

his listeners must have been as shocked as we tend to be upon hearing 21. 6.⁷ I prefer to assume that the phrase always meant "full" (in a visually pleasurable sense), and that it derived its connotative associations from the context in which it occurred: it did not impose these associations from without. *Χεῖρι παχείῃ* is a phrase of approbation for both men and women. Clearly the nature of the *πάχος* will differ along sexual lines, denoting massiveness and strength in men,⁸ beauty in women.

7. Informal (and far from compelling) evidence that the audience grasped Homer's intent is the fact that neither he nor subsequent scribes and scholars were moved to alter the phrase.

8. And in goddesses: *Il.* 21. 403, 424; *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 340. Other honorific adjectives and epithets are used of both men and women with a different connotation. Among them are *ἀνύμων*, on which see Anne Amory Parry, *Blameless Aegisthus*, Mnemosyne, suppl. 26 (Leyden, 1973), *passim* and pp. 138-43 (of Penelope); and *ἰφθίμος* (*ibid.*, appendix 2, list 6 [1-7]), whatever its meaning: cf. J. Warden, *Phoenix* 23 (1969): 143-58 and A. Athanassakis, *Glotta* 49 (1971): 1-21. And one will also recall that the phrase in *Od.* 18. 195 quoted above, with variations and with the appropriate change of gender, is used also of males in the *Odyssey*, always of a member of the family of Odysseus: of Odysseus himself (6. 230, 8. 20, 23. 157), of Laertes (24. 367).

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A MISUNDERSTOOD PHRASE IN LIVY 21. 43. 8

satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consecrando nullum emolumentum tot laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri, tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos.

In *CP* 72 (1977): 315 David O. Ross, Jr. wrote that the phrase *pecora consecrando* in this passage "cannot be right"; in place of it he conjectured *decora consecrando*. The conjecture is a clever one, and does good service in calling attention to an expression which is perhaps, at first sight, obscure to us. However, the proposed change will not bear scrutiny. The transmitted text, when properly understood, appears to be in harmony with Livy's language and patterns of thought elsewhere.

Ross raises three objections to *pecora consecrando*. (1) The verb *consecrari* normally means to pursue or to strive after, "neither of which meanings is at all appropriate or possible for herding, or following, flocks." (2) The sense is absurd. "Did the Carthaginians spend those twenty years in Spain tending flocks? What are the labors and dangers of the shepherd's life?" (3) The style is objectionable. "... in the rhetorically inflated context . . . , the idea of shepherding is a flat anticlimax. . . ."

These objections assume that, if the text is sound, *consecrari* would bear an abnormal meaning and that there would be a reference to shepherding on the part of Hannibal's troops. Neither is the case. Moreover, there is no place in this sentence for a reference to military decorations and glory (*decora*); Livy rather presents a clear contrast between *then* and *now*. "Hitherto you have received no material rewards (*emolumentum*) for your *labores periculaque*; now there is an opportunity (*tempus est*) to remedy that." *Decora* introduces an extraneous thought which would interrupt the natural rhetorical balance of the sentence.

Isidore in the *Etymologiae* (15. 16. 9–10) explains *callis* as follows: “Semita autem hominum est, calles ferarum et pecudum. Callis est iter pecudum inter montes angustum et tritum, a callo pedum vocatum, sive a callo pecudum praeduratum.” In the *Glossaria*, *callis* is defined as “via pecorum vestigiis trita.” Here is the clue to explain the presence of *pecora* in our passage; this word suggests narrow, rambling, out-of-the-way mountain paths normally frequented only by such animals. Hitherto Hannibal’s troops have been forced to campaign on just such paths, a tour of duty which in fact offers no real *emolumenta*. *Consectari* is used here, effectively, in one of its normal senses; the soldiers have been *emulating* the life of *pecora* (not “shepherding” them). The English “chasing after” the creatures reproduces, more or less, both the meaning and the vigorous, “slangy” flavor of *consectando*.¹

The following passages from Livy illustrate the sense: “nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque callis exercitum ducimus” (22. 14. 8); “. . . qui hos ipsos Ligures aliquotiens pecorum modo fugientes per saltus invios consecrati ceciderunt” (40. 27. 12).

Pecora consecrando is but a more colorful *pecorum modo*. It fits the tone and context of this speech perfectly.²

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1. Two meanings of *consectari* are artistically blended here: (a) “to pursue sheep (and goats?),” not in the sense of attempting to capture them, but of following after them on the same rugged paths, almost imperceptibly leads into (b) “to imitate sheep.” That is a very nice use of language. Indeed. Of course, *consectari* = “emulate,” “imitate” is a normal meaning of the verb.

2. Dr. J. M. Hunt suggests a different explanation of *pecora consecrando*. He correctly points out that *pecora* are a traditional form of booty; in illustration he refers to Livy 9. 31. 16, 25. 8. 6, 28. 32. 9, 29. 35. 5, 31. 30. 3; Caes. *BG* 6. 3; Sall. *Iug.* 44. 5. Particularly interesting is a passage from Caesar; I give Hunt’s own comment:

More instructive yet is Caes. *BG* 6. 35. 6–8. Like our passage this has *pecus* as *praeda*; it has also geographical hindrances to the *praeda*’s capture and the judgment that, compared to other *praeda* soon to be had, this booty was inferior indeed. The passage runs: “magno *pecoris* numero . . . potiuntur. invitati *praeda* longius procedunt. non hos palus . . . , non silvae morantur . . . atque unus ex captivis ‘quid vos,’ inquit, ‘*hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam*, quibus licet iam esse fortunatissimos.’” (I.e., “Why this booty, when you are in a position to make yourself really rich? For the Roman army has put *omnis suas fortunas* [cf. *fortunatissimos*] at Aduatua, only three hours away. . . .”)

Livy’s felicitously allusive *pecora consecrando* may well be intended to conjure up some such secondary connotations; I doubt that the primary reference of *pecora* here is to *praeda*. Hannibal’s troops surely seized some of the natives’ *pecora*, but in this sentence Livy has written *nullum emolumentum*, not *parvum emolumentum* (vel sim.), which is what would be expected if *pecora* here referred, first and foremost, to *praeda*. Moreover, *tot laborum periculorumque* seems to refer to military action proper rather than to plundering, and *nullum emolumentum* should be taken closely with those genitives. (Compare my paraphrase of the sentence, supra.) In Caes. *BG* 6. 35. 8–9 the contrast is made explicit: “*hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam*” vs. “*omnis suas fortunas*.” That makes all the difference.

It seems to me that Hannibal had plenty of plunder in Spain, but in the coastal areas, not in the mountains. Here he deliberately suppresses all reference to plunder to make as strong a contrast as possible between what has happened in Spain and what can happen in Italy.