REINVENTING EPIC: TRADITIONAL POETRY AND THE *ANNALES* OF QUINTUS ENNIUS

John Francis Fisher

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE

BY THE DEPARTMENT OF

CLASSICS

SEPTEMBER 2006

UMI Number: 3223832

UMI®

Reinventing Epic: Traditional Poetry and the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius

John Francis Fisher

Abstract

The present scholarship views the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius as a hybrid of the Latin Saturnian and Greek hexameter traditions. This configuration overlooks the influence of a larger and older tradition of Italic verbal art which manifests itself in documents such as the prayers preserved in Cato's *De agricultura* in Latin, the Iguvine Tables in Umbrian, and documents in other Italic languages including Oscan and South Picene. These documents are marked by three salient features: alliterative doubling figures, *figurae etymologicae*, and a pool of traditional phraseology which may be traced back to Proto-Italic, the reconstructed ancestor of the Italic languages. A close examination of the fragments of the *Annales* reveals that all three of these markers of Italic verbal art are integral parts of the diction the poem.

Ennius famously remarked that he possessed three hearts, one Latin, one Greek and one Oscan, which the second century writer Aulus Gellius understands as ability to speak three languages. A comparison between the *Annales* and the examples of verbal art in the Italic languages suggest an alternate interpretation; the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius is a poem influenced by Homer, the Saturnian poets, and a tradition of verbal art native to the Italian peninsula. In the process of examining the use of these markers of Italic verbal art in the *Annales*, I hope to generate a more equitable dialogue between the epic of Quintus Ennius and the Italic, Hellenic, and Indo-European traditions.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

This dissertation began its life as a seminar paper which I wrote for Joshua Katz in the spring of 2000. As Ennius once said, even if I had ten mouths and a heart of iron, I would not be able to thank Professor Katz for all he has done for me in that seminar and since. The highlights were allowing me to take his seminar that spring when I was not enrolled at Princeton, writing one of my letters of recommendation for admission to the graduate program at Princeton, and then mentoring me even before I was officially his student. Denis Feeney has also helped me develop the ideas in this dissertation almost from the beginning. He has influenced my thinking about Latin poetry so deeply that I cannot think, speak, or write about it without hearing echoes of Professor Feeney. I was not fortunate enough to have been in a seminar with Andrew Ford, but I have been lucky enough to spend hours in conversation with Professor Ford on topics ranging from definite articles to the importance of the word "all" when making an argument. All three members of my committee have saved me from many errors both factual and analytic. It goes without saying that all errors which remain are my own. I would also like to particularly thank Emily Gowers and Lowell Edmunds at Rutgers for helping me clarify my ideas on Ennius and Horace which form a substantial part of the last chapter of this dissertation.

I have been fortunate enough to have attended graduate seminars at four different institutions and I would like to thank my classmates and teachers in all of those seminars. In particular I would like to thank Corey Brennan for his unstinting help to me as a first year graduate student and throughout my graduate career. It is not an exaggeration to say that without Professor Brennan this dissertation would never have been conceived let

Lewandowski are deserving of gratitude for smoothing the few bumps on the road I encountered administratively and just being generally nice people to talk to.

My parents and family were supportive throughout my graduate career but especially in the last few months. My brother Jamie has graciously provided a place to finish this dissertation away from the distractions of Princeton but not so far away that I was unable to avail myself of its resources when needed. Finally I would like to thank my companion Robin for emotional support and proofreading a great deal of this work. Robin's love and help have left their mark on this dissertation as deeply as anyone else who helped bring it to fruition.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The *Annales* of Quintus Ennius and its Sources

The nature of the composition of the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius invites a comparison with its models. Some of its formal elements, most strikingly the Greek dactylic hexameter which was hitherto not the meter of Latin epic, immediately indicate to the reader that the compositional style of the poem is modeled after Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. An original epic in hexameters and the practice of allusion to specific Homeric passages in the *Annales* remind the audience that Ennius is writing in the age of the Alexandrian poets, like Apollonius Rhodius and Callimachus. The historical content of the *Annales*, which treats the rise of Rome from humble beginnings to a world superpower, recalls Gnaeus Naevius, the author of the Latin epic poem *Bellum Poenicum*. The use of Homer as a formal and inspirational model will also inevitably suggest a relationship between the *Annales* and the *Odusia* of Livius Andronicus, a translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into the Latin Saturnian verse, which was the first of the Roman literary epics.

1.1.1 The Study of the Sources of the *Annales* in Antiquity

The study of the *Annales* and its sources must have begun fairly soon after its composition in the first quarter of the second century,[1] although the period of Roman literature following the *Annales* is extraordinarily poorly attested, with the exception of the plays of Terence. Therefore, it is not surprising that no evidence exists for any philological inquiry into Ennius' allusions to Homer, or any other predecessor, in the century following the composition of the *Annales*. The grammarian Aelius Stilo, who once commented on the sacral language of the *Twelve Tables* and used critical notation in the text of Ennius, may have begun the study of the influence of Homer and others on the *Annales*. Stilo did identify the fragment describing the friend of the Roman general Servilius Geminus (*Ann.* 268-286)[2] as a self portrait of Ennius.[3] In addition, Suetonius mentions a certain Quintus Vargunteius who recited the *Annales* on some occasions, and because the notice follows a statement that another critic named Lampadio edited a text of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, there is some reason to believe that Vargunteius did more than simply recite the *Annales* (Suet. *Gram.* 2).[4]

When Roman literature re-emerges in the Golden Age, more evidence for the study of the *Annales* becomes available, but it is frustratingly fragmented and scattered. A scholion on *Georgics* 2.118 reports that one Marcus Antonius Gnipho composed a

---

[1] Skutsch p. 6 asserts that it "seems overwhelmingly probable" that the *Annales* was composed "some little while after the poet's return from Greece, say in 184 B.C."

[2] The text and line numbers are those of Skustch, which I will employ throughout the course of this dissertation.

[3] This hypothesis is preserved in Gellius (*NA* 12.4). Skutsch p. 450 believes that Stilo "probably passed on this idea orally to his pupils" and that it was recorded in writing by Varro. This scenario seems to me no more likely than that Stilo himself wrote down the idea. Without any first hand knowledge of Stilo's work in general and specifically on Ennius such speculation can be only that.

[4] As Skutsch p. 9 notes, there is no direct evidence for such a hypothesis.

commentary on the *Annales*, but all that remains is a comment that Ennius reports that the Acanthus is a plant native to Africa and used for dyeing clothes. Suetonius mentions a work treating the *Annalium Ennii elench*[*i*] by Marcus Pompilius Andronicus (Suet. *Gramm*. 8), which Skutsch believes was an account of imitations of other authors in the *Annales*, but there is no more evidence for his conjecture than for any critical work on the *Annales* conducted by Vargunteius.[5]

Ennius looms large in the works of Cicero and Varro, and occasionally both authors allude to what Ennius as an epic poet must have owed Homer and Naevius. Cicero quotes the *Annales* approximately fifty times.[6] He briefly muses on the relationship of Ennius and Naevius in the *Brutus* (*Brut*. 75-76), claiming that Ennius borrowed *multa* from the earlier poet, but not elaborating. The works of Varro are littered with quotations of Ennius and occasionally discussions of sources of specific words or expressions deployed in the *Annales*. The most famous of these quotations is the opening address to the Greek Muses, for which he implicitly names Homer as the inspiration.[7] No discussion of any specific passage from the *Annales* and its possible influences survives from this era.

In the time immediately following the works of Cicero and Varro, a radical shift in the study of the *Annales* and indeed of all of Latin literature was affected by the

---

[5] The word *elenchus* is a transliteration of the Greek word ἔλεγχος, which means 'argument of disproof' (*LSJ s.v.* ἔλεγχος). The Greek word does not give any indication that work of Andronicus treated Ennius' debts to his predecessors.

[6] Skutsch p. 27 notes that Cicero rarely quotes Ennius in his letters or in speeches.

[7] Varro quotes the line in the *De lingua Latina* (*LL* 7.5) and refers to the line without quoting it in the opening of the *De re rustica* (RR 1.14), noting that he will not invoke the Muses *ut Homerus et Ennius*. For a more detailed analysis of this line and the validity of Homer as a source of the quotation cf. pp. 165ff. in Chapter 4.

composition of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The *Aeneid* was an immediate classic and probably replaced the *Annales* as a standard school text; the freedman Quintus Caecilius Epirota was already employing it as a teaching text around 26 B.C. The place of the *Annales* in literary history could no longer be discusses solely in terms of its influences. Instead it became one of many source texts for Vergil's *magnum opus*, as evidenced by the work of commentators such as Servius Honorius, a fourth-century commentator who is believed to preserve the work of earlier scholars of the *Aeneid* and identifies a number of lines influenced by Ennius, directly quoting the older poet 75 times.

This paradigmatic shift in Latin literary history led to a general neglect of the study of the *Annales* as a poem and no doubt this lack of interest led to even less interest in the source texts of Ennius' epic. As Skutsch notes, Quintilan only cites lines from the *Annales* known from other sources with one exception, suggesting that he had no direct knowledge of the poem.[8] Seneca displays not only an outright contempt of Ennius in general, but also very little acquaintance with his epic.[9] The only quotation of any length of the *Annales* employed by the Stoic philosopher is preserved by Gellius, in which Seneca berates Cicero for his approval of a three-line fragment (*Ann.* 306-08) which he finds *deridiculos* (*NA* 12.2.3).

During the reign of Hadrian, the *Annales* enjoyed a revival of interest. If the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* can be trusted, Hadrian preferred Ennius to Vergil. Gellius

---

[8] Skutsch p. 29 notes a two-word fragment (*Ann.* 120) which is found in Quintilian and in no other extant text. He believes that Quintilian must have found it in a commentary rather than in the actual text of the *Annales*.

[9] Skutsch p. 29 identifies two quotations of Ennius in the extant writings of Seneca, but neither suggests a direct knowledge of the *Annales*. Skutsch traces one quotation to Cicero's *Hortensius*, and the other is the proverbial *cunctando restituit rem*, which is quoted by a number of sources.

quotes Ennius a number of times, and although some of his quotations are indirect, he explicitly states that he has seen one line in the text (1.22.16). Gellius also mentions that, besides being a topic of discussion among literary critics, there were public recitations of his works (18.5.2). However, this renewed interest in the *Annales* does appear to be long lived, and if any study was made of the relationship between Ennius and his forebears, there is no direct evidence for it. Gellius also mentions a copy of the *Annales* which many believed to have been edited by Lampadio, which Skutsch believes 'almost certainly' to be a forgery and therefore likely to be a product of the Antonine age.[10] The question of the authenticity of Lampadio's edition aside, there is no evidence from Gellius for anything other than a emended text, not a full-scale commentary that might have discussed parallels between Ennius and his influences.

The late fifth-century author Macrobius shows some interest in the relationship between Homer and Ennius and because of this interest, he preserves all of the known passages in the *Annales* which parallel Homer in his *Saturnalia*, which is a fictional dialogue among well-known pagan figures set in the late fourth century.[11] However, these parallels do not indicate an unmediated familiarity with the *Annales*. The pattern of quotations of the *Annales* in Book Six of Macrobius' *Saturnalia* suggests that he was

---

[10] Skutsch p. 9 rightly suspects this putative autograph copy of Lampadio's emended text of the *Annales*. He concedes that such forgeries may not have been successful "if it had not been known at Rome, probably through Varro, that Lampadio had something to do with the text of Ennius," but such an association between Lampadio and the *Annales* strikes me as unnecessary for a successful forgery of a commentator who was known to have edited the text of Naevius. In any case, there is no evidence from Gelllius for anything other than a emended text and not a full-scale commentary.

[11] All of these passages will be treated in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

"following a book of *Furta Vergilii*" and not an actual text of the earlier Latin poem.[12]

Every single instance of a Ennian Homeric parallel in Macrobius is used to elucidate a

passage in Vergil which alludes to the same Homeric passage. Furthermore, Macrobius

does not always cite Ennius when adducing a Homeric source for Vergil.[13] In one

instance Macrobius cites two similar passages in Vergil and Ennius and later proposes a

Homeric model for the same passage in Vergil.[14] Therefore, despite its value in

preserving parallels between Ennius and Homer, Macrobius is more concerned with the

relationship between Ennius and Vergil than that between Ennius and Homer. Macrobius

is not advancing the study of the *Annales* and its sources, but he may be preserving

earlier discussions no longer extant, which may have treated Ennius and his influences.

   Not long after Macrobius, the future study of the *Annales* and its allusive practice

suffered the greatest blow of all, the permanent loss of the complete text of the poem. The

last undisputed quotations of the *Annales* are found in the work of the fourth-century poet

---

[12] Skutsch pp. 31-2 demonstrates that the first eight quotations of Ennius at the beginning of Book Six of Macrobius are placed throughout the *Annales*, while the first five quotations of Vergil which are read against the Ennian passages are all from Book One.

[13] Skutsch p. 34 rightly cites *Annales* 469-70 as a conspicuous absence in a discussion of the famous motif of the poet who cannot sing without the aid of the Muses even if he multiple tongues and a heart made of metal (6.3.6). He also notes *Annales* 584 should have been provided as a parallel in the discussion of *Aeneid* 10.361 and a fragment of Furius Bibaculus (6.3.2) but in this case the Homeric parallels adduced by Macrobius and Skutch p. 724-25 are weak at best, and I am unconvinced that there is a specific Homeric model for *Annales* 584.

[14] In all fairness to Macrobius, the Ennian passage (*Ann*. 432-34) and its Vergilian counterpart (*Aen*. 2.416-18), discussed in 6.2.28, are not close parallels. When Macrobius discusses the Homeric antecedents of *Aeneid* 2.416-18, he is unable to find a single Homeric passage as a source for the Vergilian simile and suggests two different passages. For a discussion of the relationship between the Ennian passage and the two Homeric models, cf. Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

Ausonius, and shortly after, the last text of the poem must have been lost.[15] The loss of the texts of Naevius and Andronicus sometime in antiquity further hinders any pursuit of the influence of the Saturnian tradition. Even if a text of the *Annales* was available, it is unlikely that any serious work could have been conducted on Ennius and Homer in the West during the Middle Ages, when the knowledge of Greek was almost wholly lost.

1.1.2 The Study of the Sources of the *Annales* in the Modern Era

The modern study of Ennius as an epic poet and his relationship to his predecessors begins with the end of a poem, the *Africa* of Petrarch, who tells of the meeting of Ennius and the soul of Homer. This reconstruction of the prologue of Ennius must have been based on the fragments available to Petrarch. More importantly, Petrarch sees himself as the successor of Ennius and Homer, implying that Petrarch had some interest in the place of the *Annales* in literary history, even if he was unable to read Homer in Greek and critically evaluate the poetic debt owed by Ennius to his model.

Despite the prominence of Ennius in Petrarch's poem, there are no systematic studies of the fragments of the *Annales* until 1564 and no text solely consisting of the fragments of Ennius until the text and commentary of Columna published in 1585[16] and the text of Merula published in 1595.[17] Skutsch calls the work of Columna and his son "admirably learned and still worth consulting,"[18] and an examination of Columna's work

---

[15] Skutsch p. 19 suggests that Ausonius may have only had a copy of Book One.

[16] The first collection of the fragments appears to be the *Fragmenta Poetarum Veterum Latinorum* edited by R. and H. Stephanus and published in Geneva. Skutsch p. xi remarks that this text is "of bibliophile interest only."

[17] Merula's text is bereft of commentary.

[18] Skutsch p. xi.

does not belie his praise. The comments of Columna are laden with parallels in both Latin and Greek, and his work begins the modern study of the relationship of Ennius to his forebears. He quotes the Greek parallels provided by Macrobius and adds his own Greek parallels, such as Pindar and Theophrastus.[19] There is no deep exploration of the relationship between the fragments of the *Annales* and the citations of Greek parallels in Columna's commentary, but a modern analysis of intertextuality in the *Annales* is not be expected at the end of the Sixteenth Century. Columna recognizes Macrobius' Homeric parallels and Gellius' comparison of Andronicus' *Camena insece* (*Od*. 1) with Ennius' *insece Musa* (*Ann*. 322), and printing the discussions of both authors in his commentary.

From the publication of Columna's text until the definitive text and commentary by Otto Skutsch in 1985 there was an understandable focus on the text of the fragments of the *Annales* and the reconstruction of the epic from these fragments. In the Nineteenth Century, a plethora of texts of the fragments of Ennius were produced,[20] which were all superseded by Vahlen's second edition of the fragments of Ennius in 1903.[21] Ethel Steuart provided the English-speaking world with its first commentary on the *Annales* in 1925, although Skutsch treats her effort with undisguised contempt.[22]

Eduard Norden's *Ennius und Vergilius* primarily treats the influence of Ennius on Vergil, but he also has some observations about the debts that Ennius may owe to Homer

---

[19] For example, Columna pp. 67-69 compares *Annales* 176 to a couplet in Pindar's *Pythian Odes* which he does not identify more specifically, *Annales* 178 to a Greek epigram, and the list of trees in *Annales* 175-79 to the work of Theophrastus.

[20] Sandys p. 497 lists seven texts of all of the fragments of Ennius and three other editions of the *Annales* alone.

[21] Skutsch p. xii calls Vahlen's text 'indispensable' but cautions that Vahlen is "unduly scornful of Merula and Meuller."

[22] Skutsch p. xii calls her text and commentary "lacking in learning and judgement."

and Empedocles. He connects the *Discordia taetra* from a fragment of the *Annales* (*Ann.* 225) with Νεῖκος, the principle of strife in Empodocles, and the Δῆρις αἱματόεσσα, a figure who lives in Tartarus also found in the fragments of Empedocles, and who may be equivalent to Νεῖκος .[23] Norden also suggests that the *concilium deorum* in the *Annales* owes something to Homer's images of Olympia.[24] Because of the focus of Norden's study, his comments on parallels between Ennius and earlier poetry are only sporadic.

Whatever the merits or deficiencies of Steuart's commentary may be, she does suggest an original parallel occasionally. She posits that the augural phrase *servare de caelo* may color the *Urbs condita* fragment from the *Annales*, which describes an augury.[25] She tentatively hypothesizes that *Annales* 444 is a reference to Livius' *Ad Iunonem Reginam*.[26] She even goes as far as to write an excursus on a 'school of native ballad poetry' which may have influenced Ennius.[27] Although few of Steuart's suggested parallels stand up to serious scrutiny, her attempts to find references to earlier poetry in the *Annales* represent an important step in coming to terms with the place of the *Annales* in literary history.

---

[23] Skutsch p. 403 draws this parallel but does not directly credit Norden p. 16. Norden p. 41 suggests a relationship between Discordia and the images of Ἔρις in *Iliad* 4.440 and 11.3.

[24] Norden p. 43.

[25] For other possible parallels to augural language in this fragment cf. Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[26] There are several problems with this hypothesis. The line is given no context or assigned to a specific book. The authorship of the hymn is disputed, as Steuart p. 177 n. 1 herself notes, which may give rise to suspicions of a later forgery. Even if such a hymn existed, there is no guarantee a text would have been available to Ennius.

[27] Steuart pp. 163-70 tries to eke out evidence for other Saturnian narrative poems besides those of Naevius and Andronicus but she over-interprets her scanty evidence and her arguments are unconvincing.

Otto Skutsch's commentary on the fragments of the *Annales*, the capstone of a

life's work dedicated to the poet, includes a short summary of the sources of Ennius' epic

and his summary reflects still today the accepted view of the state of the evidence.

Skutsch notes that little can be said about the historical sources of the *Annales* and lists

the historical texts that Ennius may have drawn from, including Fabius Pictor and the

Annales Maximi, public records kept by the Pontifex Maximus, none of which survives

except in the smallest of fragments.[28] In addition to the obvious Homeric model for the

Annales, a few other Greek poets who may have influenced Ennius are identified by

Skutsch, including Euripides, Callimachus, and Empedocles. Skutsch also briefly

speculates on the possible influence of Saturnian poets, whom he calls "the only possible

Latin poetic sources." [29]

Lindsay goes further than Skutsch, claiming that "a poetical diction for Rome had

been formed during successive generations by Saturnian writers" and that "it is natural to

seek in Saturnian Verse the reason for this or that departure … of Ennius from Homer's

type."[30] Unfortunately, there are few clear correspondences between Latin hexametric

and Saturnian practice and, as Goldberg notes, "the debt is easier to suspect than to

demonstrate."[31] Nevertheless, previous studies have looked to the Saturnians for the

sources of Latin influence in the *Annales*.

1.2 The *Annales* and the Italic Tradition

---

[28] Skutsch p. 7 notes in particular that *Annales* 153 shows some resemblance to the fragment of the *Annales Maximi* preserved by Gellius (*NA* 2.28.5).

[29] Skutsch p. 8.

[30] Lindsay pp. 8-9

[31] Goldberg p. 92

In spite of the claims of earlier scholarship, there are extant Latin sources for the diction of the *Annales* besides Livius and Naevius. There are not only Latin sources but also source texts for the *Annales* composed in other Italic languages such as Umbrian and Oscan. Limiting the possible influences of the *Annales* to the Saturnians excludes a wealth of examples of verbal art written in Latin and the other Italic languages, which are consistently characterized by elements of verbal art. These texts are not poetic in the Classical sense, which requires a text be composed of lines or periods in a strict alternation of long and short syllables, but they still represent a long-standing tradition of Italic verbal art.[32]

Three salient poetic features mark these texts as verbal art if not poetry in the classical sense: the extensive use of alliterative doubling figures, *figurae etymologicae*, and the deployment of traditional collocations, many of which can be traced back to reconstructed expressions in Proto-Italic, the ancestor of Latin and the other Italic languages. The possibility that some of the phraseology is inherited from a time when Latin and the other Italic languages were a single entity suggests that these artistic features are as old as the traditional collocations deployed in the same texts; it also implies that a tradition of Italic verbal art flourished long before there was any contact with Greek speakers.

---

[32] Mercado pp. 209-16 argues that Cato's prayer and parts of the Iguvine Tables are quantitatively metrical. Two considerations prompt me not consider metrics as another feature of Italic poetics. The sample of texts is extremely small,l and Mercado himself now prefers a qualitative versification which was proposed by Jed Parsons pp. 117-37. As Mercado pp. 206-07 admits, this creates a scansion so flexible that texts known to be composed in other meters could be considered Saturnians in Parsons' scheme. I am convinced that Mercado is correct in identifying the prayer in the Iguvine Tables as metrical, and probably the prayer to Mars as well, but the hypothesis is unnecessary for my own arguments.

Ennius repeatedly marks the fragments of the *Annales* with the poetic features shared by these texts, especially a shared and traditional phraseology, suggesting that Ennius must have inherited at least some of his poetic diction through this common tradition. This tradition appears to be centuries old and was probably too ingrained in Ennius, who was a native Italian, to be removed from this technique of composition.

The consistent deployment of certain markers in the surviving examples of Italic verbal art common to Ennius and the Homeric poems suggests that they are as much the result of the influence of Italic verbal art as an attempt to recreate Greek hexameter poetry in Latin. Furthermore, some of the features which mark Italic verbal art demonstrate some differences in the deployment of poetic features common to both poets. Homer and Ennius both deploy doubling figures, but the significantly higher number of these stylistic figures in the *Annales* parallels the use of these stylistic figures as a basic building block of Italic verbal art, suggesting that the frequency of doubling figures is a the result of Italic influence even if Ennius was also imitating Homer by employing them in his poetry.

Ennius famously remarked that he possessed three hearts, one Latin, one Greek and one Oscan (*NA* 17.17.1),[33] which Gellius understands as ability to speak three languages. A comparison between the *Annales* and the texts in the Oscan and other Italic languages, which are marked by the elements of verbal art, suggest an alternate interpretation; the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius is a poem influenced by Homer, the

---

[33]There is a tradition that Ennius claimed descent from the eponymous colonizer of Messapian territory in Italy. Skutsch p. 749 suggests that Ennius' Messapic descent is through his mother.

Saturnian poets, and a tradition of verbal art native to the Italian peninsula.[34] Any study of the sources of the *Annales* which does not take into account the surviving examples of Italic verbal art will inevitably present a distorted image of the genesis of the diction the epic and therefore, of the invention of Latin hexameter poetry as a whole.

As a native of Rudiae in Calabria living in Rome, Ennius was well suited to be a vessel of the common Italic tradition. Calabria was inhabited by speakers of Messapic, a language with no apparent genetic relationship with the Italic languages, but the poet himself clearly indicates a close affinity to the Oscan language. In addition, Ennius' sister's son Pacuvius bears an Oscan name.[35] He was also a contemporary of the Umbrian playwright Plautus.[36] If one accepts Nepos' report (*Cato* 1.4) that it was Cato who brought Ennius to Rome, then the possibility exists that he may have heard the prayers recorded by Cato in the *De Agricultura*, which are evidently and famously marked by elements of Italic verbal art.[37] It is not important, or even very likely, that the poet had been exposed to the *particular* examples of Italic verbal art which survive. It is important that, as a native Italian, he was exposed to and a part of *the tradition* that produced them.

---

[34] Geiger and Rosén pp. 123-25 have proposed that Trimalchio in the *Satyricon* may have had a library of Oscan "literature" consisting of *Fabulae Atellanae*, suggesting a tradition of written Oscan, but their suggestion of an entire library in Oscan is only tentative. They suggest the possibility that Trimalchio's Oscan library was joke predicated on the fact that there were no such written texts in Oscan. If written texts of *Fabulae Atellenae* were circulated at the time of Petronius, it does not necessarily follow that they were also available in the time of Ennius. In addition, the comic nature of the Fabulae makes them unlikely sources for the *Annales*.

[35] Skutsch p. 1 and 749.

[36] Plautus died in 184 (Cicero *Brut*. 60). Skutsch believes Ennius died in 169 "or a little later." According to Skutsch 1985 p. 2-3 there are possible allusions to Ennius in Plautus' *Bacchides*, *Amphitruo* and *Poenulus*.

[37] Badian pp. 155ff. is skeptical of Nepos' report that Cato brought Ennius to Rome (*Cato* 1.4) because it appears nowhere else until much later. Skutsch 1985 p. 1 accepts it.

1.2.1 The Italic Tradition

The texts which may be termed examples of Italic verbal art fall into roughly three categories, defined more by context than internal structure. The scattered collection of prayers in Cato's *De agricultura* and the Iguvine Tables may be classed as ritual texts, in which the highest concentration of alliterative doubling figures, *figurae etymologicae*, and traditional collocations is found. In addition to the actual ritual utterances in these documents, the instructions for performing the ritual are also couched in similar language. The Oscan curses preserved on lead tablets may also be placed in the ritual category because of the same high concentration of poetic elements and their intent to effect changes in reality by means of an address to a powerful immortal entity. In addition to ritual texts, one may perceive the same features in epitaphs composed in Latin and South Picene, and in Oscan and Latin legal texts such as the *Twelve Tables* and the bilingual *Tabula Bantina*. It is clear from chance survivals of the extant documents that these texts must represent a very small portion of a flourishing tradition which was still living at the time of the composition of the *Annales*.

1.2.1.1 The Latin Tradition

A small collection of prayers, fragments of the *Twelve Tables*, and a few epigrams roughly contemporaneous with the *Annales* provide a great deal of evidence for the existence of a tradition of verbal art in Latin and its salient features. Many of these texts show characteristics which suggest a date of composition long before the arrival of Livius Andronicus at Rome, which suggests that they represent a long-standing tradition

14

relatively free of Greek influence. The variety of meanings of the word *carmen* itself, including ritual utterance, legal formula, and poetry in Greek meter,[38] suggests that the Romans considered these texts to be related to Greek poetry at the very least.

In his *De Agricultura,* Cato instructs his reader how to perform the lustration of the fields in which three animals are led around the property of a landowner in order to purify the land. Cato specifically quotes the exact wording to be made when a landowner orders his servant to drive animals around the fields in order to purify them and then quotes a prayer to Mars to be recited during the ceremony. Watkins dates parts of the prayer to mid-Fifth Century B.C., citing as examples of traditional language which remains virtually the same for centuries certain passages from Irish law and William Tyndale's early Sixteenth-Century translation of the Bible.[39]

As the prayer was transmitted in prose form, it was only recently given widespread recognition as an example of verbal art. One of the anonymous editors of the collection *Early Roman Poetry*[40] printed the prayer in poem form and rearranged the text in order to better demonstrate its structure. Despite qualities that separate it from prose, it lacks any form of fixed meter. Watkins points out that the usual label for this type of text is "rhythmic prose," but he is also careful to note that it has the "essential characteristic

---

[38] *OLD s.v. Carmen.*

[39] Watkins 1995 p. 202 notes "the phraseology of Christianity in the English language" has remained "virtually unchanged from that of the Bible translation of Wlliam Tyndale in the early 16th century."

