

scholars have approached the connection without making it.⁵ This parallel deserves emphasis, however, for reasons both stylistic and thematic. The noun *exuviae* in its several meanings belongs to the common vocabulary of heroic Latin epic,⁶ but appears only three times in Lucan, a narrowing of diction not likely to be accidental. Both of the other instances point to places in Virgil: *B.C.* 1.135–8 to *Aen.* 10.421–3 and 11.5–8; *B.C.* 9.717–18 to *Aen.* 2.471–5, lines modelled on *Georg.* 3.437–9. A Virgilian reference is thus wanted here. It is also a reference much in Lucan's manner. Dido's 'dulces exuviae' are a sadly beautiful reminder of the love she and Aeneas shared; Cornelia possesses only the hollow emblems of Pompey's military glory: again Lucan glances sardonically at his great predecessor in recalling him.⁷

Wabash College, Indiana

DAVID P. KUBIAK

⁵ See W. R. Johnson, *Momentary Monsters: Lucan and His Heroes* (Cornell, 1987), p. 84: 'She [Cornelia] has read *Aeneid* 4 once too often'; rightly *contra* R. T. Bruère, 'Lucan's Cornelia', *CP* 46 (1951), 221–36, p. 232: '... (the echoes of Virgil's Dido are fleeting and superficial) ...'. As far as I am aware Lucan and Virgil are brought together only at *TLL* 5².2132.19–28.

⁶ It is absent from the fragments of Ennius, but cf. *Aen.* 2.275, 473, 646; 4.496, 507, 651; 9.307; 10.423; 11.7, 577, 790; 12.946; *Stat. Theb.* 1.490; 2.726; 4.155, 333; 6.67, 350; 7.55; 8.589; 9.563, 592; 10.337, 411. Note also the martial and archaic context of *Prop.* 4.10.5–6: 'imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae/huius, et exuvio plenius ab hoste redis', where the singular is unique in classical Latin. This is the usage that provides the elegant humour of *Cat.* 66.14 and 62.

⁷ I am indebted to Professor M. P. O. Morford and the Editors for their comments on a draft of this note.

LUCAN 1.683f.

quo diuersa feror? primos me ducis in ortus,
qua mare Lagei mutatur gurgite Nili.

So a frenzied matron cries out to Phoebus as she rushes through an appalled Rome. In *CQ* 34 (1984), 454f. I pointed out that the words *primos in ortus* could not here bear their normal sense 'to the far east' (as taken by Duff, similarly Bourgery-Ponchont, and others),¹ which in view of the next line would be geographically absurd, and, distraught as the lady was, even so highly improbable. I did, however, then think R. J. Getty² right in taking the expression *primos ortus* as simply = 'the east', and adding 'the epithet *primos* appears to be otiose'. But I now feel very doubtful about the epithet being viewed as otiose in order that the words may denote Egypt; quite different are the passages noted in *OLD primus* 6 'belonging to the rising sun, eastern', as *Stat. Silv.* 1.4.73 'occiduas primasque domos'; in the cited *Sen. Oed.* 116 'miles... ausus Eois equitare campis / figere et mundo tua signa primo' the literal meaning is no doubt 'on the world's first edge' (Miller, Loeb), but its development into 'eastern' is readily seen. Egypt, however, as viewed by Rome, is but the bare beginning of the east, and that is what *primos* must indicate above (note emphatic position): see *OLD primus* 10 b 'the nearest part of, the entrance, threshold, or sim., of', noting e.g. *Ov. Fast.* 1.717 'horreat Aeneadas et *primus* et *ultimus* orbis', *Cic. Fam.* 3.6.2. 'te in *prima* prouincia uelle esse, ut quam primum decederes'. In a characteristic departure from their stock meaning Lucan's words *primos in ortus* must then mean 'to the threshold of the east', i.e. the delta of the Nile, as explained

¹ Note the translation of W. Ehlers (Munich, 1973): 'Ins Land der ersten Morgensonne bringst du mich'.

