

# SALLUST, CATILINE 14. 2

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IN CHAPTER 14 of the *Catiline*, Sallust offers a graphic description of Catiline's accomplices, a description often held to be inspired by Theopompus' portrayal of the courtiers of Philip.<sup>1</sup> In the Teubner text of A. Kurfess,<sup>2</sup> section 2 of chapter 14 reads, in part, as follows: *nam quicumque impudicus adulter ganeo manu ventre pene bona patria laceraverat*, . . . . And apart from minor variations in orthography and punctuation, the same text is printed by almost all editors and commentators from Wasse and Kortte onwards.<sup>3</sup> Yet in 1911 Ahlberg accurately described the passage as *locus a doctis viris iterum iterumque tractatus*.<sup>4</sup> The main source of scholarly concern was dislocation of the passage in the MSS and in particular the intrusion of the word *alea* (in two cases *aleo*) at various places within the passage in some MSS.<sup>5</sup> Because of its varying position and because it destroyed the balance of the phrasing, *alea* was usually (though not by Wölfflin, n. 7 below) rejected as an intrusive gloss, originally written to explain *manu*. The latter part of the phrase, *manu ventre pene*, received strong support from a quotation in Fronto.<sup>6</sup> Even so, the text as generally printed continued to cause some misgivings, for while *impudicus adulter* could be said to be matched by *pene* and *ganeo* by *ventre*, there was nothing in the first phrase to which *manu* might correspond.

To meet these concerns, Kritz advanced the desperate suggestion that *manu*, *ventre* corresponded to *ganeo*, and *pene* to *impudicus*, *adulter*, yielding a chiasmic structure of the form aab, bba.<sup>7</sup> There was much more to be

<sup>1</sup>*FGrHist* 115 F 224, 225.

<sup>2</sup>Ed. tertia 1957, frequently reprinted.

<sup>3</sup>Cambridge 1710 and Venice 1737, respectively; I have not attempted to examine earlier editions.

<sup>4</sup>A. W. Ahlberg, *Prolegomena in Sallustium* (Göteborg 1911) 12.

<sup>5</sup>After *adulter* or *ganeo* or *manu* or *ventre*; the fullest apparatus is that of R. Dietsch (Leipzig 1859); cf. Ahlberg (preceding note) *Pene* proved offensive to the susceptibilities of some scribes as of later bowdlerizers.

<sup>6</sup>2.82 Haines = 1.146 ff. van den Hout: *Sallustius . . . quique manu ventre pene bona patria laceraverat*.

<sup>7</sup>Leipzig 1856; *Cat.* 2.5, which he cites, is no true parallel. Kritz was followed in his explanation by Opitz (Leipzig 1894), Wirz in the 10th ed. of Jacobs' Weidmann ed. (Berlin 1894; retained by Kurfess in the 11th ed., Berlin 1922), Vretska (Heidelberg 1976), and, with reservations, McGushin (Leiden 1977). None of these commentators cites an exact parallel in Sallust for this type of chiasmic structure; so already A. Nitzschner, *De locis Sallustianis qui apud scriptores et grammaticos veteres leguntur* (diss. Göttingen 1884) 15. E. Wölfflin, *JAW* 2 (1873) 1662, rightly characterized the proposed structure as "eine mehr künstliche als künstlerische Gruppierung."

said for Wölfflin's proposal to excise *adulter* as a gloss on substantival *impudicus*, unusual in the singular, and to read *aleo* after *ganeo*, yielding the phrase *impudicus, ganeo, aleo manu, ventre, pene*, and producing a chiasmic structure of the form abc, cba.<sup>8</sup> Waltz, however, was dissatisfied with this and proposed *impudicus, aleator, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene*.<sup>9</sup> He assumed that *adulter* had been written for an original *aleator* because of the influence of the neighbouring *impudicus*, and that the asymmetry of the original (abc, bca) was to get round the difficulty (as he saw it) of pronouncing *ganeo, aleator*. Inconcinnity in structure of this kind is not impossible in Sallust, but the reason for it here offered by Waltz is less than convincing: his suggestion has not found favour with editors.