[40] Watkins 1995 p. 199 n. 3 suspects that the anonymous editor may be W. M. Lindsay. Courtney pp. 46-7 prints the prayer in strophic form following Watkins. The anonymous editor of *Early Roman Poetry* may have borrowed the idea of rendering of this prayer into "carmina" from F. Allen pp. 70-71, who printed the prayer as carmina in 1880 or perhaps these man arrived at the same conclusion independently.

of verse."[41] C. Watkins separates the prayer into four separate divisions, the first and last

framing the second and third:[42]

Mars pater, te precor quaesoque
Uti sies volens propitius
Mihi domo familiaeque nostrae
Quoius rei ergo
Agrum terram fundumque meum
Suouitaurilia circumagi iussi;

Uti tu
  morbos visos invisosque
  Viduvertatem vastitudinemque
  Calamitates intemperiasque
  Prohibessis defendas auerruncesque

Utique tu
  Fruges frumenta   vineta virgultaque
  Grandire   (du)eneque evenire siris
  Pastores pecuaque   salva servassis
  Duisque (du)onam salutem valetudinemque
  Mihi domo familiaeque nostrae

Harunce rerum ergo
Fundi terrae agrique mei
Lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo
Sicuti dixi
Macte hisce suouitaurilibus lactentibus immolandis esto
Mars pater eiusdem rei ergo
Macte hisce suouitaurilibus lactentibus esto.

Father Mars, I pray and beseech you that you be favorable and propitious
to me, my house and our household: to which end I have ordered the
suouitaurilia to be driven around my field, land and farm.

That you forbid, ward off, and brush aside diseases seen and unseen,
depopulation and devestation, storms and tempests;

And that you let grow tall and turn out well grains (and) corn and
vineyards and shrubwork and keep safe sheperds (and) cattle and give
good health and soundness to me, my house, and our household.

---

[41] Watkins 1995 pp. 229-231 gives a general discussion of Italic "rhythmic" or "strophic prose."

[42] Watkins replaces the *b-* in *bonus* and its forms with the archaic *du-*.

To these ends, to purify and perform the purification of my farm, land, and field, so as I spoke, be magnified by these suckling pigs to be sacrificed; Father Mars, to that same end be magnified by these suckling *suouitaurilia*.

The prayer is organized by strophic structures and is framed by phrasal repetition, emphasizing the poetic nature of the text. [43] The four sections of the prayer correspond roughly to four strophes, with the older second and third sections nested between the first and fourth.[44] The antithesis of the first word of the second division, *morbos*, and *valetudinem*, the last word of the third, may be some sort of frame for the two divisions of the prayer and mark it off from the other two.[45] The word *suouitaurilia* is deployed at the end of the first and fourth sections, which implies that it marks the end of each section and that the first and the fourth divisions are in responson with one another.[46] The use of the first-person verbs in both sections reinforces the impression.[47]

This prayer is not only marked by the three essential features of Italic verbal art, it clearly employs doubling figures as one of the building blocks of the prayer. In the central sections of the prayer there are seven doubling figures, including *viduvertatem vastitudinemque* and *fruges frumenta*, and that is not even to include the distended doubling of *evenire* and *grandire* in the third section. Four of these figures alliterate, all are bound by some sort of assonance, and all, with one exception, are joined by a single -*que*. Both sections end with a tripling figure, neither of which is bound by assonance. In the last section, *Lustrandi lustrique faciendi* forms a *figura etymologica* and a distended

---

[43] Watkins 1995 pp. 197-213 analyzes this text in detail and my discussion is based on his analysis.

[44] Watkins 1995 p. 201-02 dates the first and fourth sections to the third century and argues that the 'real archaisms' are to be found in the second and third sections.

[45] Watkins 1995 p. 201 identifies this antithesis as a ring but it is clearly not one *sensu stricto*.

[46] Watkins 1995 p. 201.

[47] Watkins 1995 p. 201.

doubling figure. The repetition of *mihi domo familiaeque nostrae* implies that the phrase is a traditional collocation, an intuition which other examples of Latin and Italic verbal art will confirm.

While the prayer to Mars is the most interesting from a stylistic and cultural standpoint, it is not the only prayer with poetic features in the *De agricultura*. Three other prayers contained in the text of *De agricultura* have elicited little comment with respect to their poetic qualities. The first is a prayer to Jupiter Dapalis before the sowing of grain (*De agr.* 132), the second a prayer that accompanies the sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea* to Ceres but is addressed to Janus and Jupiter (*De agr.* 134), and the last, a prayer is addressed to the tutelary deity of a grove that is about to be thinned (*De agr.* 139). Frederic Allen grasped the poetic character of these prayers in the Nineteenth Century, which he printed in strophic form in his collection of early Latin texts.[48]

The first of these prayers is addressed to Jupiter Dapalis. The ritual is not entirely clear, but the speaker washes his hands following the first part of the prayer and wine is somehow involved in the second part:

> *(Dies)piter dapalis*
> *quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea*
> *culignam vini dapi*
> *eius rei ergo*
> *macte illace dape   pollucenda esto*
>
>
> *(Dies)piter dapalis*
> *macte istace dape   pollucenda esto*

---

[48] Allen pp. 72-73.

macte vino   inferio esto.[49]

> Jupiter of the sacrificial feast, (I have sacrificed) what it is right to sacrifice to you in my home among my family, a cup of sacrificial wine. To which end, be honored by this sacrificial (wine) which will be offered as a sacrifice. Jupiter of the sacrifice, be magnified by this sacrifice to be offered. Be magnified by this sacrificial wine.

There is a clear artistic organization in which the prayer is divided into two distinct parts. If the prayer is truly archaic, *Iupiter Dapalis* would have been *Diespiter Dapalis*; the repetition of the phrase at the beginning of each section and the imperative *esto* at the end creates a ring composition, regardless of whether the first two words alliterate or not. The anaphora of *macte* and *dape*, which both occur three times in 16 words, and the repetitions of *esto*, *pollucenda*, and *vinum* help the prayer achieve a sense of wholeness.

There are no etymological figures and there is only one doubling figure which does not alliterate. *Domo familia* stands alone as an asyndetic doubling figure, and the phrase appears to be an alternate version of *Mihi domo familiaeque nostrae*, which may be a condensation of an original traditional tripling figure or the base structure for the longer phrase in the prayer to Mars. *Macte illace dape pollucenda esto* and *macte istace dape pollucenda esto* are virtually verbatim repetitions, suggesting that this phrase, too, is a traditional collocation. The artistic markers are not as striking as those of the prayer to Mars but they suggest that this too is an example of Italic verbal art.

---

[49] The strophic arrangement is essentially that of Allen p. 72 with a few minor adjustments. I have replaced Iupiter with Diespiter, the archaic form of Jupiter, which is found in Varro (*LL* 9.77), Festus 102, and probably Livy 1.24.8; I have also moved down the phrase *quod tibi fieri* to the second line to create a nine-syllable phrase which is balanced by a second nine syllable phrase in the second line. I have also left *eius rei ergo* alone following Watkins' text of the pwcrayer to Mars.

The use of the word *culignam*, a form of the Greek κύλιξ, is somewhat surprising. The word **culichna** is listed in L. Bonfante's Etruscan glossary,[50] suggesting that it may have been an Etruscan borrowing. Nevertheless, the presence of a Greek loan word in an archaic Latin prayer is a reminder that, even in the most archaic of Latin texts, Greek influence cannot be ruled out. The very alphabet with which these prayers are written is a version of the Greek alphabet. The total weight of the evidence suggests that a heavy Greek influence is unlikely, but the tradition as it is recorded in writing will never be completely free of Greek elements.

According to Cato, the offering of the *porca praecidanea* is to be accompanied by food and wine offerings to Janus and Jupiter and prayers to these respective divinities:

> *Iane pater te   hac strue commovenda*
> *Bonas preces precor*
> *Uti sies*
> *Volens propitius mihi domo*
> *Liberis meis familiaeque meae*
>
> *Iupiter te   hoc fercto obmovendo*
> *Bonas preces precor*
> *Uti sies*
> *Volens propitius mihi domo*
> *Liberis meis familaeque meae*
>
> *Iane pater [uti] te   strue commovenda*
> *Bonas preces   bene precatus sum*
> *Eiusdem rei ergo*
> *Macte vino   inferio esto.*
>
> *Iupiter macte fercto esto*
> *Macte vino   inferio esto*
>
> Father Janus, I pray good prayers to you along with this sacrificial cake to be moved that you might be favorable and propitious to myself, my house, my children, and my family.

---

[50] Bonfante p. 376.

Jupiter, I pray good prayers to you along with this sacrificial cake to be moved that you might be favorable and propitious to myself, my house, my children, and my family.

Father Janus, I prayed good prayers to you along with this sacrificial cake to be moved. To which end, be honored with this sacrificial wine.

Jupiter be magnified by this sacrificial cake. Be magnified by this sacrificial wine.

The first two parts of this prayer, addressed to Jupiter and Janus respectively, are almost exact repetitions of one another, suggesting a strophic structure. Each of the first two sections begins with an address to the proper deity followed by the mention of the proper offering, a *strues* to Iupiter and a *ferctum* to Ianus, which are sacrificial cakes. The third section of the prayer begins with a repetition of the address to Janus, but the phrase *bonas preces* which follows the address of Janus and Jupiter in the first two sections has been shifted from the present to the perfect tense and the adverb *bene* added. In addition, the third section does not request that the deity be propitious but instead asks that the deity be honored by a libation. The last section is an ellipse of the third section and, therefore, the shortest and most irregular of the four, consisting of only an address to Jupiter and a repetition of the phrase *macte vino inferio esto*. The structure of the prayer indicates a division into distinct halves that are in turn divided into two sections which are marked by a responsion greater than that between the two halves.

This particular prayer not only deploys doubling figures and etymological figures, it also plays with these structures. The etymological figure *preces precor* occurs twice, but the third manifestation of an etymological figure based on *precor* is mixed with another based on *bonus* to create an interlocking stylistic figure:

bonas *preces* *bene* *precatus* *sum*.

The repetition of *bonas preces precor* in the first two sections, the repetition of the address to Janus, which immediately precedes the first occurrence of *bonas preces precor*, and the initial word *bonas* set up the expectation of a third repetition. The failure to repeat the phrase exactly and the shift in tense indicate that the prayer is coming to a close without leaving the bounds of traditional phraseology.

The prayer is marked by three doubling figures, which close the first and second division: *volens propitius*, *mihi domo*, and *liberisque meis familaeque*. In addition, *mihi domo* and *liberisque meis familaeque nostrae* form a 'magic square,' a stylistic figure in which one doubling figure follows another encoding the same semantic message. This stylistic figure generates relationships between the words which may be considered horizontally and vertically in a squared arrangement. The number of doubling figures may not seem very high, but all three are repeated, yielding six of them in a text consisting of 63 words.

A comparison with the two previous prayers allows us to form a clearer picture of the formulaic language of these prayers. The phrase *volens propitius* is employed in the prayer to Mars and to the prayer to Janus and Jupiter. Both the prayer to Jupiter Dapalis and the prayer to Janus and Jupiter close with the phrase *macte vino inferio esto*. There are various combinations of *mihi*, *domo*, *liberis*, and *familiae*, suggesting that combinations of these lexemes are part and parcel of the language of Latin ritual.

While it is possible that these phrases could simply be the inventions of Cato, but there are several reasons to doubt innovation. The language of ritual and religion tends toward conservatism; compare, for example, the hymns of the *Rig Veda* and the Biblical translation of William Tyndale cited above. Some of the prayers are marked by

alliteration which could only have been perceived in a form of Latin older then Cato, such as *duis bonam*, which would have been *duis duonam*, and *Iupiter Dapalis*. *Iupiter Dapalis* would have been *Diespater dapalis* in an older form of the language. Some phrases have parallels in the language of ritual in other texts such as *volens propitius*, which is deployed verbatim in Livy 1.16.3, and *volentes propitiate* in the *Curculio* of Plautus (89). The alternations of *strues* and *ferctum* in the prayer to Janus and Jupiter suggest that the prayer is alluding to the traditional collocations of *strues* and *ferctum* found elsewhere in the *De Agricultura* (*De agr.* 141) and in *Gellius* (*NA* 10.15.14).

The last of the prayers recorded by Cato, an address to whatever tutelary deity there may be of a grove about to be thinned, is quoted thus:

> *Si deus si dea es* *quoium illud sacrum est*
> *Uti tibi ius siet* *porco piaculo facere*
> *Illiusce sacri* *coercendi ergo*
> *Harumce rerum ergo*
>
> *Sive ego sive quis* *iussu meo fecerit*
> *Uti id recte* *factum siet*
> *Eius rei ergo*
> *Te hoc porco piaculo immolando*
>
> *Bonas preces precor*
> *Uti sies*
> *Volens propitius* *mihi domo*
> *Familiaeque meae* *liberisque meis*
> *Harumce rerum ergo*
> *Macte hoc porco piaculo immolando esto*

> If you are a god or goddess to whom this (grove) is sacred, let it be just to sacrifice to you with this expiatory offering of a pig in order to thin this sacred (grove). For which end, whether I or someone by my order does this, let it be done correctly (by sacrificing to) you with this expiatory offering of a pig to be burned. I pray good prayers that you may be favorable and propitious to myself, my house, my family and my children. To which end, be magnified by this expiatory offering of a pig to be burned.

The last nine words are almost an exact match of a phrase from *CIL* 6.32323:

> *Harum rerum ergo macte hac agna feminine inmolanda estote*.

> Be honored with this female lamb to be sacrificed.

Only *hoc porco piaculo* does not match *hac agna feminina*, suggesting a ritual formula

which allowed the insertion of different sacrificial victims with the following shape:

Macte
[Demonstrative pronoun + ANIMAL OFFERING +
gerundive (Ablative)] *immolando esto*.

Like the other prayers, the text is divided into several distinct parts. The

alliterative phrase *porco piaculo* occurs three times in a text of 67 words, implying a

tripartite structure. The prayer opens with the phrase *si deus si dea*, to which the phrase

sive ego sive quis is a structural parallel, which suggests that these phrases are marking

off the first two divisions of the prayer through parallelism. The repetition of *hoc porco*

piaculo immolando marks the end of the second and third parts of the prayer in the same

manner.

The phrase *sive deus sive dea est* also appears to be a traditional collocation. An

inscription from Isaura in Cilicia dated ca. 75 BC provides the text of a prayer made by P.

Servilius Vatia Isauricus while besieging Isaura (*CIL* 1.2954).[51] The inscription contains

the phrase *sei deus seive deast quoius in tutela oppidum*, which is remarkably close to

sive deus sive dea est quoium illud sacrum. The phrase *si deus si dea est* is also employed

in a prayer preserved by Macrobius (3.9.7-8), but the degree of reliability of the Serenus

---

[51] Courtney p. 109 calls attention to the inscription and notes that Servilius was a pontifex. Note also
Servilius' cognomen *vatia,* which may stem from *vates*.

Sammonicus whom Macrobius cites as a source is unclear.[52] A parallel phrase occurrs in *CIL* 6.2099: *sive deo sive deae in cuius tutela hic lucus locusque est*, which is capped by the alliterative doubling figure *lucus locusque*. Courtney describes *si deus si dea est* as "a typical formulation in Roman cult;"[53] perhaps it is better termed a typical collocation of Roman verbal art.

Each of these prayers is a valuable document of archaic Latin verbal art by itself; taken together, they give a glimpse of the typical characteristics of Latin verbal art. All the prayers are divided into sections of similar shape, which echo each other structurally and lexically and are roughly analogous to strophes. *Figurae etymologicae* and doubling figures, many bound by alliteration, are prominent features of their composition. The presence of repeated formulaic phrases, such as *volens propitious*, indicates that there is pool of common phraseology deployed in Latin ritual language.

Another possible example of the common phraseology of Latin verbal art may be found in one of the *elogia Scipionum*. This collection of four epitaphs honoring members of the Scipionic branch of the *gens Cornelia* consists of texts dating from the third quarter of the third century to the late third quarter of the second century B.C.[54] The most recent of the epitaphs is composed in elegiacs which has prompted some to suggest

---

[52] Courtney p. 108 mentions that Sammonicus was killed in A.D. 211 and that Sammonicus names an otherwise unknown Furius as his source.

[53] Courtney 109 notes only two examples of *si deus si dea (e)st*, but the third instance I have adduced justifies his assertion.

[54] Van Sickle pp. 41-55 provides an excellent overall introduction to the texts and the problems they raise, espousing a balanced view which sees the epitaphs as a "Hellenistic Roman tradition." Wölfflin p. 122 goes so far as to suggest the epitaphs were composed by Ennius or Pacuvius. This seems extremely unlikely to me because of the lack of an apparently Greek meter for the epitaphs.

that the other four texts are composed in Saturnians.[55] The question of meter aside, the elegiac composition implies that the other four texts were considered "poetic" by the Romans of the second century B.C.

The oldest of the texts honors the son of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus:[56]

> *Honc oino ploirume consentiont R[omani]*
> *Duonoro optumo fuise viro*
> *Luciom Scipione filios Barbati*
> *Consol censor aidilis hic fuit a[pud vos]*
> *Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe*
> *Dedit tempestatebus aedem merito*
>
> Very many Romans consider this one man to have been the best of the good, Lucius Scipio, son of Barbatus. He was consul, censor and aedile among you. He captured Corsica and the city of Aleria. He dedicated a well-deserved temple to the Storms.

The epitaph employs some of the markers of Italic verbal art, confirming the inference that the text was seen as a work of art in Roman eyes. The place names Corsica and Aleria in the fifth line form a doubling figure, although they are not bound by any assonance. *Consol* and *censor* form a doubling figure which is extended to a tripling figure by the addition of *aidilis*.

There are two phrases which have parallels in other texts, implying that they are traditional formulations in Latin verbal art in general and specifically in the epigrammatic register, perhaps influenced by the phraseology of the Roman funeral oration. The

---

[55] Van Sickle p. 42 identifies the four epitaphs not composed in elegiacs as Saturnians, but I prefer to err on the side of caution, given the lack of evidence for the scansion of Saturnians.

[56] There is an epitaph in honor of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, which the lettering and languague indicate to be composed somewhat later than that for his son.

epitaph of Barbatus, the father of the honoree of the above epitaph, also deploys the

tripling figure *consol censor aidilis*, but it is possible that the epigram in his honor has

been influenced by that of his son (cf. fn. 54). The opening line in the epitaph of *filius*

Barbati shows a striking resemblance to the *elogium* of Aulus Atilius Calatinus, the

consul of 258 B.C., which Cicero reports in his *De senectute*:

> *Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes*
> *Populi primarium fuisse virum*   (*Cato* 61)

Very many families consider this one man the first of the people.

The orthography of the epitaph of Calatinus has been modernized, but the only significant

differences are the use of *gentes* instead of *Romani* and *populi primarium* instead of

duonoro optumo. The close parallel cannot be explained as a result of the influence of

one of the other *elogia* in the tomb of the Scipios, suggesting that the openings of the

elogia are a traditional way to begin a Roman epitaph.

1.2.1.2 The Umbrian Tradition

The Iguvine Tables are the only surviving texts in Umbrian consisting of more

than one or two sentences and are therefore a valuable source of information about the

Umbrian language as well as Italic ritual. The tablets were discovered in 1444 in the town

of Gubbio in Umbria and they record instructions for the performing of rituals by a

college of priests called the Atiedian Brethren. Not all the tablets are of the same date.

Some are written in the native Umbrian alphabet and their inscription is dated to the third

century B.C. Others use the Latin alphabet and are dated to the first century B.C. The

more recent ones contain prayers which are, in all likelihood, as old as, if not older than, the oldest documents.

The text of the Iguvine Tables presents many difficulties of interpretation, but nevertheless its artistic qualities become apparent through even a cursory reading.[57] Like the prayer to Mars, the language of the tablets is marked by alliteration. Doubling figures, such as *fato fito* and *sepse sarsite*, often serve as the basic building blocks of passages in the tablets. *Figurae etymolgicae*, such as *subocau suboco,* 'I invoke and invoking,' and *stahmei stahmeiti*, 'for this established ordinance,' mark various passages in the text. The formulaic nature of the language of the tablets is unmistakable and emphasized by repetitions of a number of long passages.

The first sentence in both tablets Ia and VIa is an excellent illustration of the nature of language of the Iguvine Tables:

Este persklum aves anzeriates enetu pernaies pusnaes (*IT* Ia1-2)[58]

> Begin this ceremony with birds having been observed, those in front and those behind   (Trans. Poultney).

The sentence is marked by alliteration;

Este **p**ersklum **a**ves **a**nzeriates **E**netu **p**ernaies **p**usnaes,

and each element of the sentence alliterates with another, suggesting an arrangement that could have been conceived as three word pairs interrupted by **enetu** near the middle of the sequence:

---

[57] Watkins 1995 pp. 214-225 also treats the Iguvine Tables in some detail, and this paragraph is based on his treatment of Tablet VIa 22-34. The text used in this paper is that of Rix, which does not differ from those of Devoto, Poultney, and Prosdocimi in the passages under discussion.

[58] Tablets I through Va are written in the native Umbrian alphabet while Vb to VIIb are written in the Latin alphabet. The orthography of the earlier tablets is represented by boldface letters.

> *E*ste p̲ersklum
> *A*ves *A*nzeriates (*E*netu)
> p̲ernaies p̲usnaes.

The sentence closes with an alliterative doubling figure, which also alliterates with

p̲ersklum, the subject of the sentence. The first five words of the sentence are repeated

in the Latin alphabet in the sixth tablet (*IT* VIa 1) with some slight orthographic variation,

suggesting that the sentence is a traditional way to begin ritual instructions in Umbrian.

The phrase ***a*ves *a*nzeriates** and its variants occur nine times in the Iguvine Tables; its

status as a traditional collocation is thus beyond argument. **Pernaiaf pustnaiaf**, the

accusative form of **p̲ernaies p̲usnaes**, occurs on the reverse of the first tablet (*IT* Ib 10),

suggesting that it, too, is a traditional collocation. Although no etymological figures are

present, the first five words of the Iguvine Tables already deploy two of the major

elements of Italic verbal art.

An imprecation against the enemies of the Iguvine state in the sixth tablet

provides a more dramatic example of a passage in Umbrian marked by the features of

Italic verbal art:

> *Tursitu tremitu*
> *Hondu holtu*
> *ninctu nepitu*
> *sonitu sauitu*
> *Preplotatu previlatu* (VIb 60 cf. variant in VIIa 49)
>
> Terrify them and cause them to tremble
> (Hand them over) to Hondus, to Hola
> Overwhelm them with snow, overwhelm them with water
> Deafen them with thunder and wound them

Trample them and bind them (Trans. Poultney).[59]

As Poultney has remarked, "The arrangement of the verbs in five alliterative pairs is the most striking instance of the use of alliteration to be found anywhere in the Tables." These five pairs comprise the most striking use of alliterative doubling figures to be found in the Tables.

1.2.1.3 The Oscan Tradition

The number of alliterative doubling figures in the Umbrian matches the number of such figures in a curse on a lead tablet inscribed in Oscan, an Italic language closely related to Umbrian. Watkins calls the text "a true *malum carmen*" and arranges it thus:[60]

Calavium Tre(bi? Filium)

Aginiss	**urinss úlleis**	his actions and word
Fakinss	**fangvam**	deeds and tongue
Biass	**biítam**	strength and life
Aftiím	**anamúm**	ability(?)[61] and soul
Aitatúm	**amirikum** (**tíf**[**ei**].)	life span and livelihood to you.
(Oscan-Rix Cm13)		(Calvert Watkins trans.).[62]

---

[59] I have adjusted Poultney's translation by altering his supplement of the ellipse in the doubling *Hondu Holtu* "hand them over" from "cast them down." I use Poultney's translation only provisionally as the meanings of several of the verbs are not known. Untermann 2000 *s.v. ninctu* and *nepitu* lists the meanings of the two verbs as 'unbekannt' and calls Poultney's interpretations of *preplotatu* and *previlatu* probable.

[60] Watkins 1995 p. 220 does not print the entire text of Vetter p. 29 and I have added the words not printed by Watkins in parentheses. Vetter's text has since been superseded by Rix, but he does not differ from Vetter here. Watkins 1995 p. 222 implies a comparison between the Oscan and Umbrian.

[61] Watkins 1995 p. 200 follows Pisani p. 95, rejecting suggestion by Meiser p. 91 that the word means 'sight' on semantic grounds.

[62] As with Poultney's translation of the Umbrian, this translation is to be taken as provisional. However, there is some consensus on the meaning of all the Oscan lexemes with the exception of **aftiím**.

The text consists of two "magic squares" and finally a "global merism"[63] expressing the totality of what is to be cursed, one's life and livelihood. Like the phrase ***aves anzeriates enetu*** in the Iguvine Tables, the pairing of **aginiss** and **urinss** is extended by another word which alliterates with the pairing. The high concentration of alliterative doubling figures is unusual, but doubling figures occur in other *defixiones* written in Oscan, which suggests that these imprecations are also examples of Italic verbal art.

1.2.1.4 The South Picene Tradition

A group of funeral inscriptions written in South Picene, yet another Italic language, and inscribed in a local alphabet based on the Etruscan, has been known for some time. Only recently has there been much progress made in their interpretation.[64] If the text of the so-called Cippus of Castignano is rearranged into word pairs,[65] it reads thus:

Matereíh : patereíh :

---

[63] Watkins 1995 p. 220.

[64] Marinetti pp. 203-7 provides a comprehensive overview of all the readings of the following text.

[65] The actual inscription is divided into two parts carved on either side of the stone and could be read the other way around. Two other arrangements have been proposed by Watkins and Eichner. Watkins 1995 p. 133 suggests a five-line arrangement in which the number of syllables in the first four lines decreases by one and is capped by a three syllable line. He then enigmatically states that the ten syllables which comprise the last two lines of his arrangement match the ten syllables of his first line, implying a four line arrangement. Eichner p. 200-01 suggests a six-line arrangement ordered by a quantitative analysis based on Greek models. My arrangement is not mutually exclusive of either Watkins or Eichner's arrangements, but on balance, I am inclined to accept Watkins' and reject Eichner's, which assumes a knowledge of syllable length in South Picene which I am hesitant to accept. The mixture of iambic, dactylic, and spondaic elements strike me as random, and not especially divergent from the basic iambic and spondaic rhythms expected of an Italic language. Eichner's point that some Greek influence must be present in South Picene is well taken, but in this case, such influence appears to be minimal.

qolofítúr : qupíríh :
arítih : Ímih :
puíh púpúnum :
estufk : apaiús :
Adstaíúh : súaís :
manus : meitimúm   (Rix Sp AP2 Cippus of Castignano)

He who well __s mother (and) father (him) here the elders of the Picenes have set up with their own hands as a memorial (*vel sim.*).
(Trans. Watkins after Eichner)[66]

Of the seven word pairings only one fails to alliterate, and in the only non-alliterative pair, the **-s-** following the syllable **ad-** in **adstaíúh** assonates with the initial **s-** in **súaís**. Two of the pairings, **Matereíh : patereíh** and **arítih : Ímih**, appear to be true doubling figures. While this text has been chosen because it is representative of these texts, it is not the only South Picene text which is marked by these features.[67]

1.2.2 The Proto-Italic Tradition

In the *Asinaria* of Plautus, the slave Libanus, who has been charged with the task of defrauding his master's rich wife of twenty minae, declares to himself his readiness to undertake his assignment:

> *Impetritum, inauguratumst: quouis admittunt aves*
> *Picus et cornix ab laeva, corvos, parra ab dextera*
> *Consuadent*   (*As*. 259-261).

---

[66] As with the Oscan and Umbrian texts, the translation is only provisional. The general points of controversy center on **qolofítúr**, **Ímih** and **puíh**. Eichner p. 196 translates **qolofítúr** as 'took the care to set up', but Watkins implicitly does not accept such a meaning or Eichner's rendering of **ímih** as 'acceptable.' Watkins does accept Eichner's reading of **puíh** as the relative pronoun 'who' but Untermann 2000 *s.v.* **puíh** wavers between understanding **puíh** as a form of the relative pronoun or somehow related to Latin *pius*.

[67] Marinetti pp. 85-86 lists six separate inscriptions marked by chain alliteration and "dicolic structures"and also notes that other inscriptions also employ alliteration.

It is settled and confirmed by the birds: they allow it wherever I look. A woodpecker and a crow to the right, the raven and the *parra* on my left urge me on.

The sequence of birds bears a striking similarity to the series of birds in the beginning tablet VIa of the Iguvine Tables:

> *Stiplo aseriaia*
> *parfa dersua*
> *curnaco dersua*
> *peico mersto*
> *peica mersta*
> *Mersta auuei*
> *mersta angla*

> Demand that I may observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east birds, in the east divine messengers.

The correspondence between Plautus and the Iguvine Tables is not exact, but it is striking. Plautus lists a crow, a woodpecker, and a *parra* and a raven instead of a magpie, and the crow is not in the same quarter of the sky as the *parra*. Nevertheless, the general shape of the list places a pair of birds in a single quarter of the sky just as in the Iguvine Tables.