² Text with commentary of Lucan 1 (Cambridge, 1940, 1955²), p. 124.

in the next line (684): contrast 7.360 *primo gentes oriente* = 'the nations of the far east' (Duff). For Egypt viewed as the beginning of the east, cf. Mela 1.9 '*Asiae prima pars Aegyptus*', Plin. *Nat.* 5.47 '[Africae] adhaeret Asia, quam patere a Canopico ostio [Nili] ad Ponti ostium Timosthenes...tradidit', Mart. *Cap.* 6.675 '*Aegyptus...Asiae caput*,³ quae una ab ostio Canopi ad ostium Ponti habet...milia passuum'; cf. the close association of Egypt with the east in Virg. *Aen.* 8.687 '*Aegyptum uiresque Orientis*'. For the varied use of the word *primus* should be noted too Luc. 9.413f. '*nec...plus litora Nili / quam Scythicus Tanais primis a Gadibus absunt*', 'from Gades in the far west' (Duff), 'Gades the first place in the west' (Haskins), i.e. the threshold of the Mediterranean.

Aberystwyth

A. HUDSON-WILLIAMS

³ See *TLL* s. *caput* 411.38: 'terrarum, fundorum sim. fines (saepe i.q. exordium, initium finium)'.

AUGUSTUS AND THE MUSES (SUETONIUS, *TIBERIUS* 21.4)

Suetonius quotes a number of extracts from Augustus' letters, with the intention of showing that Augustus did not dislike Tiberius as much as some had held, and that he had a high opinion of Tiberius' military qualities. The first of these contains a somewhat vexed textual problem. It reads as follows (in Ihm's Teubner edition):

Vale, iucundissime Tiberi, et feliciter rem gere, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταῖς †μουικασαῖστ στρατηγῶν. iucundissime et ita sim felix, vir fortissime et dux νομιμώτατε, vale.

I reproduce Ihm's apparatus for the obelised Greek:

ΜΟΥΙΚΑΔΙΤΕΤΡΑΘΗΓΩΝ *Met sim. rel. (Apro Δ habent GX'Y; ΤΕΤΡΑΘΗΓΩΝ VLS, in quibus ss. mihi et meis tuisque commilitibus gere), ταῖς Μούσαις στρ. vulg.; post Μούσαις legunt καλὰ vel ἄριστε Turn., ἄριστα Casaub., αἰεὶ Bentl.; ταῖς μου ἴσα σαῖς τε Roth, ταῖς (ἐ)μου πάσαις Büch.*

As far as I can make out, those who read *ταῖς Μούσαις* (the vulgate reading) generally interpret the passage as a reference to Tiberius' literary interests. It is difficult to see how such an allusion would fit into the context. It is unlikely that Augustus would be telling Tiberius to concentrate on literature when (as is clear from *feliciter rem gere*) he was evidently about to conduct a military campaign.

The emendations of Roth and Bücheler seem to make the text more obscure than it was before. They seem to drag in the ladies of the Imperial house with no obvious rhetorical or logical purpose. The Latin gloss in some of the MSS. may be thought to presuppose a text similar to one or other of these conjectures, although it speaks of soldiers rather than feminine persons; but it is similarly lacking in point. It seems most likely that the gloss was inserted in order to explain a text already corrupted.

R. Shaw-Smith (*Greece & Rome* 18 [1971], 212) proposed to emend the corrupt Greek to ἐμοῖς αἰσίοις οἰωνοῖς, a phrase which he will have found in Augustus' *Res Gestae* as a Greek equivalent for *meis auspiciis*. It is not clear when or where this Graeco-Latin equivalence was first established, but clearly it was a response to the administrative necessity of producing a Greek translation for the peculiarly Roman technical term. The phrase οἰωνοῖς χρησάμενος αἰσίοις is used in classical Greek (Xen. *Cyrop.* 3.3.22) for the act of obtaining a favourable augury before setting out on a military campaign, but it does not correspond exactly with the Roman term, which refers to the commander's legal position as one who has the right to take valid