In the generally received text, *impudicus* is usually taken to imply homosexual vice,<sup>10</sup> and this is the sense the word has in Cic. *Cat.* 2.23. Some such sense is required if the term is to be distinguished significantly from *adulter* in the Sallust passage. What I have nowhere seen stated, however, is the difficulty of retaining *impudicus* in view of Sallust's own rejection of the unsupported *fama* that Catiline's associates *parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse* (*Cat.* 14.7). There can be little doubt that he is there questioning the widespread homosexual activity which Cicero had imputed to the Catilinarians.<sup>11</sup> Even if Sallust had doubts only (and his language implies more than that) about this imputation, to say so was to undermine the authority of the portrayal he had offered only some lines before, if *impudicus*—which occurs in Sallust here only—was what he wrote. I therefore believe that *impudicus* and not *adulter* should be excised from the vulgate text. Adultery is the charge Sallust brings against Catiline's female companions (24.3–25), it was a contemporary charge brought against Catiline himself (Ascon. 91C f.), it is a charge Cicero brings against the Catilinarians (*Cat.* 2.23; cf. 7), and *adulter* is a common term of abuse in various kinds of polemic.<sup>12</sup> *Ganeo* likewise is a standard term of abuse<sup>13</sup> (for the combination

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*; followed in Summers's bowdlerized Pitt Press ed. (Cambridge 1900) and Rolfe's Loeb ed. (London and Cambridge, Mass. 1931), though both print *aleator* for Wölfflin's *aleo*. I. Scott-Kilvert's translation (London 1962) runs, "Every gambler, libertine or glutton . . ." (presumably *aleo/aleator, impudicus, ganeo*); S. A. Handford's (Harmondsworth 1963) is, "Debauchees, adulterers, and gamblers . . ." (presumably *impudicus, adulter, aleo/aleator*); neither indicates the Latin text he is translating.

<sup>9</sup>R. Waltz, *REA* 6 (1904) 219; anticipated apparently by Köchly, as quoted by Nitzschner (above, n. 7) 15 f.

<sup>10</sup>*OLD* s.v. *impudicus* 1 b. Kortte glossed the word with *pathicus*.

<sup>11</sup>*Cat.* 2.23; cf. 2.8, Q. Cic. *Pet.* 10.

<sup>12</sup>See the examples quoted in I. Opelt, *Die lateinischen Schimpfwörter und verwandte sprachliche Erscheinungen* (Heidelberg 1965) 154 f., 157, 179, 203.

<sup>13</sup>E.g., Opelt, 157; cf. 55 on Ter. *Hau.* 1033 f., Cic. *Cat.* 2.7.

of *adulter* and *ganeo* see Cic. *Pis.* fr. 18) and *lubido* . . . *ganeae* is a characteristic of the society in which Sallust places the Catilinarians (13.3). *Adulter* and *ganeo* in any case are balanced in 14.2 by *pene* and *ventre* respectively. What is needed is a nominative to match *manu*.

Asyndeton is a marked feature of Sallust's style,<sup>14</sup> especially three-member asyndeton.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, it has long been noticed that Sallust makes frequent use of chiasmus.<sup>16</sup> Cases of three-term chiasmus occur, e.g., *Jug.* 94.2 *postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus arcessere*, and at least one other case of three-member asyndeton in chiasmus, namely *Cat.* 3.3: *pro pudore, pro abstinentia, pro virtute audacia largitio avaritia*. If *inpudicus* is excised, we are justified by Sallustian parallels in seeking a third noun to follow *ganeo* and to balance *manu*. At 13.3 three distinct vices are envisaged in . . . *stupri ganeae ceterique cultus* . . . as marks of degenerate Roman society. Now in arguing for *aleator*, Waltz writes, referring to *manu*, "Il faut de la bonne volonté pour entendre 'la main qui jette les dés' malgré le vers d'Ovide (*Pont.* I, 5, 46): *Nec tenet incertas alea blanda manus*, si ce sens n'est à l'avance indiqué par autre chose." In actual fact the association between *manus* and dicing is much more widely attested than Waltz implies: cf., e.g., Plaut. *Curc.* 355 . . . *talos poscit sibi in manus, / provocat me in aleam* . . . ; Ovid *Ars* 1.452 *et revocat cupidus alea saepe manus*; Ps.-Cypr. *De aleatoribus* 5 *aleatricem manum*. In addition, in a quotation from a letter of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 71), *manus* is used in the sense of a "stake" in dicing; cf. Gell. 18.13.4 for the terms *aes manuarium*.<sup>17</sup>