The parallels between Plautus and the Iguvine Tables are very suggestive. Poultney raises the possibility that Plautus may be alluding to Umbrian augural language,[68] and Plautus, being a native of Umbria, must have had some exposure to the ritual language of his place of birth. However, it is unclear what a list of augural birds would mean to the Roman audience of the *Asinaria*. Perhaps Plautus assumed that some of his audience would have had some contact with Umbrian speakers, would recognize the solemn list of augural birds, and would see the humorous incongruity in the use of

---

[68] Poultney p. 229.

solemn augural language to predict success for a scam. Perhaps the mention of birds to the left and to the right is sufficient to evoke augural practice in general. The names of the birds may be irrelevant or so different from usual Roman augural practice that it implies that Libanus was making humorous errors through willful ignorance.

It is always difficult to draw conclusions about cultural elements from comedy, which by nature distorts things, but a familiarity with such a list of birds from the ritual utterances and instructions of augury would heighten the comic effect of the passage. A similar list to the one in Plautus and the Iguvine Tables, found in the epitome of Festus, suggests that the Roman audience would recognize the list of birds:

> *Quod oris cantu significat quid portendi, cum cecinit corvus, cornix noctua, parra picus …*
>
> Because (the bird) signifies the omen with the song from its mouth, when the raven, the nocturnal crow, the *parra* or the woodpecker sing.

The order of birds differs, but the same four birds listed by Plautus are listed by Festus, suggesting that Plautus was alluding to a canonical list from Roman ritual practice, which he rearranged for metrical or comic considerations. A reference to the Roman rite does not exclude the possibility that Plautus was implicitly drawing a parallel between Roman and Umbrian practice, but it is unlikely that Plautus was referring to Umbrian augural practice alone.

If the list of birds in the *Asinaria* is not the result of borrowing from Umbrian, but rather a reference to a Roman augural speech, another explanation is needed for the parallel between Plautus and the Iguvine Tables. The resemblance could simply be a matter of chance, but the close linguistic parallels and the relative proximity of Latium to Umbria puts the burden of proof on anyone who would make such a claim. It is possible

that Umbrian and Latin ritual practice influenced each other, but the conservatism of ritual language already remarked upon suggests that this is unlikely, but perhaps not implausible if a similarity in the canonical list of birds of omen already existed.

It seems more likely that both the Umbrian and Latin passages stem from a single source. Although the possibility of borrowing from another tradition such as Etruscan cannot be refuted, the most economical explanation for a parallel on the linguistic and cultural level is a common inheritance from Proto-Italic, the ancestor of Umbrian and Latin.[69] The differences between the Latin and Umbrian bird lists may then be explained as the result of separate developments in the Latin and Umbrian languages and cultures, which would inevitably occur over the centuries following the development of Latin and Umbrian into distinctive languages.

Further parallels between Umbrian and Latin indicate that the genetic relationship between the two cultures is a close one. Cato's prayer to Mars alone exhibits several striking similarities in language and thought to the Iguvine Tables. The Umbrian phrase *mehe tote iioveine esmei stahmei stahmeitei* bears a general resemblance to the phrase *mihi domo familiaeque nostrae* from Cato's prayer to Mars, which may indicate that both

---

[69] There is a minority opinion that Italic languages do not comprise a single branch but are two separate branches. This view was propagated by the Italian scholars Pisani 1933 pp. 613-20 and Devoto 1967 41-46. Rix 2003 pp. 1-24 suggests that such a view was the result of a backlash against the Neo-Grammarians, who relied on word lists, but then refutes the arguments of earlier separatists by demonstrating that the Italic languages share a verbal system which is significantly different from the other Indo-European languages. This verbal system serves as compelling evidence that the Italic languages stem from a common Proto-Italic. Rix's explanations for the unique features of the Italic verbal system are, however, often idiosyncratic and do not represent the *comunis opinio*.

phrases had a common ancestor in Proto-Italic.[70] A deeper investigation of the language

of the prayer to Mars and the Iguvine Tables yields still more parallels.[71]

Cato asks Mars, *pastores pecuaque salva servassis*, "keep safe both shepherds

and sheep," while the Umbrian tablets use a cognate phrase: *viro pequo salva seritu*. The

semantic message is the same, and *pequo salva seritu* and *pecuaque salva servassis*

match each other etymologically, suggesting that these phrases are survivals of a

traditional expression in Proto-Italic, in which one of the languages replaced the first

element of the sequence. It is only natural that, as a language changes and lexemes

become obsolete or opaque, the traditional phraseology of the language will change on

the level of sound and also that speakers will substitute more semantically appropriate or

transparent lexemes for the inherited ones. Still, one must be careful to postulate the

motivation for each individual lexical replacement.[72]

Pastores pecuaque appears to be a transformation of an earlier doubling figure

which was altered to bind the semantic message of 'men and sheep' through alliteration.

Given the overall Italic tendency to deploy alliterative doubling figures, it seems unlikely

that a speaker of an Italic language would substitute a lexeme which would not alliterate

with its partner in the doubling figure. It is possible that the Umbrian is yet another

transformation of an earlier Proto-Italic traditional collocation, but there is no obvious

---

[70] Poultney p. 232 notes the similarity and suggests that they are both "datives signifying the objects of divine favor."

[71] Watkins 1995 pp. 208-13 discusses the Indo-European origins of the following two formulae.

[72] Lexical replacement may not always be the best explanation for an unexpected transformation of a traditional phrase. Even the most traditional patterns of language are subject to some synchronic variation and what some may term as "replacements" may be "surface structures" datable to the same stage of the language as the reconstructed "base structure."

motivation for lexical substitution. Therefore, the Proto-Italic phrase is semantically recoverable as 'men and sheep,' but only partially reconstructible on the phonological level, as:

$$\text{MEN} + *pek^{w}\text{-} a.$$

The meristic phrase *visos invisosque* in Cato and the Umbrian collocation *virseto avirseto*, 'seen and unseen,' are exactly cognate, with the exception of the conjunctive particle in Latin. This correspondence raises the number of parallels between the prayer and the Iguvine Tables to three. Because of its simplicity and the natural tendency of Italic verbal art to deploy doubling figures, the pairing of 'seen' and 'unseen' could be a parallel innovation. Great care must be taken when discussing a possible genetic relationship between two collocations expressing simple and almost universal messages, despite the phonological correspondence. Nevertheless, the common ritual context, which is not an environment which encourages innovation, and the presence of two other parallels in the prayer to Mars, especially the almost exact etymological correspondence between *pastores pecuaque salva servassis* and *viro pequo salva seritu*, suggests that *visos invisosque* is also a survival from the language of ritual in Proto-Italic.

The Umbrian collocation *struśla ficla*, which occurs nine times in the Iguvine Tables, bears a striking similarity to a pairing of similar terms in Latin: *strue atque ferto* (*Gell.* 10.15.14), *struem et fertum* in Cato (*De Agr.* 141), and *struibus fertisque* (which appears several times throughout the *Acta fratrum Arvalium*).[73] These phrases appear to

---

[73] Vine 1986 pp. 111-127 collects the evidence for both the Umbrian and Latin collocations and notes that in both languages this collocation is found in a sacrificial context. He concludes that they are "ritually cognate, reflecting a two-member phrase assignable to common Italic ritual practice." Vine believes that the Umbrian *ficla* is "a purely Umbrian replacement" created for the purpose of assonance.

be of Proto-Italic date and suggest a genetic relationship between the Umbrian asyndetic collocation and the Latin collocation bound by the single particle -*que*.

The strong correspondence between the phraseology of Umbrian and Latin ritual suggests that, in addition to a pool of traditional collocations inherited from Proto-Italic, *figurae etymologicae* and alliterative doubling were features of Proto-Italic verbal art. It cannot be emphasized enough that the presence of a given stylistic figure does not indicate that a given text is an example - or at least a major example - of Italic verbal art. Rather, it is the combination of these elements which is the characteristic of Italic verbal art, or any tradition of verbal art, in concert with a traditional phraseology which can be demonstrated to be the result of a common tradition. A collection of superficial and etymologically unrelated parallels is just as, if not more, likely to be the result of typological universals.

1.3 The Indo-European Tradition

It is possible that the some of the resemblances between Umbrian and Latin are the result of borrowing between two cultures which were in close contact for an extended period of time, but other parallels, particularly in phraseology, can be convincingly traced back to a common ancestor of the Latin, Umbrian, and even Greek languages. Latin and the other Italic languages belong to the Indo-European language family, a group of languages which descend from a common ancestor know as Proto-Indo-European, which significantly predates the common ancestor of the Italic languages. Many of the features of Italic verbal art and its traditional expressions are cognate with collocations in other Indo-European traditions, which suggests that some these elements predate a common

Proto-Italic language and are therefore unlikely to be the result of cultural contact within the Italian peninsula.

Parallels between the Italic and other branches of the Indo-European family can often corroborate the evidence of genetic relationships within the Italic branch, and when the Italic evidence is unclear, often help determine the phonological shape of such a phrase. Because of the greater temporal distance of the Italic languages from Proto-Indo-European, even more care is necessary when adducing parallels between superficially similar phrases, which cannot be shown to contain cognates of the same Proto-Indo-European roots in all the suggested examples.

The evidence from the tradition of an Indo-European language spoken thousands of miles away from Italy corroborates the evidence which suggests that Umbrian *viro pequo* and Latin *pastores pecuaque* are ritually cognate expressions which descend from a Proto-Italic ritual collocation. Although the order of the elements is reversed, the Young Avestan phrase *pasu vīra* (Yt. 13.2), 'sheep and men', is a semantic and etymological match for the Umbrian *viro pequo* which cannot have been a result of cultural contact. The close phraseological parallel between two traditions which are genetically related but are separated by thousands of miles suggests that the Umbrian phrase reflects a Proto-Indo-European and, therefore, Proto-Italic traditional collocation and that the Latin phrase has lexically replaced the expected *viros* with *pastores*.

Because this study treats a historical poet, who could not possibly have been aware of traditions which were so spatially and temporally distant from his own, evidence from the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Italic traditions will be used to only corroborate what can be adduced from the attested Greek and Italic traditions.

Parallels from other traditions without any context in the Greco-Italian cultural complex in which Ennius composed can be suggestive, but are not compelling. Evidence from more distantly related traditions will be brought to bear only when the evidence from the Italic and Greek traditions are not sufficient to decide between contexts or variants of a traditional phrase.

1.4 Methodological Considerations

Although it is possible that Ennius is making interlinguistic allusions to texts written in Oscan and Umbrian, it is assumed in this study that the existence of a parallel between the *Annales* and a document of Italic verbal art without a Latin parallel is a reference to a traditional collocation in Latin verbal art which appeared in a text no longer extant, or was deployed orally and never recorded. The remains of Latin ritual speech yield an abundance of parallels with Umbrian and it is probable that if more examples of Latin verbal art were extant, the number of identifiable examples of linguistic parallels would increase. The possibility of direct allusions to Umbrian and Oscan ritual texts is an intriguing but problematic proposition dependent on unanswerable questions concerning the linguistic and cultural competence of the audience of the *Annales*.[74]

---

[74] Adams 2003 p. 112-13 notes that when evidence for bilingualism becomes available, Oscan already appears on its way to marginalization, but in his own words, "It would not be satisfactory to maintain without reservation that by the last centuries of the Republic Latin was the prestige language in relation, say, to Oscan, in all areas and all strata of society." Adams pp. 113-59 also provides an excellent survey of the evidence for bilingualism in areas inhabited by speakers of Oscan and Umbrian. Habinek 1998 concerns himself with well-formulated questions about the audience of early Latin literature but his conclusions are not only untestable, they seem to me counter-intuitive and unlikely.

Ennius' comment that his poetry will be heard *latos <per> populos* (*Ann*. 12) could be taken to mean that the *Annales* was intended for an audience outside of Rome, but there is nothing in the statement to suggest the intended audience is anything other than an educated class of Italian able to speak Latin and read enough Greek to recognize its Homeric model. It is clear that at least some members of the intended audience were Latin speakers at Rome; the possible literary effects of the markers of Italic verbal art are therefore treated with this audience in mind.

The high concentration of markers of Italic verbal art could be seen as a method to signal to an audience unfamiliar with Greek hexameter poetry that the *Annales* is a verbal work of art, allowing for a possible non-elite Roman audience. However, the Roman stage would have helped a non-elite Roman audience recognize Greek poetry as well as Latin verbal art, although the meters of Roman comedy are not as constrained as the dactylic hexameter of the *Annales*. The heavy presence of markers of Italic verbal art in the epic may reflect a conscious attempt to reconcile what the poet recognizes as Italic verbal art and Greek epic poetry or an unconscious deployment of features of the various verbal works of art to which Ennius would have been exposed from birth.

It is also unclear whether the *Annales* was intended to be read or recited. There is some evidence for the recitation of the poem, but this does not mean that the epic was intended for aural reception by a larger illiterate audience. The audience of the few reported recitations may have consisted of literate and educated listeners who could also read the text at their leisure. It is unlikely that a text which had such an impact on the literature produced in Rome would have escaped the notice of those Romans not so

fortunate as to have been born into wealth or nobility. Therefore, the terms audience and readership will be used interchangeably throughout this study.

Despite the uncertainty concerning the readership of the *Annales*, it is ultimately the reader who identifies and interprets an allusion, and not every reference or intertext needs to be an intentional act on the part of an author. It is my intention as a reader of the *Annales* to identify and interpret allusions in the poem that other readers will also accept. In the process, I hope to generate a more equitable dialogue between the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius and the Italic, Hellenic, and Indo-European traditions.

Chapter 2

Augurio Augusto Condita: Ennius and the Italic Tradition

2.1 *Annales* 32

In the *Saturnalia*, Macrobius reports that the first half of *Aeneid* 8.150:

Accipe daque fidem. Sunt nobis fortia bello
pectora

Accept and give faith. We have strong hearts in war.

has an Ennian precedent:

accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum. (*Ann.* 32)

Accept and give trust and strike a treaty very firm.

In addition to its metrical shape, this single line is marked not only by alliteration and assonance, but also by a doubling figure and one *figura etymlogica*. *Fidem foedusque* forms another apparent doubling figure which is bound by alliteration, although *fidem*, is

the grammatical object of *accipe daque*, while *foedus* is the object of *feri,* rendering them parts of the two separate clauses which form the line. The line is therefore characterized by at least two of the salient features of Italic verbal art.

Nevertheless, the phrase *fidem foedusque* is yoked by meaning, alliteration, and syntax, which bind together the two clauses making up the line and, although *fidem* is the direct object of *accipe daque* and *foedus* of *feri*, it would give the immediate impression to a listener or reader that both elements of *fidem foedusque* were both direct objects of *accipe daque*. The *–que*, which is placed after *foedus* and connects both clauses in the line, further emphasizes the close relationship between *fidem* and *foedus* despite the need to parse the *–que* as connecting two clauses and not the two words in the final analysis.

The archaic *guttatim* style[75] gives the appearance that *feri* is an afterthought that draws *foedus* away after it has already been perceived as a second object of the initial imperatives by a listener and a reader. In archaic texts there is a tendency to construct longer sentences with a succession of small units in which the grammatical relationships among all the elements cannot be predicted from the outset. As a sentence, *Accipe daque fidem foedusque* is a tightly constructed unity: the "addition" of *feri* disturbs the initial impression that *fidem foedusque* forms a unit, thus creating the impression that the line is built of small units in a style at home in other archaic authors such as Cato, Plautus, and Ennius' prosaic writing.

---

[75] Courtney p. 4 defines the *guttatim* style as "the presentation of thought in a series of small, largely self-contained units, in such a way that … the grammatical tying together of the sentence at its end may not be fully forseen at the beginning." Courtney credits Eduard Fraenkel with the term but does not cite a specific source.

The impression that *fidem foedusque* formed a doubling figure may have been strong enough to prompt Vergil to remove *foedusque* from his own line to remove the ambiguity. The first three words quote the beginning of *Annales* 32:

Accipe daque fidem,

but the second half of Vergil's line differs from Ennius in every respect. With the exception of the alliteration between *fidem* and *fortia*, one half of the line has no relationship with the other. The thought, which is begun in the second half of *Aeneid* 8.150, is not even contained in the line. Instead, Vergil deploys enjambment, simultaneously generating a close syntactic relationship between the second half of the line and what follows and sharp division between the first and second halves of *Aeneid* 8.150.

The line is carefully constructed and well executed but, being only a single line, *Annales* 32 has elicited little comment on its structure, and it is not surprising there is no full length study dedicated to this line. Because Macrobius does not provide any context for the line, the ink that is spilled over it almost always concerns the identity of the speaker of the line and its place in the *Annales*. One group of scholars dating back to Columna and Merula has backed the hypothesis that the line is from a speech that takes place during the settlement between Romulus and Titus Tatius.[76] Vahlen and Norden argue that the speaker of the line is Aeneas when he meets the king of Alba Longa.[77]

---

[76] Scholarship since Vahlen has emphasized the sequence of quotations of Ennius in Macrobius and determined that they are in the same of order as they appeared in the *Annales*, although Steuart pp. vii-viii follows what she terms the "traditional interpretation" of *Annales* 32 and assigns the fragment to the truce between Romulus and Titus Tatius, a hypothesis originating from Columna p. 32.

[77] Vahlen and Norden p. 162 assign the line to Aeneas because of the context of *Aeneid* 8; it is Aeneas who speaks the words *accipe daque fidem*.

Skutsch has adjusted this scenario by assigning the line to a speech spoken by the king of Alba Longa instead of Aeneas.[78] Watkins uses the line as an example of the reciprocal nature of the Indo-European root *bheidh-* as manifested in Latin *fidem* and *foedus*, thus implying that such a formulation in Latin may be extremely ancient, but he does not discuss the line in any detail and the implications of a connection between *bheidh-* and *fidem foedusque* are left to inference.[79]

Whatever the context may be, this single line fragment is able to tell us a great deal about the compositional style of the *Annales*. The assonance is what one expects from Ennius and what the teleological readers of Latin poetry would argue to be too much assonance. The doubling figures and their arrangement are reminiscent of texts like Cato's prayer to Mars and the Iguvine Tables, lending a marked Italic flavor to the line. The phrase *fidem foedusque* may also be a *figura etymologica* based on an analogy to Greek ablaut patterns, emphasizing the hybrid nature of the *Annales*, even when it employs a distinctively Italic feature. The debt owed to Italic ritual by this particular fragments is reflected in these particular markers, and also in the phrase *foedus*(*que*) *feri*, which appears to be an allusion to the language of the Fetial priests as reported in Livy.

2.1.1 Alliterative Doubling Figures

---

[78] Skutsch p. 191 bases his assignment of speaker on Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.58.5, positing Fabius Pictor as a common source of Ennius and Dionysius. The resemblance of Dionysius' πίστεις … δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν to the Ennian line is, as Skutsch says, 'striking', but the resemblance to the Vergilian *accipe daque fidem* is even more so. Ennius may have embellished a common source of all three phrases from Italic ritual.

[79] Watkins 1995 p. 83 refers to the text as "the Latin formula" but does not provide other occurrences. There are several collocations of *foedus* and *ferire* in other Latin texts, which corroborate Watkins' statement and which I will discuss below.

The alliteration is extensive and covers most of the line.

aCCipe *d*aQue **f**i*d*em **f**oe*d*usQue **f**eri b̲ene **f**irmum

Ennius uses unvoiced velars and labiovelars together in the beginning of the line and blends in labiodentals. The initial *b-* in *bene* also alliterates with the labiodentals. From the middle of the line on, alliteration connects the end of the line to the second doubling figure, *fidem foedusque*. The deployment of *–que* joins the first doubling figure with the second and thus creates a sense of unity through sound.

It is possible, however unlikely, that Ennius is creating not only sonic unity but regional unity with the pairing of *accipe* and *daque*. It is well known that the inherited labiovelar, which survives in Latin, does not do so in Osco-Umbrian. Proto-Indo-European *k^w- and Latin *qu-* surface in Osco-Umbrian as *p-*; for example *pis* is the Umbrian cognate of Latin *quis*. If the conjunction *–que* survived into Oscan, it would be *–pe* but the only attestation of such a conjunction is an emendation.[80] Even if the emendation is incorrect, it is nevertheless perfectly possible, even likely, that a conjunction *–pe* did exist in Oscan. If such a conjunction existed in Oscan, Ennius as a native speaker of Oscan could be placing the word *acci(pe)* next to *da(que)* to create an interlinguistic pun with a word ending with the same syllable in Oscan that corresponds to Latin *–que*.

If *fidem foedusque* can be read as a doubling figure in its own right, the line gives two illustrations of two different types of doubling figures, which have been reconstructed as typical formulations of Indo-European verbal art. The first, *accipe*

---

[80] Untermann 2000 *s.v. -p]e* cites the texts of Vetter 175= Rix Sa27, which emends the relevant text as *maatreís* [*damat*]*ras futre*[*ísp*]*e*, 'of(?) the mother Demeter and her daughter'.

daque, is an example of what Watkins terms 'argument and counter argument', which consists of two 'quantifiers'. The second, *fidem foedusque*, is a type that Watkins calls 'argument and synonymous argument', generated by the binding of two "qualifiers."[81]

ACCIPE (V_1) DA(V_2) (que)
FIDEM (N_1) FOEDUS (N_2) (que)

RECEIVE (V_1) (and) GIVE (V_2)
TRUST (N_1) (and) TREATY (N_2)

Qualifier: Argument (V_1) + Counter Argument (V_2)
Qualifier: Argument (N_1) + Synonymous Argument (N_2)

The purpose of the quantifiers is to express a totality of notion while that of the qualifiers is to intensify the expression. Therefore, the form of the message generates meaning through its close relation to the structure of Italic ritual speech and also the creation of a totality of exchange and good faith and the emphasis on the act of striking the treaty.

The expression *accipe daque* may or may not be very ancient, but the idea of giving and taking as two sides of a larger concept of reciprocal exchange is extremely ancient. Several Indo-European roots meaning "give" in one daughter language will mean "take" in another.[82] The root *ghebh- produces English "give," Latin *habeo*, and Irish *gaibid* "takes." The root *nem- has a reflex in German signifying "take" (nehmen) and distribute or give in Greek (νέμω). Most significantly for this particular passage, *da-a*, the Hittite imperative and cognate of Latin *da*, means 'take' rather than 'give'. It would be an attractive suggestion that a phrase consisting of qualifiers in the configuration of

---

[81] Watkins 1995 p. 46 charts a typology of Indo-European doubling figures but does not clearly delineate the differences between simple and complex figures, quantifiers and qualifiers, and merisms and kennings in any explicit manner, instead referring to Jakobson pp. 130ff. as the source for his terminology.

[82] Watkins 2000 p. 21 discusses this phenomenon and cites the following Proto-Indo-European roots and cognates employed in this discussion.

argument and counter argument existed in Proto-Italic, quite likely Proto-Indo-European, and that *accipe daque* is a reflex of such an inherited collocation.[83] The reciprocal nature of **bheidh-*,[84] the Proto-Indo-European root of Latin *foedus* and *fidem*, allows for a possible collocation of two reciprocal terms expressed in doubling figures.

Whether such a traditional phrase existed beforehand or not, the doubling figure is expressing a very ancient idea about the nature of giving in Indo-European and probably Italic society. The use of the doubling figure does more than express ancient notions about the totality of exchange; it draws attention to the reciprocal nature of the process of striking a treaty. Both sides must give and accept their respective assurances that the terms of such a treaty will be upheld.

If the first doubling figure draws attention to the reciprocal nature of the treaty, the second doubling figure emphatically signifies the treaty as the theme of the line. The poet uses phonemic structure as well as semantics to connect the two elements of this doubling figure. The consonance of *accipe daque* is not as pronounced as the alliteration of *fidem foedusque*. The side by side deployment of *fidem foedusque* draws attention to the similarity of the general shape of both words, which consists of an initial unvoiced labiodental followed by a vowel and a voiced dental:

$$f V d\text{-} \quad + \quad f V d\text{-}.$$

The unusual diphthong in the word *foedus* itself gives the phrase an archaic flavor. The phoneme /oi/, spelled *-oe-* in *foedus,* is extremely rare in words of native origin in Latin. Only nine roots in Latin preserve the inherited diphthong while all other

---

[83] Although a traditional Indo-European collocation of these particular roots is only a conjecture at present, the traditional Latin phrase *donum do-* is such a traditional collocation with cognates in Umbrian, Oscan, Sanskrit and Greek. Euler discusses the extant examples in his study of *donum do-*.

[84] Watkins 1995 pp. 81-83 discusses the reciprocal nature of this root in Greek, Latin and Albanian

examples of inherited *-*oi*- shift to -ū-. It has been suggested that the survival of *-*oi*-

may be due to the conservative nature of the pronunciation of these words in law and

ritual. The diphthong may have simply survived as a conditioned rule which preserves the

inherited diphthong between labials and apical consonants,[85] but even if the preservation

was due to some sound change, many of the words preserving the original sound are

marked, including *foedus* and *Poenus*. Because words so central to solemn ritual and law

such as *foedus* and *Poenus* escaped the change, this could have led speaker of Latin to

believe that the diphthong -*oe*- belonged to contexts like ritual and law. Therefore, *foedus*

could evoke archaic ritual as a lexeme that has preserved the almost extinct phoneme /*oi*/.

The two words are not only similar in appearance; they are actually forms of the

same root. Therefore Ennius' arrangement of *fidem* and *foedus* is both a doubling figure

marked by alliteration and ritual vocabulary and a *figura etymologica*.[86] The vowel

alternations in *fidem foedusque* are reminiscent of similar alternations in Greek. This

phonemic process, known as ablaut and inherited from Proto-Indo-European, was no

longer productive in Latin at the time of Ennius, but still very productive in Greek. [87] The

vowel alternations in *fidem foedusque* are roughly analogous to those in related forms in

Greek like λιπόν and λοιπός.[88] The alternation of -*i*- and -*oe*- is therefore more at home

---

[85] Sihler p. 54 suggests these conditions for /*oi*/ remaining –*oe*- in Latin, but as there are no footnotes in
Sihler, it is impossible to tell if the suggestion is his or not.

[86] The earliest attestation of an explicit putative etymological relationship is Cicero apud Servius on *Aeneid*
8.642: *Cicero foedera a fide putat dicta.*

[87] Sihler p. 108 discusses the phenomenon of ablaut, which he calls "conspicuous in the interrelations of
Greek forms" although "the inherited patterns have been analogically extended, leveled, and otherwise
confused." Sihler p. 109 asserts correctly that sound changes in Latin "effaced the original patterns."

[88] Varro *LL*. 5.86 claims *fit foedus quod* **fidus** *Ennius scribit dictum.* If Ennius did write *fidus*, then clearly
no reference to Greek ablaut could occur. However, the manuscripts of Macrobius, with the exception of an

in Greek than in Latin, and the diphthong -οι- in Greek, being far more common than Latin –oe-, would deepen the impression that this particular etymological figure owes as much to the nature of the Greek language as to the Latin language. Such a *figura etymologica* is symptomatic of the hybridization of Greek and Latin in the *Annales*.

The placing of two doubling figures side by side creates another stylistic figure known as a 'magic square', which is at home in Italic texts and was inherited from the proto-language If one arranges the two merisms on top of each other rather than side by side, the squared arrangement becomes clear and the horizontal and vertical relationships emphasize again the reciprocality of the treaty.

Accipe -------daque
Fidem-------- foedusque

Similar arrangements can be found in the Oscan curse from Cumae (Rix Cm 13)[89] which deploys two "magic squares" in its central sequence:

Aginiss	**urinss ulleis**
Fakinss	**fangvam**
Biass	**biitam**

---

extremely doubtful *ferusque*, all spell it *foedus*. Furthermore, the form *foideratei* is employed in the *De Bacchanalibus* inscription, which dates to 186, and is therefore contemporaneous with the *Annales*. The spelling *foideratei* may provide the clue to understanding Varro. The manuscript tradition of Varro is of poor quality, to say the least, and often words are lacking letters needed to complete them. Varro may have written *quod f<o>idus Ennius scribit dictum*. It is also possible that Ennius' *fidus* was later "corrected" to *foedus*. Sihler p. 115 n. 1 suggests that *foedus* may be a false archaism, citing Ennian *fidus*, but this citation appears to be based on Varro, not on Macrobius, who spells it *foedus*. Although an o- grade for a neuter –es stem is unexpected , the Bacchanalian Decree makes it certain that, if it is a false archaism, it is still as old as Ennius.

[89] Watkins 1995 p. 220 notes that the text of Rix Cm 13 consists of "two 'magic squares,' each consisting of two merisms of two alliterative merisms, followed by a single merism." For a full discussion of this text cf. Chapter One.

Aftiim   amanum

Actions and words
Deeds and tongue

Strength and life
Ability and soul

The context of these magic squares is as important as the age of the form. The use of these stylistic figures in a curse testifies to the efficacious nature of the arrangement and suggests that such an arrangement in the *Annales* marks the solemnity and ritual binding of the treaty.

