when he coined the phrase desultor amoris, and that he therefore, consciously or unconsciously, continued with a phrase borrowed from Horace's Ode to Dellius.³

paralleled before the Silver Age,² we should

If this is so, the credit for perceiving the metaphorical possibilities of the *desultor* belongs to Messalla, and, though its application to the lover remains an effective and striking one, the novelty of Ovid's image is to that extent diminished. But the searcher for originality in the imagery of the *Amores* has other places in which he can look. The description of Corinna's hair as "like the color of cedar when its bark has peeled" (*Am.* 1. 14. 12) might be a good point to begin.⁴

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2. In the Silver Age it becomes quite common, together with *fila sorores*: cf. Luc. 6. 703, 9. 838; Stat. *Theb.* 1. 632, Silu. 1. 4. 123; Sil. *Pun.* 3. 96, 17. 361; Mart. 11. 36. 3-4.

1. See A. Cameron, CQ, XVIII (1968), 320-33.

- 3. For Ovid's familiarity with Horace's poetry, cf. Trist.
- 4. 10. 49-50; other clear echoes of Horace in Am. 1 are at 1. 8. 51, 1. 12. 13-16, 1. 15. 42.
- 4. Cf. Lee's note ad loc. I am grateful to Professor E. J. Kenney for his comments on a draft of this article.

A MISUNDERSTOOD COIN METAPHOR IN CRATINUS AND XENARCHUS

monds, LSJ, and Boethe accept the explanation that this is an allusion to middle age. Kock and Meineke decline to comment. This view may seem to be borne out by the use of the word in a fragment of the middle comedian Xenarchus, who says, in describing a list of women, $ν \dot{\epsilon} α$, $π αλαι \dot{α}$, μ εσοκόπω, $π επαιτ \dot{\epsilon} ρ α$. Middle-aged for μ εσοκόπω would make sense here: so it has always been taken.

It seems, however, to add to the meaning, both here, and, by analogy, in the fragment of Cratinus, to consider this as a numismatic

^{1.} Ar. Ran. 718 ff.

^{2.} Cf. the editions of the play. Also B. V. Head, Hist. Num.² (London, 1911), p. 373; H. Michell, The Economics of

Ancient Greece² (Cambridge, 1953), p. 326; C. Seltman, Greek Coins² (London, 1955), pp. 138, 177 ff.; etc.

^{3.} Cratin. Frag. 426 and Xenarch. Frag. 4. 9 (Kock).

metaphor. The process of coining used in the ancient world was such that by no means all coins reflected the same standards of execution. A flan carelessly put between two dies meant a coin that did not have on it the whole of the intended design. This was an inevitable consequence of such a method and is well attested by surviving examples. The concept of "centrally struck" as a numismatic metaphor would not, therefore, seem strange to an

audience knowing nothing of machine-made money. The sense of these fragments changes accordingly, with the emphasis no longer on age, but on quality or exactitude. Such an emphasis fits in well with the main sense of the Xenarchus fragment, and may be translated by a colloquialism such as "spot on."

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