Dicing was forbidden by law at Rome and thought to be characteristic of a dissolute life.<sup>18</sup> For that reason *alea* and *aleo* appear frequently in invective: cf. Titius fr. 2 Malcovati = Macr. 3.16.4 *ludunt alea studiose, delibuti unguentis, scortis stipati*; Naev. *com.* 118 *pessimorum pessime, audax, ganeo lustrum aleo*; Catull. 29.2, cf. 10 *inpudicus et vorax et aleo* (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.141); Cic. *Cat.* 2.23 *omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudicique* (cf. 2.10); *Phil.* 13.24 *in lustris, popinis, alea, vino tempus aetatis omne consumpsisses* (cf. 3.35, 5.12); Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.22. Though Sallust, as we saw, in part rejects Cicero's description of the Catilinarians at *Cat.* 2.23 by questioning the ascription of pederasty to them, he nonetheless owes some of his inspiration to the Ciceronian passage, so that on those grounds

<sup>14</sup>Ahlberg (above, n. 4) 173 ff.; W. Kroll, "Die Sprache des Sallust," *Glotta* 15 (1927) 281 ff.; K. Latte, *Sallust* (Neue Wege zur Antike 2.4, Leipzig and Berlin 1935) 9 f.

<sup>15</sup>Cf., e.g., *Cat.* 9.2 *iurgia discordias simulates*; 58.11 *pro patria, pro libertate, pro vita*; *Jug.* 14.20 *nitri ambire fatigare*; common especially in speeches. It is characteristic of archaic Latin and legal language: Kroll (preceding note) 281 f.; Latte (preceding note) 9 f.

<sup>16</sup>R. B. Steele, *Chiasmus in Sallust, Caesar, Tacitus and Justinus*. (diss. Johns Hopkins 1890, Northfield, Minn. 1891) 13 ff.; Kroll (above, n. 14) 300; Latte (above, n. 14) 4 f.

<sup>17</sup>This sense seems to be derived from *manus* meaning "throw," *TLL* s.v. 1. *manus* 358.70 ff.

<sup>18</sup>*Dig.* 11.5; Plaut. *Mil.* 164 *legi . . . aleariae*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.58 *vetita legibus alea*; Ovid *Tr.* 2.471 ff. . . . *ad nostros non leve crimen avos* . . . .

*aleo* would be a reasonable reflection of Cicero's *aleatores*. Not only so, but in the fragment of Theopompus which claims to portray the companions of Philip and which is generally assumed to be a model for Sallust in chapter 14, the courtiers are described as πολυτελεῖς καὶ ζῶντας ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις (Polybius) or ἐν κύβοις καὶ πότοις (Athenaeus).<sup>19</sup> In terms of Latin usage, Roman social custom, contemporary invective, and the model Sallust may be following, in addition to the evidence of some MSS, *aleo* is a convincing supplement if *inpudicus* is excised. Palaeographically the emendation is simple since *aleo* could easily be omitted after *ganeo* by homoeoteleuton. Once *aleo* was omitted, *inpudicus* could well be a supplement to restore the balance of the phrase, influenced perhaps by *adulter* and by Cic. *Cat.* 2.23, though at odds with Sall. *Cat.* 14.7. My proposed reading, therefore, is *adulter ganeo aleo manu ventre pene*. This reading has the additional merit of matching three trisyllables with three disyllables.

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<sup>19</sup>Cf. n. 1; fr. 225 exists in two versions, Polyb. 8.11.5 ff. and Athen. 6.77.260d ff. There are some indications that Cicero also drew inspiration from Theopompus.