As soon as the relationships between *accipe* and *da* and *fidem* and *foedus* emerge, it becomes clear that the last term in the 'magic square' is the object of a third imperative and that *fidem foedusque* no longer stands up as a simple merism. The three imperatives form a tripling figure which is interrupted by *fidem foedusque*. If one removes *fidem foedusque* from the line, it reads: *accipe daque feri bene firmum*. Since the adjective *nostrae* and the adverb *bene* both modify the third member of the series, these imperatives follow Behaghel's law of increasing members, suggesting that the three imperatives are arranged in a distended arrangement of an Indo-European, and therefore, an Italic stylistic figure.[90]

---

[90] Otto Behagel pp. 110-142 formulated this principle in 1909. Watkins 1995 p. 24 briefly states that " Behaghel's 'law of increasing members' rests on a plethora of examples from Germanic, Greek and the other Indo-European languages which show the stylistic feature of enumeration of entities whereby only the last receives an epithet." This is an ancient cross-cultural poetic figure that could have come down to Ennius through Greek or Latin, although it seems likely that since the figure is apparently native to Italic verbal art, Ennius would have absorbed it first from that tradition. Martin West 2004 pp. 33-49 has recently reexamined Behagel's Law in some detail, added evidence from Old Irish, and suggested that a Germanic poem reported in Latin by Tacitus may also be an example.

Alliteration not only implies a close association between *fidem* and *foedus* but also becomes a unifying principle in the second half of the line beginning with *foedusque*. The imperative *feri* alliterates with *foedus*, emphasizing the verb-object relationship of the *foedus*(*que*) *feri*, and signals to the reader that his initial impression is false that *–que* is joining *fidem* and *foedusque* syntactically. By ending the line with the word *firmum*, Ennius simultaneously draws *foedus* away from *fidem* by presenting a half-line bound with alliterating *f*-s, although the same process of sound repetition creates the impression of an alliterative doubling figure with *fidem*.

By comparing these doubling figures with those of the prayer to Mars and the Iguvine Tables, it is possible to delineate their specifically Italic character. Ennius unites the two elements by phonetics. Doubling figures bound by alliteration occur frequently in both the older texts. Tripling figures which follow Behagel's Law are also deployed in texts like the prayer to Mars. Although the prayer to Mars is exceptional in its deployment of doubling figures in so short a space, other texts such as the Iguvine Tables use such a figure quite frequently as well. The evidence justifies the assertion that the alliterative collocation of two terms is a distinctive feature of what rendered a text a work of art in the Italic tradition.

Including *fidem foedusque*, the two fragments discussed in this chapter yield six side-by-side collocations of substantives out of 47 lines, not including distensions of doublings figures, such as *curantes…cupientes* in line 72. A case could be made for including the distension of *praepes pulcer* in line 89, as the two words are only separated by the pronoun *sese* and the pairing *pulcerrima praepes* in line 86 furthermore renders it tolerably clear that the distension is a transformation of a side-by-side collocation of

pulcer and *praepes*. Five of these stylistic figures alliterate and one is bound by assonance and consonance.

This informal survey of the fragments under discussion is by no means a scientific survey of all the remains of the *Annales*. But a scan of the other fragments confirms the impression that the alliterative doubling figure is a prominent part of Ennius' poetic diction. In 53 lines Ennius exceeds the number of Homeric doubling figures of this type in all of book one of the *Iliad*, which consists of 611 lines. To judge from the Italic evidence, Ennius must have appropriated this particular poetic device from his native tradition, although perhaps recognizing the doubling figure as a marker of Homeric poetry as much as of Italic verbal art.

2.1.2 *Clausulae* and Strophic Structuring

The structure of the line is reminiscent of the "strophic" structure of the prayer to Mars. Instead of one line, three may be reconstructed:

Accipe daque

Fidem foedusque
Feri bene firmum

This arrangement of clausulae forms an "upside down T" arrangement much like Watkins' "second strophe" in the prayer to mars:
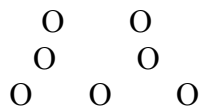
```
      O      O
    O      O
  O    O    O
```

Viduvertatem vastitudinemque
Calamitates intemperiasque
Prohibessis defendas auerruncesque

This line was probably not written to evoke a strophic structure. As suggested above, such a strophic structure appears to have been a common trait of Italic poetry, and it is possible that the poet used techniques with which he would be familiar including the patterning of thought reminiscent of strophic texts such as the prayer to Mars. The evidence from the Italic texts provides example after example of short phrases expressing an independent thought, which often consist of doubling and tripling figures. Here Ennius unconsciously uses two doubling figures in a manner familiar to him and his Roman audience.

There is a significant difference in syntactical complexity between Cato's stylistic figure and Ennius. Reading left to right or listening to the line read slowly creates an impression that *fidem* and *foedusque* are twin objects of *accipe daque*. This parsing is implied through the repeated initial *f-* sounds, but then dissolves when the third imperative emerges next to *foedusque*. The *–que* following foedus is conjoining the clauses headed by *feri* and *accipe daque*, not *fidem foedusque*, but the placement of *foedus* as the natural object of *feri*, but the etymologically related *fidem* placed before *foedus* creates some momentary hesitation as to what the *–que* following *foedus* is joining.

It is possible that a familiarity with the traditional stylistic arrangement, would prompt a reader to take *fidem foedusque* as the collective object of *accipe daque …feri* and read the line as a transformation of the more traditional pattern of

$$N_1 \; N_2 \; {}_{que} \; V_1 \; V_2 \; V_3 \; {}_{que}$$

into

$$V_1 \; V_2 \; {}_{que} \; N_1 \; N_2 \; {}_{que} \; \text{Verb phrase}_3.$$

Such a transformation gives the first half of the line the marked verb-object word order rather than the unmarked reverse order, lending semantic weight to the line already marked by doubling figures and alliteration in a manner evocative of earlier ritual texts. In the greater scheme of the poetics of the *Annales*, it displays the reworking of traditional material into something new and more sophisticated.

The reconfiguration of the traditional pattern also reveals a poet aware of such stylistic figures and able to exploit them to achieve a more syntactically complex and semantically striking line. The line strikes a balance between the traditional "strophic" style and the archaic *guttatim* style, allowing for either interpretation of the arrangement of the line. The transformation of the traditional stylistic arrangement creates a surprising synthesis of two styles and produces a line that evokes them both, retaining the semantic impact of each style. The line is both a snippet of a prayer in the most ancient of marked forms and a line that could have been taken from Cato's prose or Plautus' comedy.

Readers of Ennius who wish to see the poet as "archaic" will argue that the transformation is 'clumsy', and that *feri* is not part of a tripling figure, but an afterthought added in the old archaic *guttatim* style. After the first two doubling figures were composed, the addition of *feri* to the imperatives is no last minute addition, but the most important member of the series, suggesting that the line is a transformation of a stylistic figure which deploys a tripling figure of verbs after a doubling figure of nouns in an 'upside down T' formation. *Accipe daque* may reflect an extremely ancient concept of exchange, and the coupling of *fidem foedusque* may appear to have a stronger relationship than *foedusque feri*, but there is evidence for a traceable pedigree of the latter phrase as a solemn utterance employed in the striking of treaties.

2.1.3 *Annales* 32 and the Fetial Prayer- *foedus ferre*

Outside evidence suggests that, in addition to the obvious alliteration, *foedus* and *feri* are bound by a traditional relationship between the two words in Latin ritual, specifically a ritual performed by the priests known as the *Fetiales,* a college of priests who seem to have been in charge of the sanctioning of treaties. Although a possible antiquarian reconstruction cannot be ruled out, the use and context of the phrase *foedus ferire* in Plautus suggests a formula of archaic date. Whatever its date or ultimate source may be, by the time of the late Republic, *foedus ferire* was a formula.[91]

Livy employs variants of *foedus ferire* three times in his history in the context of the rites conducted by the Fetial priests. He describes the striking of a treaty ratified by

---

[91] *OLD s.v. ferire.* A two line passage in Lucretius suggests that the formula was so well known that it could be encoded into a riddle:

> *at contra taetra absinthi natura feri̱que̱*
> *centauri foe̱do̱ pertorquent ora sapore* (*DRN* 2.399-400).

It is clear from the context that *feri* here is a form of the adjective *ferus*, 'beastly', and *foedo*, part of the paradigm of the adjective *foedus*, 'foul' but their close proximity would evoke the formula for striking a treaty and perhaps imply the instability of any treaty due the homophony of the genitive *ferus* and the imperative of *ferire* and same nominative form for the neuter noun *foedus* and the masculine adjective *foedus*. The play on letters to form completely different meanings is typical of Lucretius' atomic poetics. *Centauri* is also a reminder of the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs and the breaking of the *foedus* between the two parties. Lucretius is apparently implicitly remarking on the ease of the transformation of *foedus feritum* to beastly and polluted banquet.

the Fetiales, in which the head of the college asks the king if he orders the priest *foedus*

ferire:

> *fetialis regem Tullum ita rogauit*:
>> "*iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?*"
>
> *iubente rege,*
>> "*sagmina*" inquit "*te, rex, posco.*"
>
> *rex ait*:
>
> "*pura tollito.*"
>
> *fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. postea regem ita rogauit*:
>
> "*rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, uasa comitesque meos?*"
>
> *rex respondit*:
>
> "*quod sine fraude mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio.*"
>
> *fetialis erat* M. *Ualerius*; *is patrem patratum* Sp. *Fusium fecit, uerbena caput capillosque tangens. pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus*; *multisque id uerbis, quae longo effata carmine non operae est referre, peragit.*   (Liv. 1.24.4-6)

The Fetial put the formal question to Tullus: "Do you, King, order me to make a treaty with the *Pater Patratus* of the Alban nation?" On the king replying in the affirmative, the Fetial said: "I demand of thee, King, some tufts of grass." The king replied: "Take those that are pure." The Fetial brought pure grass from the Citadel. Then he asked the king: "Do you constitute me the plenipotentiary of the People of Rome, the Quirites, sanctioning also my vessels and comrades?" To which the king replied: "So far as may be without hurt to myself and the People of Rome, the Quirites, I do." The Fetial was M. Valerius. He made Spurius Furius the Pater Patratus by touching his head and hair with the grass. Then the Pater Patratus, who is constituted for the purpose of giving the treaty the religious sanction of an oath, did so by a long formula in verse, which it is not worth while to quote. (Trans. Roberts).

In addition to the language of the actual recitation, there are markers of Italic verbal art in

the description of the ceremony. The etymological figure *patrem patratum* is a repetition

of the phrase deployed in the ritual utterance, but *ad ius iurandum* is another *figura*

etymologica independent of the recitation. When Marcus Valerius appoints Spurius Furius to be the *pater patratus*, he touches his *caput capillosque*, an alliterative doubling figure which is not deployed in the prayer. The oath with which the treaty is sanctioned is referred to as *carmine*, which implies that the speeches recited by Tullus and Valerius are also *carmen*. The entire passage is marked by the features of Italic verbal art, suggesting that the prayers deploy at some examples of traditional phraseology, including *foedus ferire*.

The Fetiales also travel to Carthage at the end of the second Punic War *ad foedus feriundum* (Liv. 30.43.9). In the same passage the Senate orders the College *in verba*, "according to the formula,"[92] to ask the praetor for *sagmina* when he orders *ut foedus ferirent*. The fact that the Senate orders the Fetials to strike a treaty following the words of the praetor according to a formula suggests that this formula was employed when the praetor was still the highest elected office in the Republic,[93] and therefore that this particular collocation is of great antiquity.

Ogilvie expresses some reservations concerning the authenticity of the language of the Fetiales in Livy,[94] raising the possibility that Fetial prayer as Livy knew it, was an

---

[92] *OLD s.v. verbum*

[93] Mommsen pp. 74-78 argues that the praetor was originally the highest elected official in the republic citing the use of the word *praetor* for *consul* in the Twelve Tables, and noting that the *terminus ante quem* for the title consul is 268. Brennan pp. 13 and 20, who is the last word on the Roman praetor at present, implicitly accepts Mommsen's thesis, if not all the details of his explanation and his etymology for the term.

[94] Ogilve p. 110. Wiedmann pp. 478-90 conscientiously reviews the evidence for the Fetial right and the various scholarly opinions on the priestly College, but there is no clear thesis which I am able to extrapolate. It seems that Wiedmann believes that the Fetial rite is authentically archaic and was concerned with treaties more than declaring war. Wiedmann is equivocal on the language of the Fetials, stating that

antiquarian reconstruction, or simply an Augustan fabrication, or that Livy borrowed this from Ennius. It is just as plausible, however, that Livy or his sources did have access to formulaic utterances of the Fetiales. An example of *foedus ferire* in Plautus, which predates the *Annales*, corroborates the evidence from Livy and Ennius, suggesting that the phrase is a traditional collocation from Latin ritual and not a later fabrication by Ennius.

In the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, the slave Tranio realizes he can no longer maintain the elaborate deception in which he convinces his master that his house is haunted. He decides *foedus feriam* (*Mostellaria* 1061). The speech of Tranio is marked by other bits of ceremonial language including *senatum…convocem* and *eduxem omnem legionem*, implying that *foedus feriam* is one more bit of solemn language distorted for comic effect. The use of traditional language in the same speech implies that foedus feriam is also taken from the same sphere. If Skutsch is correct in dating the composition of the *Annales* to the mid 180s, it would be extremely unlikely that Plautus, who died in 184, is alluding to the *Annales*. Ennius could be referencing the *Mostellaria*, but there is no good reason to posit a borrowing of a comic coinage to describe a solemn ceremony, which in turn, Livy would appropriate more than a century and a half later for his description of the Fetial rite.

Foedusque feri is an example of traditional language in the remains of the *Annales*, and more importantly, the language is adapted and shaped by poet of great skill with allusion and not merely repeated like an archaic prayer. The language is an

---

the language of the rite is that of the first century B.C., but I hope to show the language of the Fetials is much older. Watson works under the assumption the fetial rite is ancient and authentic but he does not explicitly state his reasoning for doing so.

expansion on *foedus ferire* rather than a mere repetition. The larger structure of the line evokes the traditional Italic structure, which deploys a two doubling figures followed by a tripling figure, without actually doing so. In the process Ennius creates a more complex and syntactically interesting arrangement, without losing the air of the archaic stylistic figure.

2.2 *Urbs Condita*

Annales 72-91 is preserved in the *De divatione* of Cicero (*Div.* 1.107-8). It is the longest of all the extant fragments and describes the auspices taken before the founding of Rome by Romulus and his brother Remus. Both of the would-be kings look for an omen that will pronounce one of them the king of the future city of Rome. In the middle of the passage Ennius uses a simile to compare the anxiousness of the spectators to that of the crowd waiting for the start of a chariot race. Finally Romulus perceives a group of a dozen birds and divines that the kingship will fall to him:

Curantes magna cum cura tum cupientes
Regni dant operam simul auspicio augurioque

In † monte Remus auspicio sedet atque secundam

Solus avem servat. At Romulus pulcer in alto   *75*

Quaerit Aventino, servat genus altivolantum
Certabant urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent.
Omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator.
Expsectant veluti consul quom mittere signum
Volt, omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras   *80*
Quam mox emittat pictos e faucibus currus:
Sic exspectabat populus atque ore timebat
Rebus utri magni victoria sit data regni.
Interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.

Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux　　　85
Et simul ex alto longe pulcerrima praepes
Laeva volavit avis. Simul aureus exoritur sol
Cedunt de caelo ter quattuor corpora sancta
Avium praepetibus sese pulcrisque locis dant.
Conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse propritim　90
Auspicio regni stabilita scamna solumque.　　　(*Ann.* 72-91)

Taking great care and desirous of the kingdom
They begin the auspice and augury
Remus sits on the mount watching for birds
And alone he searches for a bird. Blessed Romulus seeks
One on the lofty Aventine, he watches for a family of birds,
They were struggling over whether to name the city Roma or Remora.
Everyone worries who will be the commander.
They wait just as, when the consul wishes to give the signal
Everyone breathlessly watches the gates to see
How soon the he will send the painted chariots from the starting box
So the people wait and display the concern in their faces
Over to whom the victory and the kingship will be given to by
Circumstance meanwhile the white star returns to the nether region of
night.Then the shining light appears abroad struck by radiance
And at the same time from the sky a most blessed and well-omened
Bird on the left flies by far. As soon as the golden sun rises
From the sky twelve sacred bodies of birds come
They appear in the region of blessedness and good omen.
Then Romulus perceives the throne and seat of the kingship
Buttressed by this auspice was given to him alone.

Despite the length of the passage, which invites a literary approach, much of the discussion of this passage have centered on the actual text.[95] Skutsch is concerned almost solely with the logistics of the auspices. His commentary offers little in the way of literary interpretation and instead picks up on the discussion of the timing of the auspices and the placement of Romulus and Remus, who take the auspices in this passage. In his

---

[95] Jocelyn 1971 p. 44 n. 10 mentions a "large bibliography" on the fragment and lists three key works, Skutsch 1968, the only one of which was written in the 20th century, Vahlen 1894 (reprinted 1923), and Bergk 1860 (reprinted 1884). I have limited my treatment of the previous scholarship to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, except to identify the originators of hypotheses still proposed by more recent commentators on the *Annales*.

defense, the passage presents a great number of problems of transmission and interpretation in the philological sense. Skutsch seems to have chosen to deal primarily with those problems which he began to grapple with years before publishing the commentary.[96]

Jocelyn provides an extremely valuable summary of the problems presented by this passage and is helpful on the obscure wording of the lines.[97] Pease makes some observations of merit in his commentary of this fragment in his commentary on the *De*

---

[96] Skutsch 1968 pp. 62-81 concerns himself with the placement of Romulus and Remus, concluding that both were on different peaks of the Aventine rather than separate hills. Skutsch identifies one of these peaks as the Mons Murcus. He also defends the manuscript reading *ore timebat* and discusses the actual time of day or night of the augural contest, finally concluding that Romulus is the one who sees both omens. Skutsch 1985 pp. 222-23 makes a variety of points concerning single words and phrases which enrich his literal rather than literary approach to the fragment; my debt to him should be apparent to anyone who consults my footnotes in the following discussion.

[97] Jocelyn 1971 pp. 44-74 is an exemplary model of philological method, and no footnote can do justice to all the points covered by this article. His point that "the forms of this ceremonial (i.e. Roman ceremonial in general) affected profoundly both the language of the *Annals* and the way in which the themes of the poem were organized" bears out throughout my discussion of the *Annales*. The highlights of his points are the difference of meaning between *auspicium* and *augurium*, the relationship of the fragment to previous versions of the Romulus and Remus stories, the metrical and textual problems in line 74; the problematic sequence of tenses, especially "the use of the durative verb *exspectare* in the historic present immediately after a verb in the past tense" in lines 80-82; the meaning of *sol albu*s versus *aureus sol*; and the problematic semantics of *conspicit*. Few of these points directly affect my discussion with the exception of the semantics of *conspicit*. My view of this and many of the other points made by Jocelyn is that most of these "problems" are due to some poetic reason, especially the sequence of tenses, which would reflect the blurry line between past and present as discussed by Aicher and Goldberg.

Divinatione.[98] Dominik's discussion adds little to previous analyses.[99] Goldberg's

reading of the passage is rather perfunctory but there is a nice overview on readings of

the simile in 78-83.[100]

Aicher treats the simile in 78-83 and makes an interesting point regarding the

relationship of the simile to the setting and the Augustan tendency to idealize the rustic

past. This is the only simile from the *Annales* in which the context is preserved and the

relationship between referent and vehicle may be examined without speculation.[101] A

crowd of proto-Romans about the Aventine prefigures the crowd of Ennius' day at the

---

[98] Pease pp. 292-97 lists several parallels between the fragment and later Latin literature. He cites a parallel
from Plautus' *Menaechmi* 895 and *curantes magna cum cura*. He notes Servius' etymologizing of
Aventinus from *avis* and also notes Gellius' quotation of *Annales* 89 in order to illustrate the meaning of
praepes. His portion of the commentary dedicated to the fragment is intensely philological and offers no
overall reading of the fragment.

[99] Dominik pp. 52-54 does not acknowledge the previous scholarship, so much so that he
cites only Skutsch 1968 (despite using line numbers from Skutsch 1985). He has been
anticipated in most of his points including the observation that *Aventinus* is etymologized
by Varro from *avis*. His point that Aventinus is highlighted by its placement between
quaerit and *servat* is vague but original.

[100] Goldberg pp. 103-06 openly acknowledges his debt to Skutsch 1968 and 1985, but
still credits Dominik for observation concerning the ancient etymologizing, despite the
fact that Skutsch made the connection, albeit tentatively, eight years before Dominik.
Goldberg also discusses the "markedly anachronistic way" Ennius has drawn a simile
from one of the most popular public events of Republican Rome," but seems to be
unaware that Aicher made a similar point in his article six years before. Nevertheless, his
point that anachronistic similes are to be found in Homer is original.

[101] Aicher pp. 222-24 provides a detailed examination of the simile and its context; my analysis is closely
based on his. Aicher sees the fact that the simile is "more closely bound to the narrative" as "in accordance
with Alexandrian theory and practice."

Circus Maximus, located at the foot of the Aventine.[102] The throng in the simile is

focused on the consul, for whom Romulus may be seen as a precursor.[103] The poet

repeats the verb *exspectare* to emphasize the parallel actions of the pre-Roman herdsmen

and the crowd at the chariot race.

The use of alliteration and assonance in this passage is extensive and may be

marked out thus:

Cura|ntes *magna* c*um* cura tum cupi*entes*
*Regni dant operam simul **au**spicio **au**gurioque*

In monte Remus auspicio *s*edet atque
secundam
Solus avem **s**ervat. At Romulus pulcer in **a**lto

*Quaerit **A**ventino, servat genus **a**ltivolantum*
*Certabant urbem **R**omam **R**emoramne vocarent.*
***O**mnibus cura viris **u**ter **e**sset **i**nduperator.*
Expsectant veluti consul quom mittere signum
*Volt, **o**mnes **a**vidi spectant ad carceris oras*
Quam mox emittat pictos e faucibus currus:
Sic exspectabat populus atque ore timebat
Rebus utri magni victoria sit data regni.
Interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.
Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux
*Et simul ex alto longe **p**ulcerrima **p**raepes*
***L**ae**v**a **v**ola**v**it a**v**is. Simul **a**ureus **e**xoritur sol*
***C**edunt de **c**aelo ter quattuor **c**orpora sancta*
*Avium **p**raepetibus sese **p**ulcrisque locis dant.*
Conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse propritim
*Auspicio regni **s**tabilita **s**camna **s**olumque.*

The opening line is particularly marked by alliteration. The line *curantes magna*

cum cura tum cupientes consists almost entirely of words beginning with unvoiced

velars. The two participles which bracket the line are connected syntactically as

---

[102] Aicher p. 222

[103] Aicher p. 223

participles and phonetically by their first consonants. The repeated sounds of *cura*(*ntes*) and *cura* not only form an etymological figure, but also simultaneously emphasize the binding alliteration of the line and the distended word order of *curantes* and *cura*. The homoioteleuton of *tum* and *cum* draws *tum* into the pattern of sound in the line as a partner of *cum*. *Magna* has no obvious phonemic relationship with the other words of the line but its placement in the typical phrase of *magna cum X* suggests a close relationship with the preposition *cum*, creating a loose relationship on the bare level of sound between *magna cum X* and *cum…..tum*.

The half line *laeva volavit avis* is also marked by alliteration. It is difficult to construct controllable arguments concerning the onomatopeic effects of alliteration, but the rounding and unrounding of the lips necessary to alternate between the two laterals and four labial glides contained in the three-word phrase may give the impression of a bird flapping its wings. It is extremely suggestive, but only suggestive, that Ennius would construct a phrase deploying these two particular sounds in an alliterative pattern since inherited initial *l- and *v- in Umbrian both become *v*-.

There is a temptation to suggest that interlinguistic alliteration is lurking behind the obvious Latin sound repetition, but Ennius was not a native speaker of Umbrian and his native Oscan did distinguish between initial *v*- and *l*-. If Ennius is playing on the Umbrian collapse of *l*- and *v*-, it is not entirely clear how he could be aware of it, unless such a lack of distinction was well known as a trait of Umbrian Latin, much like the inability to consistently distinguish between *r*- and *l*- in the speech of some speakers of Chinese English. Even if this scenario is plausible, there is little apparent reason to deliberately play on the Umbrian lack of distinction of *l*- and *v*- in this passage.

The final line of the fragment gives another example of alliteration. The line reads: *auspicio regni stabilita scamna sol*umque. Every word with the exception of *regni* contains a sibilant. *Regni* shares no common consonants with any of the other words in the line, with the exception of the *-n-* in *scamna*, which, like the *-n-* in *regni*, occurs as the second stop in a consonant cluster. The lack of alliteration isolates *regni* and emphasizes its role as a marker of ring composition in the passage. It also highlights its thematic importance as the object of the desires of both Romulus and Remus.

In addition to sound repetition, a ring structure marks the fragment as unit. The last line of the fragment uses the words *auspicio regni*, which look back to the second line of the passage: <u>*regni*</u> *dant operam simul* <u>*auspicio*</u> *augurioque*. Not only are the words repeated but both are in the same case and *regni*, also a third time, in what it more or less the center of the ring. The use of the name Romulus, in the nominative both at the beginning and the end of the fragment, also suggests a ring. Two forms of the verb *exspecto* frame the extended simile and the verb *spectant* within the simile echoes *exspectant* and *exspectabat*. Nevertheless, the correspondences of repeated words are exact neither in form nor in placement.

The arrangement of the markers of the ring further implies that the first line of the fragment is somehow not part of the unit, but from the standpoint of syntax the participles are subordinate to the main verb *dant*. It is possible that the participles which begin the fragment are dependent on a finite verb which was deployed before the fragment begins, but this seems unlikely. It would make little sense to begin a quotation of a passage which forms a clear unit with dangling participles and the genitive regni, dependent on

cupientes, which has been deployed as an adjective, ties the first line to the second line by means of enjambment.

Ring structures have long been recognized as an organizing principle of Homeric verse, but they are not exclusively deployed in Greek poetry. The stylistic arrangement is at home in the Italic tradition as well. The prayer to Jupiter Grabovius in the Iguvine Tables also employs ring composition to mark itself out as a bounded entity.[104] Ring composition serves the same purpose in the hymn of the Arval Brethren. It is often impossible to know for certain which tradition influenced Ennius into structuring a passage, but some conscious or unconscious Italic influence, or at least a recognition of something familiar in the Homeric patterning to the Italian Ennius, seems the most likely.

This passage provides some excellent examples of Ennius' use of the features of Italic verbal art. He plays with doubling figures like those found in the prayer of Mars and the Iguvine Tables. The passage makes use of ring composition just as Cato's invocation does. There are *figurae etymologicae* like those used in the older texts. Finally, the poet employs several formulaic expressions which appear to have been ritual utterances and instructions for augury, including one, I shall argue, that may be of at least Proto-Italic date. Therefore the passage is characterized by the three salient markers of Italic verbal art: alliterative doubling figures, *figurae etymologicae*, and traditional phraseology.

---

[104] Watkins 1995 p. 216 notes the repetition of *teio subocau suboco dei grabovi* in *IT* VIa l. 22 with *di grabovie tio subocau* in VIa l. 34 which frames a prayer to Jupiter Grabovius. Subocau suboco is in fact and alternate form of a traditional collocation of Indo-European date and has a parallel in the *Annales*, which is discussed in Schirmer pp. 255-272 and in Chapter Three.

2.2.1 Doubling Figures

The passage contains several doubling figures which are bound by alliteration in the typical manner of Italic verbal art. Romulus and Remus engage in *auspicio augurioque*. The spectators watching the two brothers wonder whether the future city will be called *Romam Remoramne*. The bird which flies from the sky on the left is *pulcerrima praepes*. At the end of the passage, Romulus realizes that the *scamna solumque* of the new city has been given to him. Arguably, the two participles in the first line of the fragment form a fifth doubling figure: Romulus and Remus are described as **curantes** *magna cum cura tum* **cupientes**.

The doubling figure *pulcerrima praepes* (*Ann.* 86) is repeated in a slightly different form, *praepetibus…pulcrisque*, a few lines later (*Ann.* 89). *Praepes* as an augural term means "of good omen," although in other contexts it appears to mean "high flying." *Praepes* may have also been a term to differentiate birds observed in different parts of the sky: those in the lower part of the augur's field of vision were termed *aves inferae,* and those in the higher part, *praepes*.[105] *Pulcer* has religious connotations and means here probably something like "divine"[106] or perhaps "flawless." Thus the two attributes form a doubling of argument and synonymous argument.

Because of its length, the passage allows special insight into the poet's use of theme, something the shorter fragments are unable to do. It is suggestive that the

---

[105] Valeton pp. 246-48 bases this suggestion on passages from Servius (*Ad Aen.* 3.361) and Gellius (7.6.2-4 and 10). Linderski p. 2279 n. 531 provides a parallel division of the field of vision in the Iguvine Tables (VIa 11-15).

[106] Skutsch p. 197 discusses the religious connotations of *pulcer* with respect to its use in describing Mars (*Ann.* 38). It is also used to describe Romulus (*Ann.* 75). This may foreshadow Romulus' sighting of the favorable omen and certainly creates a sense of unity in the passage through verbal echo.

doubling figures reflect these themes. It is possible that Ennius is deploying markers of Italic verbal art to emphasize themes that are also part of that tradition. The themes of the passage are not exclusively Italic, but they have deep roots in Italic myth and religion.

The most immediate and obvious theme running through the fragment is the struggle of the two brothers for control of the future city of Rome.[107] It is appropriate and perhaps not accidental that a struggle between twin brothers would be marked by meristic phrases pairing arguments and synonymous arguments such as *scamna solumque* and *auspicio augurioque*. On the other hand, the antithesis of Romulus and Remus, in a doubling figure which also amounts to an expression of an argument and negated argument, *Romam Remoramne*, when the spectators wonder whether the city to be will be named after Romulus or Remus.

The use of two pairs of augural terms highlight the terms of the contest. The very process of searching the skies for birds is named not with one term but with two alliterating terms. The bird sighted by Remus is not only "divinely beautiful" but also "of good omen," emphasizing how close Remus came to winning the contest, or, less likely, birds of Romulus in a collective sense.[108] The group of twelve birds which follow are observed in a place that is again "of good omen" and "divinely beautiful." The result of

---

[107] Wiseman has conducted the most extensive treatment of the Romulus and Remus story. His *terminus ante quem* of 256 BCE is sound, and he appears to be right in asserting that the story in the form familiar to the Romans of the Late Republic was relatively recent. However his conclusion that the story is an ideological representation of the struggle between Plebians and Patricians disseminated in hypothetical dramatic performances is as uncontrollable as the theories of comparativists which he disparages. Wiseman does not seem interested that several details of the story are quite old. The figure of the twins and the implied double kingship in myth is a specific Indo-European motif. Wiseman p. 65 himself points out that babes suckled by animals can be seen in Etruscan art in the late 5th century. Such a story would not have simply materialized from nothing.

[108] Skutsch p. 234 argues for the latter interpretation.

the contest is the reward of *regnum*, which is symbolized by the possession of *scamna solumque*.

The doubling figures by themselves highlight the main points and themes of the narrative in order. We begin with the brothers *curantes* and *cupientes regni*, which provides the reason for the contest which is conducted by means of *auspcio augurioque*. The merism in the middle of the phrase sums up the entire struggle: will it be Roma or Remora? Finally, the omen, which is *pulcerrima* and *praepes*, grants *scamna* and *solum regni* to Romulus.

It is suggestive that alliterative double figures in the passage emphasize theme. The struggle between the brothers is epitomized in *Romam Remoramne*. The language of augury highlights the importance of the auspices in the passage by means of a stylistic figure which is one of the basic building blocks of Italic verbal art. It is a great loss that it is no longer possible to trace how these themes might have been delineated in the rest of the poem and how these poetic devices functioned in relation to theme outside this particular passage.

2.2.2 *Figurae Etymologicae*

In addition to the alliterative doubling figures the passage makes use of *figurae etymologicae*. This stylistic device is not exclusive to Italic verbal art,[109] but such

---

[109] O'Hara pp. 7-42 gives a fairly comprehensive overview of etymologizing in Greek poetry from Homer to Alexandria. He is right to mention that "the Alexandrian poets were of paramount importance for Vergilian etymologizing," and this may also be true of Ennius. He also rightly observes that the "Romans seem naturally to have a great interest in wordplay and puns," which made them "inclined to be receptive to Alexandrian etymological wordplay." As Watkins 1995 p. 169 notes, "the use of *figura etymologica* is also widespread outside the Indo-European world as well as in it."

etymologizing is a salient characteristic of Italic verbal art as evidenced by Catos's *lustrandi lustrique faciendi*, "purifying and making a purification," and Umbrian *subocau suboco*, "I invoke an invoking."[110] A close examination of the fragment reveals a passage peppered with etymologizing that ranges from the obvious to the subtle. Skutsch identifies the various *figurae etymologicae* in the passage,[111] including *auspicio* and *Aventinus* from *aves*, *Remus* and *Remoram* from an implied *remores*, and *cura …curantes*.

In addition to the obvious etymologizing, Ennius has Remus **avem** *servat* in the beginning of line 75 and then at the beginning of line 80 has Romulus *quaerit **Aventino***, implying a connection between *avem* and *Aventinus*. Varro (*LL* 5.43) tells us that Naevius claimed that the name *Aventinus* came from the birds which flew there from the Tiber which may imply the influence of Naevius on Ennius, or perhaps was a popular etymology at the time.[112] The folk etymology of Aventine brings to the fore the importance in this fragment of the taking of auspices, emphasizing the thematic importance of the event taking place.

---

[110] Watkins pp. 217 notes this figure.

[111] Skutsch makes some of his better literary observations on etymological figures, including *curantes magna cum cura*, which he describes as 'weighty', and the connection between *aves* and *Aventinus*. The parallel between *magna cum cura ego illum curari volo* in *Menaechmi* 895 and the phrase in the *Annales* suggests that this may also be a traditional collocation. Nevertheless, the *figurae etymologicae* may be independent creations, given the common constructions and lexemes which constitute the phrases.

[112] Skutsch pp. 225-226 is tentative but supposes that "Naevius … deriving the name Aventine …may or may not have had the birds of Romulus in mind." Servius *A*. 657 says that *Aventinus mons urbis, quem constat ab avibus esse nominatum*. This could refer to Naevius' etymology, but the verb *constat* implies agreement among several authorities. However, it is possible that the etymology was appropriated by others from Naevius, leading to a perceived state of agreement. On balance, Servius' failure to credit Naevius with the etymology inclines me to believe the derivation of *Aventinus* from *avis* was a popular etymology employed by Naevius.

A close reading of the opening lines of the passage suggests that Ennius may be playing with the expectations of his audience to highlight the *figura etymologica*. *Quaerit* in this context appears to be a near synonym of *servat* and the opening syllables of *Aventino* are exactly those of *avem*. The previous line opens with *solus avem servat*, which describes the action of Remus, and then Ennius switches from Remus to Romulus as the grammatical subject. This would lead the audience to believe that a similar action is about to be described with the same or a similar direct object, only to have its expectations disappointed by the word *Aventino* instead of *avem*. Immediately afterwards, the expectation would, however, be fulfilled by the phrase *servat genus altivolantum*. The replacing of the expected *avem* with *Aventino* would then emphasize the "etymological" connection.

The potential naming of the city as Remora creates an indirect *figura etymologica* with the name Remus.[113] Pseudo-Aurelius Victor claims that Remus was named because of his slowness and that men were called *remores* in ancient times (*Orig.* 21.4). He also reports that the Remuria or Remoria, a section on the southeastern extension of the Aventine, is named after Remus (*Orig.* 23.1). The explicit etymologizing of Remora from Remus implies a derivation of Remus from *remores* or *remorari*. Thus, Ennius creates three etymological figures with three place names: Aventinus from *avem*, Remora or Remuria from Remus, and Rome from Romulus.

Ennius leaves the reader in no doubt as to what the most significant of the *figurae etymologicae* in the fragment might be. Twice he implicitly etymologizes the compound *auspicio* as *avem specio*. If this repetition is not enough to convince a skeptic that these

---

[113] Skutsch p. 226 suggests this connection.

figurae etymologicae are not accidental, he places the first at the beginning of the passage and the last at the end. The derivation of *auspicio* from *avem* and *specio* is transparent given its semantics; Paulus ex Festo (*Paul. Fest.* 2.2) and Servius (*ad Aen.* 3.374) also make Ennius' implicit etymology explicit

Ennius makes his etymology of *auspicio* fairly obvious if not explicit. In the beginning of the fragment, after devoting himself to the business of <u>*auspicio*</u> Remus proceeds to search for an *avem*. The narrative is capped with the image of Romulus recognizing '*<u>conspicit</u>*' that the kingship is his and ratified through <u>*auspicio*</u>. Not content to play on a transparent derivation twice in 18 lines, he leaves one final clue at the end of the passage. If one reads the first words of the last three lines acrostically, the following statement emerges

Avium…
Conspicit…
Auspicio….

It is, of course, possible that these patterns and repetitions are merely by-products of the augural subject matter. However, the sheer weight of the combined evidence suggests otherwise.

The employment of this repeated *figura etymologica* achieves certain stylistic effects, which points to a conscious arrangement. The etymologizing of *auspicio* emphasizes its importance as a key theme of the passage. It occurs at the beginning and the end of the passage, emphasizing the ring structure and acting as a framing device. The elements of the *figura etymologica* describe the actions of different opponents in the augural contest and call attention to the different outcomes for each party. Remus engages in *auspicio* but can only search for an *avem* but Romulus is able to actually catch

73

sight of '*conspicit*' a group of *avium* and therefore win the right to name the city Roma

rather than Remora.

2.2.3 Traditional Phraseology in the *Urbs Condita*

It is not surprising in a passage describing an augury that there would be echoes

of augural utterances. Two variants of *pulcer praepes* appear in the fragment, implying

that the phrase is some type of formulaic utterance. Some of these traditional

collocations employed in fragment have solid Latin pedigrees. For example, *dant operam*

...auspicis is employed by several sources. The evidence from Cicero and Plautus suggest

that Ennius' use of *conspicit* is a variation on a ritual formulaic phrase which was may be

reconstructed as *conspicio avem*. *Cadunt de caelo* evokes a constellation of traditional

phraseology employing the expression *de caelo*. This set of parallels suggests that Ennius

is making use of several traditional collocations or instructions in this particular

fragment, all of which appear to be at home in Latin augural contexts.

The phrase *praepes pulcer* occurs three times in the *Annales*, and repetition alone

suggests this is a formulaic expression, either an augural utterance or formalized phrase

of instruction. The alliteration and the fact that Ennius expands on the phrase four lines

after he first uses it are suggestive. The ritual connotations of *pulcer* and *praepes* as

individual lexemes provide further evidence that despite its lack of occurrences outside of

the *Annales*, this doubling figure is traditional. Skutsch unequivocally names it a "term of

augural language."[114]

---

[114] Skutsch p. 223-24 does not provide any examples of *pulcer* and *praepes* together outside Ennius, but makes a convincing case that the individual elements as examples of augural terminology. The repeated occurrences in the *Annales* render it formulaic in the *Annales* at least.

Skutsch notes the asyndeton in line 86 and asserts that this is an "archaizing" figure, suggesting that the earliest form of *pulcer praepes* was not conjoined with a single *–que*.[115] If this is the case, the poet again transforms a solemn traditional phrase into something different and then effects another transformation of the same formulaic phrase four lines later.

In the first alteration, the bird seen from the sky is not simply *pulcer praepes* but *pulcerrima praepes*, emphasizing how important this particular omen is. However, the implied importance of the bird sighting may be added to Skutsch's arguments that both the single and the twelve birds were observed by Romulus. The most *pulcra* of *aves pulcrae* sighted by Remus would indicate that the contest was very close and there is nothing in the text of the passage to indicate that there was any dispute, as there would be in the later tradition.

The second transformation reverses the order of the *pulcerrima praepes* and inserts the pronoun *sese* between the two substantives. In this case the two elements of the collocation are joined by a single *–que*, perhaps to offset the intrusion of *sese* into what is otherwise a unit. If nothing else, the distension and reverse order of *pulcer praepes* creates a pleasing variation. The transferal of the epithets from a bird of omen to its location is striking but in keeping with Ennius' use of traditional phraseology.

---

[115] Skutsch p. 233 may be right, but it is more likely that the enclitic *–que* simply had no semantic or prosodic weight in Italic verbal art and could be dispensed with or added at will. It is suggestive- but perhaps due to the earlier occurrence in the text or to mere coincidence-that Gellius records line 89 as *praepetibus sese pulcris locis dant*, without the *–que* (*NA* 7.6.9).

A third transformation of the reconstructed formulaic phrase *pulcer praepes* is found outside this fragment in line 457. The asyndeton occurs again, but this time with an intervening participle:

Brundisium pulcro praecinctum praepete portu.

Brundisium encircled with a port blessed and of good omen.

Ennius' bold use of these adjectives to describe the harbor at Brundisium gives greater weight to the hypothesis that *pulcer praepes* was a traditional collocation. The harbor is literally described as *pulcer*, 'divine' or' beautiful', and *praepes*. As mentioned above, it seems to mean something like "well-omened" although in other contexts it apparently means "high-flying." To call a harbor "well-omened" is a further shift in meaning, two steps from "high-flying." In order for such a semantic stretch to be effective, Ennius' audience would have to be familiar with the phrase.

A less kindly disposed reader could attribute the variations on *pulcer praepes* to a concession needed to fit the meter of the poem but if this is the case, one must ask why Ennius did not simply place *pulcer praepes* at the beginning of both lines, or in any other position that would accept two spondees. Metrical constraints certainly do not require a transferal of epithets used for omens to the places where such omens are sighted or to the harbor of Brundisium. Assuming, as the evidence suggests, that Ennius has made conscious choices rather than compromises for the sake of meter, the evidence strongly suggests that the *Annales* is no clumsy and groping attempt to import the dactylic hexameter into Latin, but a poem that plays with language and expectations in the manner of a more "modern" poet such as Ovid.

The relatively unassuming phrase *dant operam ...auspiciis* is a ritual formula,[116] although probably not an especially weighty utterance. It does not appear in poetry, but only in prose writers such as Varro, Cicero,[117] and Livy. Varro quotes the phrase *auspicio o<per>am*[118] *des* from a *commentarium vetus antiquitionis* on the performance of an augury (*LL* 6.91), virtually guaranteeing that the collocation was old by the time of the late Republic. This *commentarium vetus* renders it unlikely that any other variants on the phrase were nods to Ennius rather than allusions to an old augural formula. It is suggestive that Livy employs the phrase when describing the campaigns of Cato in Spain (34.14.1), and perhaps Livy used the writings of Cato as source material for this part of the histories and imported the phrase from the same source. The phrase must have been familiar to a Roman audience and remained so throughout pagan antiquity. It can be found as late as the *Origenis in Numeros Homilia* of Rufinus in the fourth century A.D. (*Rufinus* 17.3).[119]

The phrase *conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse ...* (*Ann*. 90) may also be a play on a ritual formula as well as a *figura etymologica*. The verb *conspicio* is deployed in Plautus (*Most*. 839) and Cicero (*De. div*. 1.106) with a bird as the object. In a fragment of the Ciceronian epic celebrating Marius the context is clearly augural, suggesting that

---

[116] The *OLD* does not list *dare operam…auspiciis* as a formula, but Linderski 1996 p. 215 implicitly takes it as such, specifically as an example of "Roman divinatory terminology."

[117] Cicero *Fam* 10.12.3, L*eg*. 2.30, and Livy 38.26.1 also deploy this formulaic phrase.

[118] The emendation is Bergk's. Note the need to fill out the *opam* of the text with suppletion in comparison with the proposed emendation of *fidus* to *foedus* (probably *foidos*) discussed in n. 13

[119] One may add Festus 276.26 as another late citation, but Festus' work is itself an abridgement of the Augustan antiquarian Verrius. Linderski p. 215 remarks that "Rufinus' use of Roman divinatory terminology is remarkable."

conspcio avem (*vel. sim.*) is a traditional phrase, although the object is *volantem* in Cicero. Ennius is apparently alluding to this phrase in the acrostic arrangement of *avium*, *conspicit* and *auspicio* discussed above, and *Annales* 90 may be a deliberate alteration of the expected *conspicit avem* to *conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse*.

 Conspicit avem must be a variant of the formulaic augural utterance or instruction preserved in Varro, *avem specere*, which Varro cites as an example of the survival of an older form of *spectare* (*L.L.* 6.82). Naevius' *avem aspexit* (*Bell. Poen.* 3) and *auspicit auspicium* (*Bell. Poen.* 36) are also variations on this set phrase, altered in order to create alliterative collocations and *figurae etymologicae*. If Ennius is altering and alluding to an augural phrase, *avem specere* is most likely the model. The parallel in Naevius, especially the etymologizing of *auspicium*, is intriguing, but the existence of a traditional collocation of *avem* and *specere* suggests a common source rather than a direct allusion to the *Bellum Poenicum*, although Ennius may be secondarily referencing Naevius.

In the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, Theopropides tells his slave Tranio: *nullam pictam conspicio hic avem* (*Most.* 839). The verb *conspicere* is employed twice more within five lines with *cornix* as an object (*Most.* 835 and 837).[120] The context of this phrase is not the taking of auspices or divination of any sort but rather the discussion of a painting. The language is reminiscent of Cicero and Ennius, but an allusion to Cicero is impossible and an allusion to the *Annales* would be obscure, if it was possible. An incongruity between the solemn language of augury, which was heard frequently by the general population at

---

[120] Note that the crow is one of the birds to be looked for in the passage quoted from the Iguvine Tables and the list of augural birds in the *Asinaria* discussed in Chapter One.

Rome, and the language of comedy would achieve Plautus' end far more effectively than a reference to a recently begun epic.

Cicero employs the phrase *volantem conspexit* in an augural context in his poem on Marius (*De. div*. 1.106). There is a general similarity between Cicero and Ennius in using *conspicio* in an augural context, but the object of *conspicit* is an indirect statement in the Ennian passage and not *avem* or *volantem*, although Ennius employs *genus altivolantum* at the beginning of the passage to describe the desired omen for the brothers. Cicero could be referring the phrase *conspicio hic avem* in the *Mostellaria*, but in that case the allusion would be rather perverse in what appears to a serious epic. As in Plautus, the most likely source is a traditional augural phrase rather than a phrase in any specific literary text.

The word *auspicio*, which Ennius deploys twice in the fragment as a marker of ring composition, and in both cases in a *figura etymologica*, is itself a hypostasis of *avem specere*. As suggested above, Ennius appears to be implicitly etymologizing *auspicio* as *avem specere*, especially in the acrostic placement of *avium*, *conspicit* and *auspicio* in consecutive lines. The acrostics are not only a reference to the language of augury, they also suggest that the phrase *conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse* ...is an allusion to the phrase *avem* (*con*)*spicere*, in which the audience expects *avem* to be the object of the line initial *conspicit*, and is surprised by the indirect statement that follows instead.

The phrase *cedunt de caelo* must be related to the constellation of repeated expressions which deploy the prepositional phrase *de caelo* or simply *caelo* found scattered throughout various sources in descriptions of omens and watching for omens. *De caelo* appears to be the nucleus of several formulaic phrases in the province of

divination and it stands on its own at least once. In Plautus' *Persa*, Sagaristio's description of his master's decision *quasi de caelo* implies some type of divination (*Per.* 258) and suggests that the phrase *de caelo* alone carries some semantic weight.

Several traditional collocations built upon *de caelo* can be found throughout Latin literature: they describe unusual and significant omens, especially in the work of Livy. Temples and other objects when struck by lightning are referred to as *tacta de caelo*. *Delapsum de caelo* is an extension of *de caelo* which occurs in the descriptions of certain prodigies which fall from the sky. The most striking similarity is that between *cedunt de caelo* and *cecidisse caelo*, and variants of this phrase, which are employed by Livy to describe certain sky-born omens of special significance.

Tacta de caelo is the most frequent extension of *de caelo* in the extant sources. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* lists it as a specialized form meaning 'to strike with lightning'.[121] Cato employs the phrase *si de caelo villa tacta siet* (*De Agr.* 14.3), placing the formulation at the very beginning of Latin prose if not Latin literature. Livy employs the phrase 26 times in the extant books of his *Histories*. The most common target appears to be a building, such as the Temple of the Penates in Velia (45.16.5); but men struck by lightning were apparently also considered portents (22.36.8). The collocation of *caelo* and *tactum* (*vel sim.*) appears throughout the poetry of the Golden and Silver Ages as well.

The context of the passage in Ennius is similar to the listings of omens throughout Livy which frequently *deploy tacta de caelo*, but other texts do not deploy the phrase in such contexts. Despite the spectacular nature of lightning strikes, they must have been very common, and it is therefore unclear how much semantic weight the phrase *de caelo*

---

[121] *OLD s.v. tango*

tacta might have had. In addition, the *Annales* deploys *de caelo* to describe augural omens not sky signs. Therefore, it is very unlikely that *cedunt de caelo* in the *Annales* would have called to mind the phrase *de caelo tacta* other than as one of many extensions of *de caelo*.

Cedunt de caelo is reminiscent of another expression employed by Cicero on three separate occasions. Once he describes Pompey as *de caelo delapsus* (*De Imp. Pomp.* 41). In the eleventh *Philippic*, he refers to a statue that fell from the sky, *signum quod de caelo delapsum* (*Phil.* 11.24), and in the *De haruspicum responso*, he describes a god as descending from the sky, *delapsus de caelo* (*Har.* 62). None of these expressions is used in an augural context, but the repetition of the collocation perhaps suggests some type of set expression. Like *de caelo tacta*, the extension of *de caelo* with *delapsum* is not a likely source for *cedunt de caelo*, but the context of *delapsum de caelo* tends to refer to rather remarkable occurrences. It is slightly more likely that a reader might recall the phrase *delapsum de caelo* than *tacta de caelo* when he reads *cedunt de caelo* in Ennius, since the subject of *cedunt de caelo* is one of the most important portents in the Roman tradition.

If *cedunt de caelo* has no clear relationship with the above traditional phrases, it does bear a striking resemblance to the phrase (*de*) *caelo cecidisse* (22.1.9, 41.9.5), employed by Livy twice with a variant *cecidere caelo* (1.31.3). The fact that the phrase appears three times in the same context suggests that *caelo cecidisse* was part of the formulaic language of omens and that the Ennian phrase is an allusion to it. The match is almost exact with *cedunt de caelo*, with the exception of the vowel in *cedunt*, which

would be *cadunt* if the phrase were a finite form of de *caelo cecidisse*. Instead of falling

from the sky, *cadere*, the birds simply come from the sky, *cedere*.

The difference in the vowel and therefore between the two roots probably owes

something to metrical considerations, as the root vowel in *cedunt* is long while that of

cadunt is short, and the phrases *cadunt de caelo* and *cecidere de caelo* are not possible at

the beginning of a hexameter line as here. Since the phrase could be deployed in other

parts of the hexameter line, other circumstances must have had some effect on the

decision to alter the traditional collocation. Even if the decision to alter *cadunt* to *cedunt*

was based solely on metrics, the solution is simple and elegant and produces a playful

allusion rather than a simple quotation.

Caelo cecidisse and *cecidere caelo* in Livy occur before especially significant

events in Roman history in two of its three occurrences. In book 1, the falling stones

described as *cecidere caelo* come before a plague (1.31.3). In book 22, the falling of

stones precedes the loss of 15,000 soldiers in the disaster at Lake Trasimene (22.1.9).

Livy deploys the phrase *de caelo cecidisse* in book 41 with no apparent disaster following

the omen (41.9.5). The Livian contexts of *caelo cecidisse* suggest the phrase was used to

describe significant and dire omens and *cedunt de caelo* may have added some extra

semantic weight to the omen of the birds in Ennius by virtue of its close resemblance to

cadunt de caelo. The change from falling stones to birds must have been striking to a

Roman audience and the contextual shift from language which implied a disastrous event

to the founding of Rome even more so.

Out of all the possible sources of *cedunt de caelo*, *caelo cedere* and its variants is

the most suggestive and intriguing but also the least well attested as a traditional phrase.

It is possible that Ennius and Livy were not alluding to a ritual formula and that the resemblance is accidental; nevertheless, the significance of two of the falling stones in Livy implies that *caelo cedere* was a traditional phrase used to describe a type of omen with serious consequences. However, the context of the phrase in book 41 suggests a tendency to employ the phrase for such omens rather than a rule. The evidence is more suggestive than conclusive. However an allusion to a traditional ritual collocation which survives in Livy and Ennius is an extremely attractive hypothesis.

No extension of *de caelo* appears in a specifically augural context outside this fragment. Paulus ex Festo lists augural signs which are *ex caelo* and *ex avibus* as two of five separate categories of omens (*Paul. Fest.* 216.117), suggesting some contamination in the description of the auspices. If the limited evidence is not misleading, Ennius is emphasizing the gravity of the contest of the brothers through allusion to the language used to describe extremely serious signs from the gods. The nexus of traditional phraseology, which employs *de caelo*, tends to concern itself with omens of an unusual and significant nature and an echo of the same words used to describe portents of plague, and the disaster at Lake Trasimene in Livy, signals that the sighting of the birds is on par with rocks falling from the sky and lightning strikes. Such language encodes with great seriousness what every reader of the *Annales* already knows: even if auguries take place everyday in Rome and Italy, this particular ceremony is not an everyday event but in fact the most important event in all of Roman history. The choice to mix the language of augury and sky signs is bold and effective, and draws an allusion from the similar but different context of sky signs to generate meaning in the manner of the most skillful practitioners of literary reference.

In line 75, Remus is described as *avem servat*, 'looking for a bird'. Steuart remarked years ago that this phrase was reminiscent of the traditional augural term *servare de caelo*.[122] Gellius reports an expression *ne quis magistratus minor de caelo servasse velit*, which he asserts is written *ex vetere forma perpetua* (*Gell*. 13.15.1). Cicero employs several variations on the expression *de caelo servare*. He writes to Atticus: *Bibulus de caelo tum servasset* (*Ad Att*. 2.16.2) and he asks in the second Philippic: *quisnamne divinare potest quid viti in auspiciis futurum sit nisi qui de caelo servare constituit*? (*Phil*. 2.81).*Servare de caelo* is matched not only by *de caelo* in line 88 but also by *servat* in lines 75 and 76 and the passage could be read as an expansion of the traditional formula in which the expected *de caelo* is delayed. In the final analysis, the terms *servat* and *de caelo* are so far apart from one another it is unlikely that Ennius is alluding to this particular traditional collocation with the phrase *cedunt de caelo*.

Avem servat may not be a reference to the Latin expression *servare de caelo*, but there is a striking similarity between *avem servat* and the Umbrian phrase **aves anzeriates**, 'after the birds are observed', and its various manifestations in the Iguvine Tables. The word *avif*, 'bird', occurs eleven times in the Iguvine tablets. It is almost always the grammatical object of the word *anseriato* or another form of the same verb, and in one case, *seritu*, 'observe'. In the one occurrence of *avif* without *anzeriato* or *seriato*, the verb is implied (*IT* VIa 18). The close association between the two lexemes suggests that these two words are the elements of a synchronic formulaic phrase. It is unlikely that Ennius is alluding to a traditional collocation from a tradition, but the poet could be referencing a cognate phrase from Latin ritual which is no longer extant.

---

[122] Steuart pp. 116ff. does not connect *servat* with *de caelo* later in the passage and does not elaborate on the possible connection of *avem servat* to *servare de caelo*.

The Umbrian phrases fall into three discernible categories. In the first, the noun is the first element in a two-word ablative absolute followed by the verb. In the second and most common type, the noun appears first in a construction consisting of two words, this time as the object of an imperative. In the last, the verb appears first and the noun is the penultimate member of a long series of objects.

The first two categories of these phrases are more compact than the last. They use the same word order, noun/object and verb. In the first type, *avif* is the subject of an active verb, sometimes an imperative and sometimes a supine construction, for example: **avef anzuriatu** (*IT* Ib 10).[123] This variation occurs five times. Once the verb is written, in the Latin alphabet, without a preverb: *avif seritu* (*IT* VIa 48-9) In the second type of expression, *avif* is the subject in a passive absolute construction, for example: **aves anzeriates** (Ia 1). This variation appears three times. Altogether there are eight examples of the collocation of *avif* and (*an*)*serio* in this order.

The variants of this utterance in Umbrian would be memorable because of its formulaic nature but also because of the placement of these collocations in the different series of ritual pronouncements recorded in the Iguvine Tables. The instructions for the purification of the Fisian Mount, which are also the first five words on the first tablet, begin:

> **este persklum aves anzeriates enetu** (*IT* Ia1)
>
> Begin this ceremony after the birds have been observed
> (Trans. Poultney).

---

[123] Rix 2002 p. 48 and Devoto 1974 p. 44 emend **ansvriatu** to **anzeriatu**.

The placement of the phrase at the very beginning of the tablets and the location of an expanded version of **aves anzeriates** at the beginning of the sixth tablet implies that the collocation and its variants would be more memorable.

In tablet VI, which is concerned with the taking of the auspices among other cultic activities, the ritual utterance, written in the Latin alphabet, is repeated three times with minor variations:

> *Stiplo aseriaia parfa dersua curnaco dersua peico mersto peica mersta mersta auuei mersta angla esona* (*IT* VIa 3)
>
> Demand that I may observe a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west, a woodpecker in the east, a magpie in the east, in the east birds, in the east messengers.
> (Trans. Poultney)

Other than some variation in the orthography, the only differences between this and the other two examples of the phrase are in the verb. In the second example of this utterance the verb is an imperative:

> *ef aserio…mersta aveif merstaf anglaf* (*IT* VIa 4-5)
>
> There observe…in the east birds, in the east messengers.

In the third, the verb is implied:

> *parfa dersua curnaco dersua peico mersto peica mersta mersta aveif mersta ancla*   (*IT*
>
> (I have observed) a *parra* in the west, a crow in the west … in the east birds in the east messengers. (Trans. Poultney)

 Nevertheless, its exact match with the other two virtually guarantees that the verb *anseriato* is understood.

The chronological relationship of this category to the first and second categories is obscure. The longer phrases may be expansions of earlier collocations of *avif* and *anseriato* or the simpler collocations may be a reference to the longer phrases which were

actually pronounced during the ritual. The marked verb-object word order of the more expansive phrases and the parallels between the list of birds in the *Asinaria* of Plautus and Festus may indicate priority,[124] and Ennius could have easily condensed a longer Latin phrase without any traditional precedent in Latin. Whatever the exact chronology of the Umbrian phrases may be, the evidence suggests that *avem servat* evokes a no longer extant Latin collocation with a genetic relationship to the Umbrian phrases.

It is possible that both of these phrases were already employed in Proto-Italic ritual and survived in the Latin of Ennius' day. The close resemblance between *avif aseriato* and *avem servat* suggests that the phrase stems from an old Italic formula which may be reconstructed as **avi-(an-)serwi-*. An alliterative collocation which could serve as a condensed form of a longer ritual utterance would have been attractive mnemonically and aesthetically in the Italic tradition of verbal art. The Ennian phrase *avem servat* and its context bear a resemblance to both the shorter and longer categories of expressions with *avif* and *anseriato* in the Iguvine Tables.

The resemblance of avem servat in the *Annales* to *avif anseriatu* is striking. Minus the prefix **an-*, the phrase *avem servat* is cognate with *avif aseriatu* in terms of roots. The alliteration is gone but the word order remains. The lack of alliteration may be a casualty of the nature of the Latin language and prosody. In Latin the ending *–m* was quite weak, and when it came into contact with an initial vowel, the weak *–m* was elided. If the original phrase was *avem adservat*, its pronunciation would not have differed much from *avem servat* as even the *ad-* would have probably been assimilated into *as-*. In spoken Latin the two phrases would have been virtually indistinguishable, and if Cicero was quoting these lines from memory, as most ancient authors were wont to do, it would

---

[124] I discuss the parallels between these texts in Chapter One.

have been a natural mistake. Even if Ennius did write *avem adservat*, the alliteration of the two initial vowels would have become lost in the elision.

The single use of *seriatu* (*IT* VIb 49) with *avif* in the Iguvine Tables may indicate some wavering between the roots of *anseriato* and *seriatu* in the same collocation in Proto-Italic and that Ennius is deploying a variant of the phrase which was already old, possibly the variant which won out in Latin. The alliteration of *aves anseriates* may also be an Umbrian embellishment of a Proto-Italic ritual utterance that was originally **avi- serwi-* rather than **avi- an-serwi-*. Umbrian has a tendency to create alliterative and assonant phrases out of ritual phrases that may not have originally been marked in this way.[125] This process may be seen in collocations such as *strusla ficla*, which appears to have undergone lexical substitution in order to generate assonance. If this is correct, the phrase in Ennius may be the more accurate reflection of this ritual phrase in Proto-Italic.

Ennius says that Remus *solus avem servat* and in the next line that Romulus *servat genus altivolantum*. The key word *servat* is used twice, but the object of the second *servat* is *genus altivolantum* instead of *avem,* perhaps substituting the expected object of *servat*. The close correspondence between the list of birds at the beginning of sixth tablet and Plautus and Festus discussed above indicates that the list of augural birds which are to be observed in the Iguvine Tables are genetically related. Since the parallels between the Latin and Umbrian lists are so close, the natural inference is that a ritual request to observe these birds existed in Latin as well as Umbrian, suggesting that *gens altivolantum* is conflation of the traditional series of birds.

---

[125] Vine1986 p. 126 states "The tendency of Umbrian ritual language toward marked effects based on rhyme, alliteration and and rhythm is well documented" and cites Poultney p. 90.

There are, of course, objections that may be raised to the hypothesis that *avem servat* stems from a traditional Italic ritual formula. The possibility that the phrase has simply been borrowed from Umbrian cannot be dismissed. When the word *servare* is used in a ritual context in later Latin poetry, it is usually without a specific object. Despite the various explanations for its absence in *avem servat*, the alliteration is not preserved. Nevertheless, the evidence indicates some relationship between the Latin phrase and the traditional collocations of *avif* and *anseriato* in Umbrian which is best understood as a set of survivals of a traditional collocation from Proto-Italic ritual.

A synchronic borrowing can not be completely ruled out, as there is no coupling of *servare* and *avis* other than this passage in an augural context in Latin.[126] However, it is difficult to see why Ennius would have embellished his description of the central action of a ritual, which was presumably quite familiar to his audience as a Roman ritual, with a terminology that bears such a striking resemblance to Umbrian ritual utterances, unless the cognate phrase was native to Latin ritual as well as Umbrian. It is rather difficult to explain why a Messapian poet of Oscan extraction would describe an action in Umbrian terminology to a Roman audience.

The presence of these traditional collocations suggests that Ennius expected his audience to recognize these ritual formulae and that it is unlikely he would use a foreign

---

[126] Adams p. 139 states that "the transfer of formulae from one language to another, which is akin to the loan translation of single lexical items, is not uncommon in conditions of contact" (cf. n. 4). With specific reference to Latin and Oscan and he must be correct. Poccetti p. 79 n. 23, who argues for Oscan influence of Latin in defixio tablets, bases his arguments on a limited and skewed body of evidence; nevertheless, he may be correct in identifying *nec loqui nec sermonari* in CIL I2. 1102 as a calque on **nep fatíum nep deíkum** in Rix Cp 36. The borrowing of formulae in the context of *defixiones* has some rationale, if Poccetti is right in asserting that magical practices were associated with Italic peoples like the Marsi.

formulaic utterance, and an expansion of such an expression, which his Roman readers would not recognize. The formulaic utterance played an important part in both Latin and Umbrian ritual,[127] and this would not be the only evidence for a common phraseology of Latin and Umbrian ritual.[128] The phrase was quite likely a familiar one to the Latin speaking audience of the *Annales*, either from a ritual utterance or ritual instructions.

The paucity of evidence for *avem servare* as a ritual utterance or instruction coupled with the relative frequency of variations of *avem specere* could also suggest that *avem servat* is simply a borrowing from Umbrian and not an inheritance from the Italic tradition. However, the phrase *avem specere* and variations with compounds of specere occur only three times in an augural context in Latin literature, and one of these with a lexical substitution for *avem,* which is hardly an overwhelming statistical argument. In addition, there are a few expressions that are roughly analogous to avem servat in Varro and Lucan. Varro describes the auspices being taken with the phrase *servantur auspicia* (*L.L.* 5.33) and Lucan employs the phrase *doctus volucres augur servare sinistras* (1.601).

The context of these expressions, both *avem specere* and *avem servare,* including its Umbrian cognates, implies that two separate actions are being described. In the Iguvine Tables and in the *Annales* the bird has yet to be spotted. It is extremely unlikely

---

[127] Katz p. 191 n. 20: "Note, too that *praeire verbis* (*OLD s.v. praeo* 3: "To dictate a religious or sim. Formula (for another to repeat)") is as much a part of Umbrian ritual as of Roman law and religion." Linderski p. 2256-76 discusses the use of formulaic utterances in the inauguration of Numa related by Livy. Linderski does not discuss the passage from Ennius and does not choose to discuss how such ritual utterances or instructions fit into Roman augural practices in general. Linderski's treatment of augury is extensive but not exhaustive, as he concentrates mostly on augural theory, the *collegium augurium*, and the establishment of templa.

[128] For other parallels between Latin and Umbrian ritual language, cf. Chapter One.

that an augur would be able to see all the birds in the various locations listed in the Iguvine Tables, and it is clear that neither Romulus nor Remus has seen a bird when engaged in the act of *servatio*. Varro's discussion of *specere* does not provide a specific augural context, which renders the evidence inconclusive, but Marius as described by Cicero and discussed above has clearly seen the bird just as Romulus in Ennius :

> *Hanc ubi praepetibus pinnis lapsuque volantem*
> *Conspexit Marius, divini numinis augur*
> *Faustaque signa suae laudis reditus notavit,*
> *Partibus intonuit caeli Pater ipse sinistris*   (*De div*. 106)

> When Marius being an augur caught sight of (the bird) flying both with feathers and in a trajectory of good omen and he noticed the signs favorable for his return and fame, the Father thundered in the left part of the sky.

Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum 5* clearly describes Anchises seeing a bird and his subsequent reactions not the act of searching the sky for omens:

> *Postquam avem aspexit in templo Anchisa*
> *Sacra in mensa penatium ordine ponuntur*
> *Immolabat auream victimam pulchram*   (*Bell*. Poen. 25B)

> After he saw the bird, Anchises placed the sacred objects of the Penates on the table in order and sacrificed beautiful golden victim.

If there is a semantic difference between *servo* and *specio* in augural language, there are nteresting implications for the understanding of Roman augural practice. There appear to have been two formulaic expressions, either utterances or instructions, to describe the act of searching the sky for birds and actually catching sight of a bird. Thus, *avem specere* and *avem servare* may not be formulaic expressions of the same acts, as Coli appears to assume,[129] which for convenience may be termed *spectio* and *servatio*,

---

[129] Coli p. 22.

respectively. This semantic configuration suggests that *avem servare* and *avem specere* did not refer to the same act but to different stages in the process of augury.[130]

2.3 Three Hearts Beat as One: Integrating the *Annales*

Ennius, however influenced by Homer and other Greek poets he may have been, was still a child of Italy. He was born at a time when Italy was home to not only the fledgling Latin epic tradition, but also to rich traditions in more than one language, as evidenced by the Iguvine Tables and the prayer to Mars. His use of doubling figures, alliteration, and traditional Italic phraseology declare his Italian heritage.

However, the meter of the *Annales* is Greek and, the Homeric influence is so clear in quite a number of passages that it is possible to pinpoint the models Ennius was emulating. Many of the poetic devices identified in this paper as Italic do occur in Greek, and it is not impossible that Ennius absorbed some of these techniques from his Greek education. Even alliteration, which is wielded as the Italic poetic device *par excellence*, is not entirely absent in Greek poetry.

From the barest level of diction to the wider consideration of theme, it becomes increasingly apparent that the *Annales* is truly a hybrid work which melds the traditions of Italic poetics with Greek. Ennius may appropriate a Homeric *topos* and color it with features of Italic culture or the mannerisms of the language of Italic ritual. The poet may borrow a Greek device, such as the simile, and use it express the tension arising from the conflict of Romulus and Remus.

---

[130] If such a distinction existed, it was blurred by the time of the late Republic. Cf. *OLD s.v. spectio*.

The evidence makes it clear that Ennius does not merely recycle material from older poets or traditions, be they Greek or Italian. Like a true artist, he reshapes and adapts earlier material. The Ennian art of allusion flirts with and evokes ancient Italic stylistic figures and traditional verbal art but it never simply quotes them or subjects these figures and utterances to accidental transformations in order to meet metrical constraints. Instead, structures are implied and then deconstructed in a sophisticated manner which belies the judgments of the Golden Age poets on their forebear as *rudis arte* or *hirsutus*. Whatever sources Ennius may have marshaled into the *Annales*, his skillful handling of them is not in question.

Chapter 3

Voce **(re)***vocabam***: *The Annales and the Indo-European Tradition*

<u>3.1 *Annales* 314</u>

In Book Two of his *Institutiones*, the late grammarian Priscian preserves a one line fragment from the *Annales*:

Sed quid ego memoro? Dictum factumque facit frux (*Ann*.314).

But why bother speaking? A man of worth (frux) acts quickly (*dictum factumque*). The line has elicited little comment, mostly due to its isolation. Priscian identifies the source of the fragment as Book Nine of the *Annales*, and Steuart and Skutsch agree it is taken from a speech delivered by an unidentified military commander.[131] Beyond this conjecture precious little may be said about the context of the fragment.

The language of the line is deserving of more attention because of its obscurity, particularly the phrase *dictum factumque* and the word *frux* at the end of the line. Priscian glosses *frux* as *frugi homo*, "a man of worth" (*Prisc.* 2.278). A second occurrence of *frux*, which Priscian locates in Book Sixteen and glosses as *frugis ...genetiuum*, 'fruition' (*Prisc.* 2.278), shows that this usage is not only striking, but also inconsistent within the

---

[131] Skutsch p. 493 suggests either Hannibal or Scipio as the speaker. He mentions a parallel with Silius Italicus suggested by a Wezel: *quid vos, quis claro deletum est Marte Saguntum, exhorter*? (Sil. Ital. 17.328), which implies that Hannibal is the speaker. Skutsch must be referring to the author of the 1873 Leipzig dissertation, *De Silii Italici cum fontibus tum exemplis*. Steuart p. 183 does not speculate on the speaker or the event beyond stating it is "evidentally a fragment of a speech."

Annales. Both usages of *frux* are placed at the end of a single line fragment without context to help decide just how unusual either usage of *frux* might actually be.

Using *frux* in place of *frugi homo* appears to be yet another failed Ennian experiment. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* lists no other example of this meaning for *frux*. This lack of examples could be an accident of transmission which erased all traces of other texts deploying *frux* for *frugi*. One could say that the shift from a predicate dative *frugi* to a simple nominative was simply necessary to fit the meter. It is also not especially troubling that there would be two metaphorical meanings for a word like *frux*, although neither meaning of the word in the *Annales* inspired any surviving imitations outside of Quintilian and Florus.

Nevertheless, the word choice is odd, and some inquiry into this unusual word choice will yield a better understanding of the poetics of *Annales* and its relationship to traditional Italic verbal art. *Frux* was apparently deployed in this line to alliterate with *factum* and *facit*, and this alliteration highlights the unusual relationship in which a word that can mean fruition or outcome instead becomes the cause of an action rather than the result. Such a reversal already justifies the semantic difficulties raised by a nominative *frux* for *frugi*. It also invites a deeper exploration of the entire line and its possible genesis.

The line is marked by a careful use of assonance to bind most of it together. The last three words of the line are bound by means of chain alliteration:

factumque facit frux.

In addition, the consonance of the non-initial unvoiced velars, -*k*- sounds, or consonant clusters beginning with the same obstruent begins with the -*ct*- of *dictum* and extends the chain of repeated sounds to the left:

<p style="text-align:center">Dic<u>t</u>um fa<u>c</u><u>t</u>umque faci<u>t</u> frux</p>

The medial -*c*- and final -*t* of *facit* assonate with the initial stop and the second element of the consonant cluster -*ct*-, which binds the doubling figure *dictum factumque*. This pattern generates a word chain of double consonance overlapping the chain alliteration in the final three words of the line. *Frux* contains a single velar stop or -*k*-, and is one of three words containing velars as the initial sound of a consonant cluster, creating an overarching sonic unity out of the two overlapping chains. The impression that *dictum* is bound to the last three words of the line is also achieved through the connective –*que* at the end of *factum*, which indicates that *dictum* and *factum* are to be taken as a unit.

The first half of the line is not as tightly bound together, but there are repeated voiced dentals in the first half of the line, and the lack of these stops after *dictum* implies that it is part of the opening rhetorical question, even if it is not part of the same syntactic unit. There are some repeated nasals and dental stops:

<p style="text-align:center">Se<u>d</u> qui<u>d</u> ego memoro <u>d</u>ic<u>t</u>um</p>

Both sounds are present in *dictum*, which allows the participle to pick up the consonance of the first half of the line from across the caesura, while the consonant cluster –*ct*- looks to the right to alliterate with the –*ct*- of *factum* and the –*c*- and –*t* of fa*cit*.

These three chains of consonance overlap each other in a tightly woven line pivoting on the word *dictum* on the immediate right side of the penthemimeral caesura

and *factumque* which is deployed immediately following a word break in the position of the hypothetically possible hepthemimeral caesura,:

[*Sed quid ego **mem**oro (diCTu**m**.*] [fa**C**Tumque fa**C**i*T*) fru**X**]
← →   ← →

Placing *dictum* after the caesura and straddling the doubling figure across a theoretically possible caesura creates the impression of a metaphorical double hinge, in which *dictum* and *factum* continue the sound repetitions in the words to their respective left and right sides, and then, in turn, are bound through consonance and the connective *–que*.

3.1.1 *Annales* 314 and the Italic Tradition

This particular type of overlapping chain alliteration is reminiscent of a similar use of chain alliteration deployed in one of the oldest Italic texts extant,[132] the South Picene stele of Bellante:

Postin [***v****iam (****v****idetaS (tetiS*] *tokam)* [(*AlieS **E**Smen*) ***v**ep*SeS)] ***v**epeten*]

Along the way you see…..buried in this tomb[133]   (Trans. Watkins).

The line is more thoroughly marked by alliteration, especially the repeated v- sounds which almost frame the line, but the unifying principle is the same. Both the Ennian line and the South Picene epigram have short units bound by assonance which overlap other short units.

---

[132] Marinetti pp. 85-86 lists six separate inscriptions in South Picene marked by chain alliteration and also notes "dicolic structures."

[133] Watkins p. 132 declines to translate the middle three words of the inscription which are extremely obscure. He suggests that *tetis alies* may be a genitive of a name like Titus Alius and *tokam* may be related to *togam*, which could mean "covering" here.

In addition to chain alliteration, the Ennian line displays all three salient characteristics of Italic verbal art. The assonating doubling figure *dictum factumque* is the structural center of the line, and its deployment as a double pivot which unites the alliterative chains emphasizes its role. *Factum* forms a *figura etymologica* with the verb *facit*. The last four words of the phrase have the air of a proverb about them, implying the statement *dictum factumque facit frux* is an example of traditional phraseology.

The hypothesis that the final four words of the line comprise a traditional proverb is not defensible because of the current state of the evidence. Steuart suggests the doubling figure is borrowed from the proverb ἅμ᾽ ἔπος ἅμ᾽ ἔργον, raising the possibility that *dictum factumque* is a grecism, meaning "no sooner said than done."[134] Skutsch comes to a similar implied conclusion, citing three pairings of *dictum* and *factum* in Terence, which apparently forms an adverbial phrase meaning 'quickly'. However, other collocations of *dico* and *facio*, and their cognates in Osco-Umbrian suggest that the doubling figure is an inheritance from Proto-Italic ritual and still retains vestiges of its ritual semantics.

3.1.2 The Latin Background

The Fetial prayer, as recorded by Cincius Alimentus in Aulus Gellius (*NA* 16.4) ends with the following declaration:

> *Bellum dico facioque*

---

[134] Steuart p. 183 may owe this idea to Otto p. 112 to whom Skutsch p. 493 gives the credit for the parallel. It would not be surprising if Steuart adduced this parallel on her own.

I declare and make war.[135]

The declaration of war apparently expresses efficacy, raising the possibility that *dictum factumque* indicates the effect of the action in the *Annales*, not the speed of the action. Although the date of the Fetial rite remains controversial, the line would have alliterated in Old Latin before *duellum* became bellum:

Duellum dico facioque,[136]

suggesting the phrase is quite old. This inference can be taken a step further if the phrase is used a basis for reconstructing an early Proto-Italic formulation in which all three words alliterate:

* *duellom deiko dha*(*k*)*io*.

Even if the antiquity of the prayer could be established without any doubt, it is only one example of a pairing of *dicere* and *facere* which an archaizing composer of the prayer could have invented in the Augustan era. Therefore, any conclusion drawn from the parallel between these collocations would have to be provisional at best.

However, another collocation of *dico* and *facio* can be found in the works of Ennius himself. Donatus clarifies the use of the verb *muttire*, 'to murmur', in the *Andria* of Terence (ad Ter. *Andr*. 505) with the following phrase which he attributes to Ennius :

Nec dico nec facio <mu>   (*FLP fr*. 27)

I will neither say nor make a "mu" sound.

---

[135] Livy 1.32 records a version of the same prayer but he closes the prayer with *bellum indico facioque*. The presence of the preverb *in-* prefixed to *dico* is not especially problematic. No other example of collocations of *dico* and *facio* deploy *indico*, suggesting that the preverb is a later embellishment, perhaps by Livy, or perhaps by someone earlier.

[136] Allen p. 78 prints his text of the Fetial prayer thus.

The context of the phrase is uncertain, although parallels with Lucilius imply the fragment is from the *Saturae*.[137] The fragment may be a pun on the solemn declaration of war in the Fetial prayer for comic effect.

There are three pairings of *dictum* and *factum* in the plays of Terence, one in the *Andria* and two in the *Heautontimorumenos*. Like Ennius, all three examples deploy *dictum* and *factum* side by side in the same order. Unlike Ennius they are not joined by the conjunction *–que* but instead are connected with the conjunction *ac* or asyndetic. Donatus declares the first opposition of *dictum* and *factum* in the *Andria* a *proverbium celeritatis* (ad Ter. *Andr*. 381), and all three examples appear to be expressions of the speed of an action about to be performed. Understanding these *proverbia celeritatis* as a calque of the Greek proverb ἅμ' ἔπος ἅμ' ἔργον, as Ashmore implies,[138] is a perfectly reasonable suggestion for Terence, who openly appropriated Greek originals which are liberally salted with proverbial *gnomai*.

In the *Andria*, Davos advises his young master Pamphlius to yield to his father Simo and to agree to marry Philumena, the daughter of Chremes, despite the fact that Pamphilius is in love with Glycerium, the eponymous girl from Andros. Davos informs his young master that he believes Simo's suggestion is a ruse to accuse his son of disobedience, which will leave Glycerium unprotected, thus allowing him to send her away immediately:

---

[137] Courtney 2003 p. 21 lists the fragment among those of the *Saturae*. He does not explicitly state his reasons for this attribution, but he cites Lucilius 426: *neque mu facere unquam*. The existence of this parallel in Lucilius and the presence of the same concept in Terence as something comic seem to be the reasons for his attribution.

[138] Ashmore p. 38 calls the Latin collocation "the same as" Greek collocation.

Dictum [*ac*][139] *factum invenerit*
aliquam causam quam ob rem eiciat oppido (*Andria* 381)

No sooner said than done he will find some reason to send her away.

Ashmore, glosses *dictum factum* as 'straightaway' implicitly accepting the gloss of Donatus,[140] but it is also possible that *dictum factum* may be read in apposition to *aliquam causam*: "He will find a word, an action, some reason to send her away." There is no grammatical objection to such a parsing and the heaping up of objects in a bathetic priamel might create a comic effect.

The second example of the opposition of *dictum factum* in the *Heautontimorumenos* allows for no other possibility than an adverbial phrase. Menedemus tells his friend Chremes that his son Clitopho has gone away to a room in a building on the edge of town where Bacchis, Clitopho's mistress, will meet him shortly:

Dictum factum,[141] *huc abiit Clitipho*. (*Heauton*. 904)

No sooner said than done Clitiphon went away to that place.

It is clear that *dictum factum* must reflect the speed of Clitopho's departure and there is no alternate parsing.

The first pairing of *dictum* and *factum* in the *Heauton* is the most grammatically ambiguous of the three examples in Terence. Syrus, a slave speaking with his master Chremes, concerning what Chremes believes is a plot to defraud Menedemus, tells him:

---

[139] Skutsch notes that *ac* is "deleted in all three passages by the majority of modern editors," but all the surviving manuscripts which contain this line read *dictum ac factum* in this passage.

[140] Ashmore p. 38

[141] Here the *Bembinus*, which is considered to be the oldest and the best of the surviving manuscripts, reads *dictum factum*. This reading is used as justification for omitting *ac* in the other two examples.

De illo quod dudum? Dictum[142] *[ac] factum reddidi.*   (*Heauton.* 760)

>(You mean) about the matter which a while ago (we spoke of)? I accomplished it at once.   (Trans. Ashmore)[143]

The line is extremely ambiguous. It deploys an unspecified deictic pronoun followed by an elliptical relative clause consisting only of the relative pronoun and a vague adverb placing the unexpressed action in the recent past. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* lists no less than seventeen possible meanings for *reddo*,[144] which is employed in a variety of metaphorical usages.

If the usual emendation of the manuscript reading *dictum ac factum* to *dictum factum* is accepted, *dictum factum* is weakly ambiguous. Syrus could be understood by Chremes as saying "I rendered the thing done which was said." Moving the question mark one word to the right would clarify the ambiguity:

>*De illo quod dudum dictum? Factum reddidi*

>(You mean) about the matter which was spoken of a while ago? I did it.

Rearranging the punctuation may create a more transparent syntax but it would lose the possible dramatic irony. The ambiguity of the pronouns *illo quod* could also be taken a double entendre which the audience would understand as Chremes' suggestion that Syrus devise a way to cheat Menedemus and also Syrus' plot to obtain money from Chremes, which was also spoken of before.

---

[142] Ashmore p. 109 emends the text thus, altering *dictum ac factum* in the manuscripts on analogy with *Heauton* 904. This is the most problematic of the three places where *dictum ac factum* is emended to *dictum factum* because the Codex Bembinus reads *dictum ac factum* here, while it reads *dictum factum* at *Heauton* 904 and the text of the *Andria* in the codex has been lost before line 786. The comic effect of *dictum factum* discussed above in this context adds further justification for the emendation.

[143] Ashmore p. 109

[144] *OLD s.v. reddo*

The evidence adduced from Terence allows for some slippage of meaning in the proverbial *dictum factum*, but it is clear that its general sense is 'quickly'. The ambiguity of *dictum factum* is apparent in itself and Terence has no need of an alternate pairing of *dico* and *facio* from another context to perceive the obvious differences in interpretation such a pairing would invite from both characters in the play and its audience. The various possible meanings of *dictum factum* in Terence provide no compelling reason to believe that Terence is any way referencing the Fetial right or the language of ritual in general.

The evidence from Ennius, Terence and the Fetial prayer suggests that the pairing of the passive participles *dictum factum* is to be understood as an adverbial expression of speed and that the configuration deploying present indicative forms indicated the performance of an effective action. Such an interpretation would not necessarily mean that *dictum factumque* in Ennius is merely adverbial, but it would greatly diminish the likelihood that *dictum factumque* was connected with the close of the Fetial prayer in any way. However, Plautus does deploy a doubling figure of the participles *dictum* and *factum* which does not express the speed of an action. In act four of the *Mostellaria,* Tranio the slave asks his master Theopropides in mock innocence if he has ever been untruthful:

> *Egone te ioculo modo ausim dicto aut facto fallere*?　　　　(*Most.* 923)

Have I ever dared to deceive you in a joking manner in word or deed? The expression *dicto aut facto* is clearly not adverbial and, although it does not unambiguously express the efficacy of Tranio's joking, it does imply the two elements express a greater totality of action like *dico facioque* in the Fetial prayer. The Plautine

example implies that Ennius could also be using *dictum factumque* as an expression of the action itself and not how quickly it was performed.

Furthermore, the appearance of cognate phrases in the Umbrian documents suggests that *dictum factum* began as an expression of a ritual speech act, which may have begun its life as an expression of efficacy or solemnity and then been reinterpreted as an expression of expedience. In addition, the Latin and Umbrian evidence suggests a new etymological reconstruction of a doubling figure which is repeated in an Oscan curse tablet. The Oscan evidence would then suggest that in the Italic tradition word and deed collocations were used to express a totality of action and not swiftness.

3.1.3 The Italic Background

There is just enough evidence from Latin and from Osco- Umbrian to reconstruct a Proto-Italic phrase, **dik-to-m fak-to-m*, as the ancient ancestor of *dictum factumque* in the *Annales*. As already discussed elsewhere, there are several suggested occurrences of shared ritual phraseology in Umbrian and Latin and another example would not be surprising. There are several examples of collocations of the Osco-Umbrian cognates of *dico* and *facio*, some more apparent than others, and none in Oscan or Umbrian which imply speed.

The appearance of cognate phrases in Umbrian suggests that *dictum factumque* began as an expression of a ritual speech act. The Iguvine Tables deploy one simple collocation of *fetu* and *teitu*, the Umbrian equivalents of *facito* and *dicito*:

atiieřiate etre atiieřiate klaverniie …teitu ařmune iuve patre fetu (*IT* IIb 7)

 Say 'For the (*decuvia*) Atiedians and for the second Atiedians …, Do it (i.e. sacrifice) for Jupiter Arsmo.

Both the utterance and action occur simultaneously or closely following one another. A second collocation of *teitu* and *fetu*, is interrupted by the synonym *naratu*:

tri iuper <u>teitu</u> triiuper vufru <u>naratu</u> <u>fetu</u> iuvepatre vuçiiaper (*IT* IIb 25-26)

Three times declare it fit for presentation, three times pronounce it a votive offering, do it (again sacrifice) for Jupiter for the gens Lucia.

Instead of repeating *teitu*, the text deploys the synonym *naratu*, the Umbrian cognate of Latin *narrato*. The insertion of the clause governed by *naratu* may be read as a simple distension or rather a pleonastic expansion of the first half of the inherited doubling figure:

SPEAK (V_1) + ACT (V_2) > SPEAK (V_{1a} + V_{1b}) + ACT (V_2)
Teitu   Fetu   > Teitu   Naratu   Fetu.

There are a variety of collocations of *naratu* and *fetu* in the Iguvine Tables which are deployed far more frequently than the two pairing of *teitu* and *fetu*. These collocations may be an Umbrian variant of the inherited pairing of Proto-Italic **deik-* and **fak-*, in which *teitu* has been replaced by *naratu*. Just as grammatical anomalies tend to be archaisms rather than innovations, the two anomalous pairings of *teitu* with *fetu* are likely to be survivals of an older formulation related to *dictum factumque*. The insertion of *narratu* between *teitu* and *fetu* suggests that *naratu* is undergoing 'semantic spread', a process by which the original element of an inherited collocation is deployed near its substitute in order to "spread" its traditional semantic weight to the new formulation.[145]

There are three types of this collocation: distended collocations of *fetu* and *naratu*, which have no other verb between them, a series of four verbs which begins with three repetitions of *fetu* and a predicate, continued by two more imperative clauses and

---

[145] The term has been coined by Calvert Watkins 1995 p. 113, who discusses several proposed examples (e.g. Watkins 1995 p. 309).

capped by *naratu* and a predicate, and several mixtures of the previous two categories.[146]

The most compelling evidence for a close association between *fetu* and *naratu* are the

examples of the first category. There are three:

> *Buf treif fetu eso naratu* (IT-VIa 22)
>
> He shall sacrifice three oxen, thus he shall speak
>
> **Estu esunu fetu fratrusper atiierie eu esum esu naratu** (IT IIa 2-3)
>
> Perform the following sacrifices for the Atiedian brothers. Proclaim these sacrifices thus.
>
> *vestisa et mefa spefa scalsie conegegos fetu fisovi sansii popluper totar iiovinar totaper iiovina suront naratu* (IT VIIa 37-38)
>
> He shall offer a libation and a *mefa spefa* cake in a cup to Fisovius Sancius for the people of the state of Iguvium, for the state of Iguvium. He shall recite thus.

The first two examples occur as independent units but the third is part of a series of

imperative phrases. The patterns are fairly consistent. The object of *fetu* is placed before

the verb in all three examples and in two cases the indirect objects follow the verb.

Naratu is preceded by an adverb in all three occurrences and with a direct object in the

second example. These configurations suggest an underlying template which may be

outlined thus:

> [OFFERING] *fetu*
> [ADVERB]   *naratu*.

The second type of *naratu* and *fetu* collocation appears to be an expansion of this

template achieved through the repetition of a verb phrase with *fetu* as the grammatical

head and then the insertion of the verbs *persnimu*, 'pray' preceded by the perfect

---

[146] Schirmer pp. 143-156 has little to say about *naratu* itself and nothing to say about any possible traditional association between *naratu* and *fetu*.

participle *tases*, "being silent' or 'murmuring', and the verb *arsueitu*, 'add', preceded by a series of sacrificial cakes between the three *fetu* clauses and the single *naratu* clause. This type is confined to the reverse side of the sixth tablet and to one occurrence on the obverse of the seventh:

> *Vatuo ferine fetu*
> *Herie vinu herie poni fetu*
> *Arvio fetu*
> *Tases persnimu*
> *Proseseter mefa spefa ficla arsueitu*
> *Suront naratu*[147]   (*IT* VIb 20)
>
> He shall place ribs (?)[148] on a plate (?)[149]
> He shall sacrifice with wine or mead (?)[150]
> He shall offer offer grain
> Pray silently
> Add mefa spefa cake and ficla cake to the cut off parts
> Say likewise.

The objects of *fetu* and *arsuietu* vary somewhat but the arrangement is consistent in the six examples of this type, suggesting the following underlying template for the second type:

---

[147] The text is written as continuous prose on the tablets themselves. I have rearranged the text in order to emphasize the parallelisms in the language.

[148] Untermann 2000 *s.v. vatuva* believes that the word is "probably" some part of a sacrificial animal. Poultney p. 250 tentatively suggests *vatuo* is cognate with Latin *latus*, suggesting *pecu* and *pecus* as analogical parallel for an *–o* and *–s* stem for the same root. I tentatively accept Poultney's suggestion for this translation.

[149] Untermann 2000 *s.v. ferine* unequivocally states the meaning of ferine is "unknown," although he goes on to suggest it was some type of container in which the sacrificial animal was offered. Poultney's suggested translation of *ferine* as "plate" is as good as any.

[150] Untermann 2000 *s.v. poni* defines the word as "probably a sacrificial drink," but it is unclear what the drink actually was. I accept Poultney's translation of *poni* as mead, for which he credits Devoto 1951 p. 204.

[Offering] *fetu*
[Offering] *fetu*
[Offering] *fetu*
tases persnimu
[Sacrificial Cakes] *arsueitu*
[Adverb] *naratu*.

The consistent patterning makes the traditional nature of these collocations unmistakable.

The expanded pattern raises the possibility that the simpler first type is a condensed alternate of the longer second type, but the mixed category of *naratu* and *fetu* expressions suggests that the second type is an expansion of the first. One of the four manifestations of the mixed type of expression is arranged thus:

Persaia feitu
Poni feitu
Arvio fetu
Suront naratu
Pusi pre verir treblanir
Tases persnimu
Prosesetir strusla ficla arsueitu   (*IT* VIIa 7)

He shall sacrifice on the ground
Sacrifice with mead
Offer grain
Recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan gate
Pray silently
Add a *strusla ficla* cake to the parts that were cut off.

This arrangement points toward the following underlying template:

[PLACE] *feitu*
[OFFERING] *feitu*
[OFFERING] *feitu*
[ADVERB] *naratu*
(qualifying phrase)
tases persnimu
[Sacrificial Cakes] *arsueitu*

which suggests that this pattern is an expansion of a type one expression as a core. The second example of the mixed type generally follows the general template which the first

implies, although a phrase governed by *habit*u is inserted between those headed by

persnimu and *arsueitu*:

> *poni feitu*
> *persae fetu*
> *arvio fetu*
> *surur naratu pusi pre verir treblanir*
> *tases persnimu*
> *mandraclo difue destre habitu*
> *prosesetir ficla strušla arsueitu*   (*IT* VIb 3-5)

> He shall sacrifice with mead
> Perform (the sacrifice) on the ground
> Offer grain
> Recite the same formulas as before the Trebulan Gate
> Pray silently
> Have a maniple folded double upon his right hand
> And add the a ficla and strusla cake to the parts cut off (Trans. Poultney).

A third example which orders the last three imperative clauses as *persnimu*, *naratu*, and

arsueitu may also be added to this subcategory:

> *Persae fetu*
> *Arvio fetu*
> *Pone fetu*
> *Tases persnimu*
> *Surur naratu puse pre verir treblanir*
> *Prosesetir strusla ficla arsueitu*   (*IT* VIa 58-59)

The fourth example of the mixed type represents a more marked departure in the

order of the clauses which are found in the second category of *fetu* and *naratu*

expressions. In this example, *naratu* is placed first:

> *Suront naratu puse versico treblanir*
> *Arvio fetu*
> *Persaea fetu*
> *Strusla ficla prosesetir arsueitu*
> *Tases persnimu*
> *Poni fetu*   (*IT* VIIa 53-54)

He shall recite the same formulas as at the Trebulan gate

He shall offer grain
Sacrifice upon the ground
Add a strusla cake and a ficla cake to the parts which were cut off
Pray silently
And Sacrifice with the mead.

In addition, the order of clauses headed by *persnimu* and *arsueito* has also been reversed. The exchange of slots between *fetu* and *naratu* implies that these two lexemes are the closest thing to equivalent among the four terms because of a previous association of *naratu* and *fetu*. The entire arrangement is preceded by yet another *fetu* clause, perhaps because composer chose to follow a *fetu* clause with a series of imperative clauses headed beginning with *naratu* because of the association between the two lexemes.

The longer second configuration could be a *contaminatio* of *fetu* and *naratu* and various other expressions which deploy *feitu* and *persnimu* in a series of imperative clauses, but the distribution of these three terms makes it unlikely. *Persnimu* occurs eighty times in the relatively short text of the Iguvine Tables, seventy two times in the imperative, while *fetu* appears thirty one times in the first tablet alone, which suggests that the constant proximity of *fetu* and *persnimu* is a result of the law of averages more than anything else. Therefore, outside of the mixed and second configurational categories, it is impossible to tell whether any imperative clause series which deploys *fetu* or *persnimu* is a product of chance rather than a traditional construct.

Arsueitu is deployed in other series of imperatives which deploy *fetu* but not consistently so, which implies there is no strong association with *fetu*. The distribution of *arsuietu* is quantitatively similar to that of *naratu*, which also occurs independently of, and in association with, *fetu* outside the longer configuration. However there is an important qualitative difference in the respective distributions. *Naratu* forms a unit with

fetu twice and a third time is the imperative which immediately follows the *fetu* clause in a series, while *arsueitu* never independently pairs itself with fetu and only twice is an *arsuietu* clause immediately preceded by one headed by *fetu* in a series.

The examples of expression which deploy *naratu* and *fetu* together suggest that there was a strong association between the two terms. This strong association appears to stem from a traditional doubling figure which paired clauses headed by a speaking term and *fetu* in a single unit. One of these units containing two terms for speaking, naratu and deitu and another unit consisting of two imperative clauses governed by *fetu* and *teitu*, suggest that configurations of *teitu* and *fetu* are related to those of *fetu* and *naratu*.

The synchronic evidence in Umbrian suggests that there is some relationship between the various means of expressing the opposition of speech and action, and that it is likely that the simpler collocations of *fetu* and *naratu* phrases are the basis of the more expansive series of imperative clauses which contain *fetu* and *naratu*. The comparative evidence from Latin suggests that the pairing of *fetu* and *teitu* is a reflex of a traditional doubling figure in Proto-Italic, and therefore, older than the configurations of *naratu* and *fetu*.

This relative chronology parallels the relative dates of the tablets themselves.[151] Both collocations of *teitu* and *fetu*, and the one of the independent pairings of *fetu* and *naratu* are found in the second tablet, which is written in the original Umbrian script and

---

[151] The *comunis opinio* since Bréal's 1875 edition of the Iguvine Tables considers Tablet I and VI-VIIa to be copies of the same archetype, rather than VI-VIIa a copy of I. Nussbaum pp. 356-57 briefly summarizes to two main arguments for such a position: there are more archaic forms in VI-VIIa than in Ia and VI-VIIa does not include several formulaic phrases from I. Nussbaum pp. 35 further argues that the various second person forms which appear only in I or VI-VIIa in parallel passages suggest the not only a single archetype but one which was written in second person. Nevertheless, as Nussbaum notes, VI-VIIa "generally represents a later stage of the language."

older than the later tablets, while the longer series of imperative clauses which include *fetu* and *naratu* are exclusively in the last two tablets written in the Latin alphabet sometime after the older tablets. Because traditional verbal art cannot be dated by the medium on which it is recorded, this parallel is not compelling, but it is suggestive.

If the configurations of *naratu* and *fetu* are reflexes of the older *teitu fetu* construct as the evidence suggests, then there is an abundance of evidence for the inherited pairing of Proto-Italic **deik-* and **fak-*. If these structures are simply a parallel development, they still suggest that pairings of words for speaking and *facere* were a part of Italic ritual speech.

There are obvious objections to a suggestion that *fetu* and *teitu* and/or *naratu* are somehow reflexes of a traditional Proto-Italic collocation. Both instances of *teitu* and *fetu* pairings are not placed side by side like *dictum factum* or *dico facioque*. It is equally possible that the association of *teitu* and *fetu* is simply the result of a general tendency for ritual to engage in speech acts, and a specifically Italic tendency to deploy doubling figures, and not due to any genetic relationship. Collocations of *fetu* and *naratu* may be an unrelated parallel development without any genetic relationship to *fetu* and *teitu*. Nevertheless, because of the prolific deployment of collocations of word and deed in Umbrian and Latin, there is reason to believe the Umbrian versions are transformations of a simpler traditional Italic formulaic phrase.

Another possible survival of a postulated traditional collocation of Italic **fa(k)-to-* and **deik-to-* exists, but this possibility requires a deeper investigation into inner-Italic historical phonology. An Oscan curse from Campania, deploys the same doubling figure twice:

Nep deíkum nep fatíum pútíans   (Rix Cp36.6)

May he not be able to speak or talk…

and

Nep deíkum nep fatíum pútíad   (Rix Cp36.8).

Although not a collocation of word and deed, the phrase deploys the infinitive **deíkum**

which is the Oscan equivalent of Latin *dicere*, and a reflex of one of the elements in the

proposed Italic formulaic phrase. The entire phrase also bears a striking, albeit a

superficial, resemblance to *dictum factumque*, despite the deployment of **fatíum**, the

Oscan equivalent of Latin *fari* not *facere*. Furthermore, both of the pairings in Oscan

deploy **deíkum** as the first element of the doubling figure, matching the invariable order

of collocations of *dico* and *facio* in Latin and *teitu* and *fetu* in Umbrian.

It cannot be said without a doubt that doubling synonymous words for speech is

an innovation rather than an archaism. JN Adams cites a parallel in a Latin curse, which

also pairs two verbs of speaking:[152]

Nec loqui nec fari possit (*CIL* I^2 3129=ILLRP 1144, Rome)

May he be not able to speak or talk

The Latin may be genetically related to the Oscan version, raising the possibility that the

resemblance between *dico facio* and **nep deíkum nep fatíum** is only superficial.

In this case, a phonological rule which predicts the changes of initial consonants

in the Italic languages from the original Proto-Indo-European suggests that the

relationship between the Oscan curse and *dictum factum* is not superficial. The cognates

of Latin *facio* and Umbrian *fetu* begin with dental consonants in other IndoEuropean

---

[152] Adams p. 139 argues that "the chronology of the *defixiones* in the two languages would suggest that the influence in this case was in the direction Oscan to Latin."

languages, and the Greek and Sanskrit cognates begin with an aspirated dental, a *dh-
sound, providing the basis for the following rule:

PIE *dh- > PrIt. *f- (e.g. Skt dadhāmi, Grk. τίθημι, Eng. do, L. facio)

This rule indicates that Proto-Indo-European *dh- will consistently surface as an initial
labiodental, an f- sound, in the Italic languages. This same sound change gives us *festus*
as the Latin cognate of Greek θεός.

A similar change happens to the original Proto-Indo-European aspirated labial
stop, a *bh- sound, which becomes Italic f-:

PIE *bh- > PrIt. *f- (e.g. Grk. φημί, L. fari, English boon from ON bōn 'prayer').

In Proto-Indo-European Latin *factum* and *fatum* would have been *dhh$_1$-to and
*bhh$_2$-to-, but in Proto-Italic the difference would have been obliterated. The deployment
of -k- suffix throughout the paradigm of Proto-Indo-European *dheh$_1$- in Italic which
produced Latin *factum* is an Italic innovation, as evidenced by Greek τίθημι and Sanskrit
dadhāmi, neither of which has the -k- suffix, although Greek forms like ἔθηκα must be
related to forms like Latin *feci*. If this additional k- suffix surfaced after the Italic changes
which resulted in an initial f- sound, and after the semantic shift of *facio*, the participles
of both roots would have been *fa-to-.

If the -k- suffix is older than the aspirate sound shift in Proto-Italic, the Osco-
Umbrian cognates of Latin *fatum* and *factum* would have easily been confused because of
yet another sound change. In Oscan and Umbrian the velar stop was extremely weak and
probably disappeared, as in *fetu*, the Umbrian cognate of *facito*:

PIE *kt- > PrIt. *kt > Osco-Umbrian -ht- or -∅t- (e.g. L. *dicito*,
Umbrian *deitu*, Greek δείκνυμι)

Oscan **nep deíkum nep fatíum** could be a reflex of Proto-Italic*dik-to- fa(k)-to*.
The changes of initial aspirated stops in Proto-Italic or the Osco-Umbrian change of *-kt-*
to -(*h*)*t*- would render the past participles of the Osco-Umbrian cognates of *factum* and
fatum homophonous. This confusion would then prompt a reinterpretation of Oscan **fa-
(h)-to-*, 'done' as **fa-to-*. 'said,' and an understanding the inherited merism of **dik-to-
fa(k)-to* as pairing of synonyms. This 'new' semantic pairing would then be the basis of
the pairing of the synonymous infinitives **deíkum** and **fatíum**.

Such a reinterpretation would be based on its placement in an old stylistic figure
that was chanted in ritual. The clear separation of *fetu* and *teitu* in the Iguvine Tables may
explain why the collocation was not confused in Umbrian. This confusion may seem a
little far fetched at first, but the utterances in Latin ritual such as the *Carmen Saliare* and
the Arval hymn were often not well understood by those who recited them. Even
seemingly transparent phrases could be subject to reinterpretation in such a context.

This confusion between the Osco-Umbrian cognates of *facere* and *fari* may
simultaneously illuminate the obscurity of meaning in an opaque doubling figure in the
Iguvine Tables, and add this phrase to the list of survivals of Proto-Italic*deik-to- fak-to-*.
The Umbrian prayer to Fisovius Sancius deploys the following doubling figures:

> *Fato fito*
> *Perne postne*
> *Sepse sarsite*
> *Uouse auie esone*   (*IT* VIb 10-11)
>
> (success) in word in deed(?)
> before and behind
> hedged whole
> in vow in augury in sacrifice (Watkins 222).

115

The line is arranged in the "upside down T formation" seen in the prayer to Mars and each unit is bound by assonance, marking out this series of doubling figures as an example of verbal art.

The interpretation of several of the terms in the excerpt is unclear,[153] but *fato fito* has proven to be especially opaque. Watkins states that the "two must be related to Latin *fari* and *fieri*," citing Meiser's identification of *fito* as the past participle of the Umbrian cognate of Latin *fio*, 'become',[154] although he qualifies the exact derivation as probable.[155] There are two opinions on the interpretation of *fato*. The majority opinion accepts *fato* as a past passive participle cognate with Latin *fatum*.[156] Others, including Bücheler, Planta and Buck, consider *fato* to be cognate with Latin *factum*.[157]

An opaque collocation of an inherited Proto-Italic **deik-* and **fek-* underlying *fato fito* allows both interpretations to be correct, depending on whether the doubling

---

[153] Besides *fato* and *fito*, the pairing of *sepse sarsite* and *uouse* have proved to be the most recalcitrant to etymologizing. It is generally agreed that esone means something like 'sacrifice' or 'sacrificial', although Untermann 2000 *s.v. esunu* cautiously defines the word as 'pertaining to a god'. *Perne* and *postne* derive from the Umbrian preverbs *per-*, which is equivalent to Latin *pro*, and **post-*. The overwhelming majority opinion understands *uouse* as 'vow', with only Pisani 1964 p. 161 dissenting. *Sepse* is generally agreed to mean something like 'private' or 'individual', although Pisani 1964 p. 161 understands *sepse* as 'very often'. *Sarsite* is usually connected to Latin *sarcire*, 'repair,mend', and hence interpreted as 'whole' or 'together', although Pisani 1964 p. 161 understands *sarsite* as 'ample' and Cerri p. 405 reads it as 'appropriateness'.

[154] Meiser p. 53 cites Umbrian *pir*, *sif*, and *frif* as other examples of an Umbrian raising of Indo-European **-u-* to –i-, which would explain Umbrian *fito* from Proto-Indo-European **bhu-to*

[155] Watkins 1995 p. 223

[156] Untermann 2000 *s.v. fato* defines *fato* as 'said', but acknowledges a substantial minority who read *fato* as 'done.'

[157] The opinion of Bücheler p. 67, Planta p. 352 and Buck p. 222 has not been taken up in the recent bibliography.

figure is considered synchronically or diachronically. *Fato* could reflect either Proto-Italic **fatom* or **faktom* because of the sound change which simplified Osco-Umbrian **-kt-* to *-t-*. This ambiguity would have created some confusion in the expected outcome of Proto-Italic **dik-to- fa(k)-to* in Umbrian: **tito fato*. The composer of the Iguvine Tables may have attempted to preserve the semantic opposition by altering the phrase. *Fato* could have been moved to the beginning of the phrase, the traditional place for the speech element of the doubling figure, and **tito* would then be altered to *fito* in order to retain to opposition of word and deed in order to generate an alliterative doubling figure.

Although the two collocations of *teitu* and *fetu* in the Iguvine Tables are the only apparent examples of an Osco-Umbrian phrase cognate with *dictum factum*, there are a number of pairings of the Umbrian cognates of Latin *facito* and *narrato* which may be later alterations of the older *teitu fetu*. The formulaic Oscan phrase **nep deíkum nep fatíum** not only bears a superficial resemblance to *dictum factum*, but may in fact be a reinterpretation of Proto-Italic **dik-to- fa(k)-to*. The Umbrian collocation of *fato* and *fito* may not resemble *dictum factum* as closely as **nep deíkum nep fatíum**, but the majority opinion understands *fato fito* as semantically equivalent to *dictum factum*. The Italic evidence alone is suggestive if not convincing.

Other examples of collocations of word and deed in more distantly related Indo-European languages suggest the Italic examples, including *Annales* 314, are radically transformed reflexes of a traditional collocation dating back to Proto-Indo-European. Like the examples from the Iguvine Tables and the Oscan curse, these collocations often are found in ritual contexts, hinting that the ritual origins of the Italic phrase may go back much further than Proto-Italic. If there is such a relationship between these stylistic

figures in the Italic and the other Indo-European languages, a plethora of parallels can be adduced which will corroborate the Italic evidence.

3.1.4 The Indo-European Background

Ennius is not a poet commonly cited as a source for Indo-European parallels, and *dictum factumque* appears to be an unlikely candidate as a survival from Indo-European. The words *facio* and *dico* have undergone semantic shifts which changed their meanings from Proto-Indo-European 'to place' to Italic 'to make or do,' and from 'to show' to 'to say.' *Facio* has also undergone several modifications on the morphological level in Italic as well by generalizing a preterite *-k-* suffix throughout the entire paradigm in Italic. The semantic shifts of the Italic lexemes and the *–k-* suffix of *facio* suggest that this collocation is an Italic problem, not an Indo-European problem.

Nevertheless, *dictum factumque* is an exact semantic match of a traditional collocation of Proto-Indo-European date, and it is possible that the phrase *dictum factumque* is somehow an Italic recasting of the inherited phrase. Comparative evidence from the Greek, Indo-Iranian and Germanic traditions suggests that word and deed collocations are actually inherited and quite ancient. The relative abundance of examples of this traditional collocation in comparison with the lack of a ready made surface structure in non Indo-European cultures, like that reflected in the Old Testament and the Akkadian literary texts also testify to the particular "Indo-European-ness" of both semantic message and its encoding.

The Homeric poems, the *Old Avesta* and several Germanic poems all make use of repeated collocations of word and deed. The Homeric poems abound with various

collocations of ἔπος and ἔργον,[158] which suggest a Proto-Indo-European collocation with the following shape:

$$*wek^w- + *werĝ-$$

WORD + DEED.

The Gāthās, hymns which were composed in Old Avestan, an ancient language closely related to Sanskrit, provide a number of examples of collocations of various forms of the noun *vacō*, the Avestan cognate of ἔπος, and *šyaoθanā*, 'work', or another variant of the same root.[159] In the Old English epic Beowulf, there are three pairings of *word* and *worc*, the Old English cognate of Greek ἔργον.[160]

Neither Old Avestan *šyaoθanā*, which is cognate with the Greek κινέω and Latin *ceio*, stemming from Proto-Indo-European $*\hat{k}ey-$, 'motion' or 'being in motion,' nor Old English *word*, which is cognate with Greek ερέω, are reflexes of the roots comprising the reconstructed Proto-Indo-European collocation. Despite this lack of perfect correspondence, the same general semantic shape is retained in all three traditions and both the Old Avestan and Old English pairings preserve one of the original elements, suggesting that the inherited collocation underwent lexical replacement. The deployment of verb *v r z*, the Old Avestan cognate of Greek ἔργον, in very close proximity to pairings of *šyaoθanā* and *vacō* indicate there was still some association between the Old

---

[158] Cunliffe *s.v.* ἔπος conveniently lists the oppositions of ἔπος and ἔργον.

[159] There are a variety of simple collocations of forms of the two words, such as *Yasna* 31.22, 32.5 and 48.4, the deployment of this collocation as part of a series, such as *Yasna* 34.1, and a variant of this collocation which deploy the verbal equivalent of *vac-*, such as *Yasna* 45.8, 45.2, 47.2, 43.5, 44.10, 53.1 and 53.2.

[160] These collocations are found at *Beowulf* 289a, 1100, and 1833a.

Avestan cognates of ἔπος and ἔργον underlying those of *šyaoθanā* and *vacō*.[161] In addition, the surviving reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *wekʷ- in the Germanic languages underwent specialization, for example Old Norse *vattr* which is a reflex of *wekʷ- means 'witness' not 'speaker.' This specialization plausibly explains why the Germanic branch has replaced it with a lexeme which expresses a more general notion of speaking.

Although *factum dictumque* is a semantic match of the Proto-Indo-European *wekʷ- + *werĝ- and may reflect a double lexical replacement, such a hypothesis is ultimately unprovable. Like the *naratu* and *fetu* pairings in Umbrian, there is the possibility of parallel development, but even a parallel development implies that *dictum factumque* may retain vestiges of the solemnity of a ritual context like that of the *Gāthās*, or at least have the semantic weight of poetic texts like the *Iliad* or *Beowulf*. By itself the diachronic evidence can only raise the possibility of such semantic connotations, but the synchronic evidence from Umbrian, Oscan and the Fetial prayer also suggests that *dictum factumque* has ritual connotations.

In *Annales* 314, Ennius is drawing attention to the doubling figure by deploying the speaking verb *memoro* and *facit* on either side of *dictum factumque*, but he did not require any knowledge of archaic ritual language in Latin or Osco-Umbrian to understand that *dictum factumque* consists of two opposing elements. However, the chiastic arrangement of *memoro dictum factumque facit* does more than highlight the two components. It generates a magic square configuration and calls attention to *dictum factumque* as the structural center of the line and of the chiasmus:

---

[161] These arrangements may be observed in *Yasna* 33.2 and 47.2.

<div align="center">

Sed quid ego   frux
memoro?   facit
Dictum factumque.

</div>

This arrangement does not mean that Ennius is referencing the Oscan curse, but it does

suggest that he is calling attention to this particular doubling figure.

There is no reason to assume that *dictum factumque* needs to be more than an

adverbial expression, but the diachronic and synchronic evidence suggest that there may

be more to *dictum factumque* than a simple adverbial colloquialism. The line would also

have something of a surprise at the end if *dictum factumque* can be read as the object of

facit. A ritual speech act is then the result of the *frux* not the cause, or in more poetic

terms, the fruit becomes the seed. Ennius not only appropriates traditional Italic

phraseology to make his verbal message a work of art, he also reflexively calls attention

to his appropriation.

3.2 *Annales* 34-51: The Dream of Ilia

In his *De divinatione*, Cicero preserves another long fragment from the *Annales* in

addition *Annales* 72-91 (*div.* 1.40-41). This extended passage treats the dream of Ilia, the

daughter of Aeneas and the mother of Romulus and Remus, which she recounts in vivid

detail. It is one of three examples of a dream relating to pregnancy in the *De divinatione*,

including an anecdote in which the mother of Dionysius of Syracuse dreams she has

given birth to a satyr, and a passage usually attributed to the *Alexander* of Ennius, in

which Hecuba dreams she has given birth to a fire brand who Priam divines will be the

means of the destruction of Troy:

Et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen,
Talia tum memorat lacrimans, exterrita somno: 35
'Eurydica prognata pater quam noster amavit,
Vires vitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne.
Nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta
Et ripas raptare locosque novos: ita sola
Postilla germana soror, errare videbar   40
Tardaque vestigare et quaerere te neque posse
Corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.
Exim compellare pater me voce videtur
His verbis: "o gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
Aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet."   45
Haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit
Nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
Quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa
Tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam.
Vix aegro cum corde meo me somnus reliquit.'   (*Ann.* 34-50)

And when the old woman brought the light quickly in her trembling hands, then she recounted these things, crying and terrified from her sleep "daughter of Eurydica whom our father loved, strength and life have now left my entire body for a divinely handsome man appeared to snatch me away through charming willows and banks (of rivers) and unfamiliar places. A little after I seemed to wander to slowly search for and seek you but I was unable to perceive (?) you. No path held up my foot. After my father seemed to urge me with these words: 'oh daughter, there are toils for you to bear but afterwards your fortunes will rise again from the river.' Father saying such things, sister, suddenly went away and did not show himself although I desired it, although I raised my hands importunely to the blue spaces of the sky weeping and I called him with a winning call. Sleep reluctantly left me with a heavy heart.

The dream must take place during the narrative detailing the rape of Ilia at the hands of Mars and the subsequent birth of Romulus and Remus.

Although the text of the fragment is generally sound, there are some minor textual issues. The *etcita* in the manuscripts may conceal *excita* and not *et cita*.[162] The phrase *corde capessere* is considerably opaque. Brent Vine has suggested that *colla capessere* underlies the manuscript reading but does not fully commit to the emendation because the

---

[162] Skutsch 195 concedes that the "possibility that E. wrote *excita* cannot be ruled out," citing Ovid (*Met.* 11.679 as a possible parallel and the unusual use of *exterrita* with the ablative which could be softened by a preceding *excita*, but concludes that there is "no need to deviate from the reading of the best MSS."

artistic effect of the repetition of *corde cupitus* five lines later in the fragment would be lost.[163] Skutsch offers the possibility that the name of the sister may have been corrupted into *corde*.[164]

The general context is clear, but there are several views on exactly how the fragment fits the context of the narrative. Skutsch argues that explicitly narrating the rape after the dream would be "anticlimactic" and suggests Ilia's recounting of her dream happened after a description of Mars coming to Ilia in her bedroom.[165] Goldberg suggests that Ennius simply skirts around the story and merely alludes to it through the dream, noting that Tyro also sleeps through her rape in the *Odyssey* (*Od*. 11.235ff.).[166] Goldberg points out that Ovid also "skirts the sensational" in his treatment of the dream (*Fasti* 3.21-22), which may be modeled on the *Annales*.[167]

The relationship of the dream to its literary antecedents has attracted the most critical attention, starting with Leo, who notes that certain elements of the dream are appropriated from tragedy and not earlier epics.[168] Friedrich further refined understanding of the role of tragedy in the dream by identifying a trope in which a character has a disturbing dream and then relates the dream to a confidante.[169] Skutsch considers the

---

[163] Vine pp. 1989 123-26

[164] Skutsch p. 199 adds this comment as an afterthought after rejecting other possible emendations.

[165] Skutsch p. 194

[166] Goldberg p. 100 argues the story was well known, citing a fragment from Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 30) and a lost Sophocles play entitled *Tyr*o. Skutsch p. 194 notes that the Ilia story as told by Diocles of Peparethus, which was the basis of the account of Dionysius and Fabius, is modeled on the story of Tyro, but he does not explicitly elaborate on the possible relationship between this version and that of the *Annales*.

[167] Goldberg p. 100 notes that Ovid rarely avoids the sensational, implying Ennius may be his source.

[168] Leo 1913 p. 179

[169] Friedrich pp. 288-91

combination of epic and tragic elements "remarkable."[170] Bongi argues that the dream

contains specific allusions to Apollonius Rhodius.[171] After an exhaustive survey of

dreams in Greek epic and drama, Krevans suggests that the dream owes something to

foundation myths.[172]

The fragment has other features which have been the subject of some comment.

Goldberg identifies "dislocations for alliterative effect" and a three part structure in

which each part is indexed by some form of the verb *videor*.[173] Several expressions in the

dream occur later in the *Annales* in almost literal fulfillment of the implied prophecy of

the dream when Ilia is addressed as one who bore *aerumnas* (*Ann*. 60), and when there is

a prediction that someone, presumably Romulus, will be raised in *caerula caeli templa*

(*Ann*. 54).[174]

Although it is only a fragment there are several indicators which identify the

passage as a unit with two distinct halves, each employing different poetic effects to give

the impression of a unified whole. Several words are repeated, sometimes twice and

sometimes three times, throughout the passage recalling the previous deployment of the

same word earlier. Two of the repetitions occur at the beginning and the end of the

---

[170] Skutsch p. 194

[171] The parallels adduced by Bongi pp. 68-74 are extremely weak. There are no one-to-one verbal parallels between the last line of the Ennian fragment and *Argonautica* 3.632 besides the word for 'sleep'. Citing the frequency of enjambment as a parallel strikes me as extremely far fetched. The other details which Bongi sees as debts to Apollonius, such as the prophetic dream, are so general that they must be considered appropriations of general *topoi* and not specific allusions to the *Argonautic*a.

[172] Krevans 264-65 cites Io, Europa and Medea's interpretation of the dream of Euphemus, the mythical ancestor of the *oikist* of Thera. The parallels are not exact by any stretch of the imagination but there does appear to be some connection.

[173] Goldberg p. 97

[174] Goldberg p. 97

dream, framing the dream and most likely setting it apart from the general narrative,

while the other lexemes which appear more than once in the fragment are clustered

together in the last half of the passage. Finally, certain metrical effects also may

contribute to the notion that the first half of Ilia's narrative is a distinct half of a larger

unit.

As Goldberg has also noted, the line is marked by repetition.[175] *Pater* and *corde*

occur three times in the passage, while *voce*, *germana*, *lacrumans*, and *somnus* (or

somno) appear twice. These repetitions are not only "deliberate" they are also very

significant for this passage, suggesting that they act as subconscious symbols for a reality

which Ilia is unable to process. Two of the repeated terms are expressions of familial

relationships, highlighting the importance of such relationships in the passage. *Voce*

reminds the reader that Ilia is communicating with her father only as a disembodied

voice.[176] *Voce* may also emphasize that this is not the actual dream but a narrative which

is delivered by a speaker who does not completely understand what her dream signifies

although anyone remotely familiar with Roman legend would immediately understand it.

The repetition of *somnus*, albeit in two different grammatical cases, and *lacrimans*

forms a loose ring structure. *Somnus* frames the dream, signposting where Ilia's dream

begins and ends. None of the other repeated lexemes in passage are in any kind of

mirrored arrangement, which may be accidental, or more likely, an expression of the

chaotic logic of dreams and Ilia's agitation. Repetitions of *corde*, *pater* and *voce* occur

---

[175] Goldberg p. 97 notes the repetition of *prognata*, *pater*, *germana*, *lacrimans*, and *corde*.

[176] Krevans pp. 267-68 notes a parallel between *voce vocabam* in the *Annales* and *voces et verba vocantis* in Aeneid 4.460 She suggests that "the voice of the unseen relative goes back to the unseen Aeneas who calls out to Ilia" and that *visa* in *Aeneid* 4.461 "emphasizes that [Dido] does not see Sychaeus."

within the last eight lines of the fourteen line narrative of the dream, suggesting that these repeated lexemes in the second half of the dream narration mark a change in Ilia's subconscious thoughts.

Goldberg notes the "use of long dactylic runs" presumably referring to the two holodactylic lines and five runs of three or more dactyls, all of which are deployed in the first nine lines of the fragment.[177] The two holodactylic lines occur in the first and ninth line of the fragment, which is more than two and a half times more frequent than the 1:25 ratio in the remains of the *Annales*. The frequency becomes less striking when the entire seventeen line fragment is taken into consideration because it contains no other holodactylic lines. The repeated dactyls create a sense of repetition and metrical unity for the first nine lines of the the fragment, which ends just as the lexical repetitions begin in the second half of the passage.

The beginning of the fragment is marked by a run of three dactyls immediately following the holodactylic opening line:

‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ (˘)
Et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen,

‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ‒ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒
Talia tum memorat lacrimans,

which is almost mirrored in lines 41 and 42:

‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ (˘)
quaerere te, neque posse

‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒ ˘ ˘ ‒
Corde capessere: semita nulla pedem stabilibat.

---

[177] Goldberg p. 97 mentions this only in passing without discussing it in detail.

The line endings which bridge the dactylic runs between both sets of lines are not true spondees but iambs, creating the impression that the line end of the hexameter is somehow an incomplete dactyl, and not a true spondee. The mirrored positioning of the opening and lines 41-2 confirms the intuition that the dactyls are deployed in the first half of the passage to set it off from the second half of the passage. The placement of a true spondee at the end of 42 also may be an indicator that the dactylic runs are now at an end and new phase of the narrative is about to commence.

In addition to the dactylic runs, Goldberg also notes feminine caesurae and the complete absence of a caesura in line 41, which lend the passage a "breathless, uncertain quality."[178] There are five examples of feminine caesurae in the first eleven lines of the fragment, which is slightly less than five times more frequent than the average in the fragments of the *Annales*. Four of the five lines with feminine caesurae are combined with a hepthimimeral caesura, suggesting that the effect may not have been initially very striking, but the single line with an uncombined feminine caesura, which occurs less than once every hundred lines, would be a remarkable occurrence by itself. Four other lines with combined feminine caesurae within eleven lines would be all the more remarkable.

The feminine hepthimimeral in line 42 is also a relatively infrequent placement of the caesura in Ennius, although not as rare as in Homer. The fourth trochee caesura occurs in one out of every 24 lines in the *Annales*,[179] but only once every 550 lines in

---

[178] Goldberg p. 97

[179] Skutsch p. 47 believes the relatively high frequency of the fourth-trochee caesura is a result of lack of third-trochee caesurae in the Annales.

Homer and never in Callimachus.[180] Therefore, the caesura in line 42 is odd in comparison with Greek practice, but not as striking in the *Annales*.

In addition to the extremely high frequency of feminine caesurae two other extremely rare caesural arrangements are deployed to emphasize the unusual rhythm of the passage. Line 41 completely lacks a traditional caesura while line 47 only has an uncombined trithemimeral caesura. There are five extant lines in the *Annales* which lack caesurae and only three with uncombined trithemimeral caesuarae, one of which is suspect because of textual considerations.[181]

It is possible that Ennius perceives a penthimimeral caesura between *in* and *conspectum* combined with the trithemimeral in line 47:[182]

> *Nec sese | dedit in | conspectum corde cupitus*.

If the caesura may be placed between the preposition and its object it is still very unusual. The deployment of this line in a passage marked by an unusual frequency of feminine caesurae, and a line without a caesura at all, suggests that Ennius purposely composed the line with an ambiguous caesura to emphasize the unusual rhythm of the passage.

Line 41 lacks a traditional caesura, but in order to obliterate the caesura Ennius employs an elision over the gap between two words in the normal location of a feminine caesura:

---

[180] The fourth-trochee caesura, or the feminine hepthimimeral caesura, is violation of Hermann's bridge. West 1982 p. 189 uncharitably, but perhaps rightly, suggests that Ennius was able to perceive the caesura as an organizational division within the line, but not "such subtleties as Hermann's Bridge."

[181] Skutsch p. 46 n. 37 notes that the three examples "hardly establish this arrangement as acceptable to Ennius," and notes that a transposition in *Annales* 189 will produce a line with a hepthemimeral caesura, and that *Annales* 118 is made up of sesquipedalian names.

[182] Skutsch p. 46 n. 37 suggests that Ennius "may have assumed a penthemimeral between *in* and *conspectum*."

$$- \breve{} \breve{} - - - - \breve{} - - \breve{} \breve{} - \breve{} \breve{} - (\breve{})$$

Tardaque vestigar(e) et quaerere te, neque posse.

The visual gap between *vestigare* and *et* may not have been as striking in the text as Ennius composed it, but there would still be a clear distinction between the two lexemes, creating a syntactic pause if not a metrical pause. Such an arrangement implies that Ennius is taking great care to compose the line without a caesura and even more care to adumbrate a possible feminine caesura in the line. The complete absence of a caesura in line 41 appears to be especially marked, emphasizing that the following line, which is holodactylic, is both the climax of the dactylic runs and the turning point in Ilia's narrative.

Like the dactylic runs, there is preponderance of unusual caesural arrangements in the first half of the line but, unlike the dactylic runs, the feminine caesurae run over into the second half of the passage; although only into the first two lines of the second half. The second half is also marked by a rare uncombined trithemimeral caesura. The dactyls create an unusual rhythm for the first half of the passage, while the high frequency of uncommon caesurae gives the entire passage a cadence which is nothing like the other fragments of the *Annales*.

It is always possible that the unusual amount of feminine caesurae or dactylic runs is merely an accident but, when both occur simultaneously in such a small number of lines, the likelihood that such phenomena are accidental becomes small. The presence of a line without a caesura and an uncombined trithemimeral caesura, both of which appear to be deliberately ambiguous on some level, decreases the chances that the rhythm of the passage is not deliberate. Furthermore, the phrase *semita nulla pedem stabilit* in line 42

appears to be a self-reflexive pun which indexes the "unstable" rhythm of the "feet" of the passage.[183]

The second half of the passage contains no runs of more than two dactyls, creating a juxtaposition of effects which indicates that the first and second half of passage are distinct halves of a greater whole. While repeated dactyls suggest that the first half of the fragment is separate part of a greater whole, the repetition of key words achieves the same effect in the second half of the narrative. The overspill of two feminine caesurae and the presence of the trithemimeral caesura into the second half give the entire passage an unusual rhythm and continue the impression of unsteadiness almost until the end of the passage.

These effects appear to mirror Ilia's "agitation,"[184] and also may reflect the hazy logic of the sequence of her nightmare but, if the metrical effects indicate Ilia's state of mind, they also indicate changes in her emotional state as the passage progresses. The narrative opens with long dactylic runs, reflecting the frantic hysteria of the daughter of Aeneas, while the lack of long dactylic runs and holodactylic lines, which end in the line after Ilia hears the voice of Aeneas, possibly indicates that her father's voice is calming her. According to the terms of such an argument, this more relaxed emotional state is only superficial, as indicated by the continued use of odd placements of the caesura. The bipartite structure also reflects Ilia's literal movement within the dream as she is I motion after being snatched away and frantically searching for her sister, and then stops when she hears the voice of her father.

---

[183] Goldberg p. 97

[184] Goldberg p. 97

A second organizing principle superimposes itself upon the two halves of the narrative, adding another layer to an already complex juxtaposition of poetic effects which divide and unify the passage. There are three parts to the story as told by Ilia, her rape, her search for her sister, and her "encounter" with the disembodied voice of her father. Each part is signposted by a form of *videor*. Mars appears (*visus*) to her in the first act of the drama, then she seems (*videbar*) to wander about looking for Eurydica, and finally her father seems (*videtur*) to address her. The progression of tenses may be also be significant as Mars' appearance is in the perfect, her perception of her own wandering is in the imperfect and her father's voice is perceived in the present tense, implying a linear motion analogous to the motion of the passage.

The structure of the narrative is a dense melding of three separate levels of organization. The unusual placements of the caesurae throughout the passage and the ring composition construct an underlying single foundation. The dactyls of the first half and the lexical repetition of the second half imply two halves given a sense of unity by means of very different poetic devices. The repetition of forms of *videor* divides the dream into three phases of action on the level of narrative.

Skutsch calls attention to the fact that "practically every line contains an example of striking alliteration,"[185] which is remarkable in so long a passage, even in the work of a poet know for his alliterative effects. Goldberg further refines Skutsch's point by remarking that "nearly every line has its own pattern."[186] These examples also tend to be self contained units, dividing the passage into even smaller units, as if adding a fourth layer of organization over the other three. On one level, the inordinate amount of short

---

[185] Skutsch p. 195

[186] Goldberg p. 97

alliterative chains adds to the odd cadence of the passage and helps to mark it off as a whole. On another level, the self contained units of alliteration create an impression of discontinuity.

This general lack of overlapping alliteration is emphasized by the insistent repetition of *m-* and *–l-* sounds throughout the first two lines until the word *exterrita* ends a run consisting of five words containing either an *m-* or an *l-*:

> *Et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen,*
> *Talia tum memorat lacrimans, exterrita somno*

Like many other poetic elements of the passage, the discontinuity is not complete. *Lacrimans* and *exterrita* share no common phonemes with the exception of the short *–i-*, but the *–t-*'s in *exterrita* do assonate with the three words which precede *lacrimans*:

> **T***alia* ***t***um *memora**t** lacrimans, ex**t**errita*

and *somno*, the final word of the line, similarly assonates with the three words before *exterrita*:

> *tu**m** **m**e**m**orat lacri**m**ans, exterrita so**m**no.*

This manipulation of sound achieves an effect in the opening two lines analogous to that in the entire passage. An apparent division between two different parts of a line or the narrative only works on one level, while other elements work to create a unity that transcends the divisive elements.

Incidentally, the initial syllable of *exterrita* is the second foot in the first true spondee to occur in the first two lines of the fragment, following eight dactyls interrupted by a line-final iamb. The metrical arrangement implies a relationship between the alliterating consonants and the dactyls which form the metrical structure of the first two

132

lines of the fragment. Such a relationship suggests that the sound repetitions and the dactylic runs are consciously woven together.

There are several other examples of alliteration located throughout the passage, including the semantically difficult *corde capessere*, which begins line 42. Line 47 ends with *conspectum corde cupitus* which generates a sort of responding effect by repeating *corde* and deploying three words with initial velar stops at the end of the line instead of the beginning, if *corde* is the correct reading and if the repetition is sufficient to recall the first phrase which deploys *corde* four lines before:

<blockquote>

Corde <u>c</u>apessere semita nulla pedem stabilibat   (*Ann*. 42)

*Nec sese dedit in <u>c</u>onspectum **corde** <u>c</u>upitus*   (*Ann*. 47)

</blockquote>

The effect is similar to the mirror imaging of dactylic runs in lines 34-35 and 41-42, which may suggest that Ennius expects his readership to observe the effect.

There are several more examples, including a few alliterative doubling figures. The close relationship between Ilia's fate and the river Anio is highlighted by the phrase *ex fluvio fortuna*. In the *Annales*, Ilia is thrown into the river Anio to drown as a punishment for birthing Romulus and Remus as a vestal virgin, and, according to Porphyrius, she also marries the river god Anio. Ilia describes her father, or rather his voice as *repente recessit*, which alliterates with *resistet* in the previous line and forges a phonological relationship between the two line endings, creating a vertical alliterative doubling figure which aptly sums up the ebb and flow of both *fortuna* and *fluvium*.

Line 39 pairs an infinitive and its object which alliterate with one another and a second object of the same infinitive which assonates with its adjective:

*Et **ri**pas **ra**ptare locosque novos…*   (*Ann*. 39).

Goldberg identifies this arrangement as "dislocations for alliterative effect,"[187] noting that

it "isolates *ripas*," implying that *ripas* and *locos* should form a sound as well as a sense

unit. The repetition of *p-* in *ripas raptare* strengthens the impression that the two words

are closely connected and that locos marks a change in thought. This "isolation" focuses

attention on *locos*(*que*) *novos*, which Goldberg identifies as the "key phrase for the next

part of Ilia's narrative." The alliterative chain not only ends abruptly at *raptare*, it

emphasizes the intrusion of a verb in between two elements of a doubling figure,

differentiating the noun locos from the rest if of its grammatical relationships.

As with the metrical effects and with the lexical repetitions, the separation is not

as complete as it first appears to be. It is unclear what kind of word selection would allow

Ennius to create an alliterative doubling figure with the meanings 'river banks and new

places'. *Raptare* not only alliterates with *ripas* but may spread some of its alliterative

effect over to *locos*. By virtue of its position alongside *ripas*, *raptare* is both a

phonological and a syntactic 'substitute' for *locos*, which would follow *ripas* in the

expected configuration of a doubling figure.

The entire phrase is marked by liquids, suggesting that the phrase may form an

underlying sound unit:

***R**ipas **r**aptare **l**ocosque novos.*

A cluster of similar phonemes, such as *r-* and *l-*, is not the same thing as a repetition of

the same sound, but there is some evidence that *r-* and *l-* may have been perceived as

---

[187] Goldberg p. 97

having a closer relationship than *g-* and *k-* for example. A doubling figure in the Arval Hymn implies that *l-* and *r-* were traditionally considered 'semi-alliterative':

Neve lue rue Marmar sins incurere in pleoris.

Lue and *rue* clearly form an asyndetic doubling figure, and it is possible that the two are paired simply for the homoioteleuton, but the pairing of initial *r-* and *l-* in a doubling figure in a traditional text is suggestive.

The alliteration behaves much like the other poetic effects deployed by Ennius in this passage. The short two and three word chains initially give the impression of isolation but larger underlying patterns signify that the passage is to be taken as a unified whole despite the first impression of random disjunction. Ennius achieves this subtle patterning in several different ways. He employs a repetition of the same sounds around the same word after a hiatus of several lines. He places two verbs at the ends of consecutive lines which alliterate and create a doubling figure which sums up the sense of the two lines and reflexively describes the rhythm of Ilia's narrative. He also evokes the structure of a traditional alliterative doubling figure without actually forming one, which allows him to create an underlying phonological relationship for an entire clause.

3.2.1 Doubling Figures in the Fragment

In addition to *ripas* and *locos*, Ennius uses two other doubling figures in Ilia's narrative. Ilia begins the description of her dream with the phrase *vires vitaque*, in the usual pairing of two substantive joined by a single *-que*. In addition, he pairs *vestigare* and *quaerare* with the conjunction *et* intervening between the two elements. Ilia's unnamed sister is called *germana soror*, which may be better understood as a pairing of

two substantives rather than a noun and its modifier. Although there are a few pairings which lack a clear syntactic relationship, they are placed side by side in the narrative, are semantically related, and in one case alliterate.

The doubling figure *vestigare et quaerare* is actually part of a series of four infinitives dependent on the verb *videbar*:

<div align="center">

<u>errare</u> videbar
Tardaque <u>vestigare</u> et <u>quaerere</u> te, neque <u>posse</u>
Corde capessere.

</div>

The entire sentence is in slight violation of the law of increasing figures. A single infinitive is followed by an infinitive with an adjective and an enclitic conjunction, to which is added another infinitive with an object conjoined by a non-enclitic conjunction, and the sentence is capped by an infinitive which governs a two word infinitive phrase and is attached to the phrase with a free standing disjunction:

> *Errare*
> *Tardaque vestigare*
> *et quaerere te*
> *neque posse corde capessere.*

The law of increasing figures normally dictates that the last of series of three elements which is expanded such as in the series from Cato's prayer to Mars:

> *Mihi*
> *Domo*
> *familiaeque nostrae,*

and a similar configuration found in the Iguvine Tables suggests that a series of gradually increasing phrases is native to the Italic tradition:

> *mehe*
> *tote iioveine*
> *esmei stahmei stahmeitei.*

The Umbrian phrase, which bears some resemblance to and which may be genetically related to the Latin phrase in Cato,[188] behaves like the series of infinitives in Ennius.[189]

The series of infinitives also recalls groupings of two doubling into a 'square' arrangement found in Italic documents like Cato's prayer:

> *Fruges frumenta*
> *vineta virgultaque*

Although the elements of the square are substantives in the former example, a curse from the Iguvine Tables marshals a series of imperatives but in a series of doubling figures:

> *Tursitu tremitu*
> *Hondu holtu*
> *ninctu nepitu*
> *sonitu sauitu*
> *Preplotatu previlatu*   (*IT* VIb 60 cf. variant in VIIa 49).

Neither arrangement is an exact match but they are similar enough to suggest that such configurations are the starting point for the infinitive phrases in the *Annales*.

Ennius employs several methods in creating a whole from the set of infinitive phrases. *Vestigare* and *quaerere* form a structural center for the four phrases by virtue of their side by side arrangement and near homoioteleuton. The elision of the final *–e* in *vestigare* with the conjunction *et* allows only one word break between the two infinitives, creating the illusion of a asyndetic coupling.

The addition of the infinitive governed by *posse* implies a group of five infinitives not four, which would have *quaerere* as the central infinitive. This false impression could be bolstered by the mirror imaging of sound which surrounds *quaerere*: *Et quaerere tE*, but the image is false, just as the perception that the sentence contains a series of five

---

[188] I discuss this possible genetic relationship in Chapter 1.

[189] This stylistic form is not unique to Italic just as Behagel's Law is not. Kirk p. 20 discusses the Homeric usages of the same arrangement.

infinitives dependent on *videbar* and not four. Moreover, the vowel lengths of *et* and *te* do not match and the near mirror imaging parallels the distorted vision of the grammatical relationships which can be created by merely counting the infinitives in the sentence and not qualifying each one.

The close grammatical and phonological parallel of *vestigare et quaerere* is somewhat offset by vowel patterning and a common membership of conjugational classes in the two 'doubling figures' which make up the square structure. *Errare* and *vestigare* are both verbs in the first conjugational class, and the repeated combinations of -*a*- and –*r*- reflexively note this commonality:

<div style="text-align:center">

*err**are** videb**ar***
*Tardaque vestig**are**.*

</div>

The –*a*- in *tardus* is short unlike the other examples of –*ar*- but the similarities in the combination of short –*a*- with –*r*- and long –*a*- with –*r*- are more salient than the differences. The second pair of infinitives are members of the third conjugation, and although the sound repetitions are not as pronounced, there is an abundance of short –*e*-s, and the infinitive *capessere*, which is dependent on *posse* and also a third conjugation verb, repeats the –*sse*- ending of *posse* and the –*ere*- ending of *quaerere*:

<div style="text-align:center">

*Et quaer**Ere** te, nEquE po<u>ss</u>E*
*CordE capE<u>ss</u>**Ere**.*

</div>

The repeated thematic vowels are not perfectly divided between the two pairs of infinitive phrases. All the infinitives end in a short –*e*, and *errare* begins with a short –*e* as well. The initial syllable of *capessere* has a short –*a*- and not a long one, but the similarity may be enough to suggest the presence of the thematic vowel of the first declension, especially since there is some wavering on the length of the final –a- in finite

forms of the first conjugation. This pattern of vowels is analogous to the rule of apparent disunity and underlying unity in the passage as a whole, although in this case the disunity requires a separation of the obvious unit of *vestigare* and *quaerere*.

The nature of the relationships between the infinitives is sometimes real and sometimes apparent, but even the merely apparent helps to further the disjointed yet ultimately unified vision of Ilia's dream. Both types of relationships have roots in patterns which are employed in the verbal art of the Italic tradition, suggesting that the squaring and doubling of infinitives in this particular sentence is the starting point for the structure of this series of infinitives. Ennius' evocation of this structure without actually deploying it is especially appropriate in a sentence which describes a dream world and employs the main verb *videbar*, 'I seemed'.

When Ilia calls her sister *germana soror* the doubling figure is not as obvious as the other two examples. *Germana* is normally taken as an adjective in Latin,[190] which suggests a simple arrangement of adjective and noun, but there are cases in in which *germanus* must mean 'brother' and not 'brotherly', including in the *Hector* of Ennius.[191] The most compelling reason to read *germana* as a substantive paired asyndetically with *soror* is the clear example of *germana* as a noun in the same fragment six lines later. Even if such examples did not exist, the difference between noun and adjective in Latin is never as clearly defined as in English and the two terms may be considered part of a general substantival category.

Furthermore, the combination of *germanus* and *frater*, and occasionally *germana* and *soror*, is common enough in early Latin to warrant the suggestion that it is a

---

[190] *OLD s.v. germanus*[1]

[191] *OLD s.v. germanus*[2]

traditional collocation. In the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, the slave Messenio expresses his belief that two Menaechmi are *fratres germanos* (*Men*. 1102). Terence also employs the phrase *in germani fratri*(*s*)…*loco* (*And*. 292). The *Fasti Consulares Capitolini* also employs the phrase HEI GERMANI FRATRES FUERUNT (*Fast*. *Con*. *Cap*. 18b). In addition to these examples, there are more in Cicero (Ver. 1.128) and Livy (35.10.8). It is not obvious in what context such a phrase could arise, but there are several possibilities, among them a legal designation, and the phrase *in germani fratri*(*s*)…*loco* looks like the language of jurisprudence.

The existence of such pairings does not mean that they comprised a traditional doubling figure, but the case for independent polygenesis seems weak. Ennius may have borrowed the phrase from the comic stage or another source, but the Italic tendency to deploy doubling figures implies that Ennius may be taking *germanus frater* and modifying it from an Italic source such as the Twelve Tables or some ritual utterance. Whether the collocation is appropriated from an earlier source or an innovation, it is probably best to take it as a doubling figure in this particular passage, given Ennius' usual practice of marking his poetry with such configurations.

Germana soror not only resembles *germanus frater* in Plautus and others, it parallels the phrase *germana mea sororcula* in the *Cistellaria* of Plautus (*Cist*. 451). If *germana soror* is a borrowing from comedy, it could forecast a happy ending for Ilia who like many other heroines in Roman comedy is pregnant out of wedlock and will have her happy ending by means of a marriage, but the phrase does not appear to be so prevalent in the comic playwrights or so unique that an audience could identify it as an incongruous comic note in a fairly serious account of the conception of Romulus and Remus.

Whether Ennius borrowed the idea of altering the gender of the usual *germanus frater* from Plautus or not, such a change would have been striking to a Roman audience. Such an effect would depend on several conditions. *Germanus frater* would not only have to be common in some form of solemn speech or text, but *germana soror* would also have to be a relatively rare combination. The limited evidence is not conclusive enough to do more than hypothesize that *germanus frater* is a traditional collocation from the language of jurisprudence or ritual. The total weight of the evidence does incline the balance enough to suggest that *germana soror* is a doubling figure and not an adjective followed by a noun.

3.2.2 Family Binding: Generating Content from Form

There are two instances in which two nouns from the same semantic field are placed alongside one another but are not actually grammatically bound together. These two 'apparent doubling figures' deploy common nouns for family members, just as in *germana soror*. In both cases *pater* is one element of these configurations, preceded by *prognata* in one, and followed by *germana* in the other.

Ilia begins her story by addressing her sister:

Eurydica <u>prognata pater</u> quam noster amavit.

There are several reasons to understand *prognata pater* as an apparent doubling figure despite the fact that *prognata* is a vocative and *pater* a nominative which serves as the subject of the relative clause beginning with *quam*. *Pater* has been moved to the left instead of the usual position to the right of the relative pronoun. The movement of a constituent of a relative clause to the left of the relative pronoun is not especially

uncommon in Latin, but it is not the normal word order. *Prognata* and *pater* alliterate, creating the impression that they are a pair, which is furthered by the fact that they are both generic words for nuclear family members. Therefore, the two lexemes have a phonemic and semantic relationship if not a syntactic one. The disjunction between the two terms is further obscured because the vocative and the nominative of *prognata* are indistinguishable in Latin and Ennius may be taking advantage of this lack of distinction between the two cases.

The two sets of nouns which delineate family relationships, *prognata pater* and *germana soror*, suggest that the phrase *pater germana* also forms an apparent doubling figure. Like *prognata pater*, there is no binding of syntactic equivalents. The nominative *pater* is followed by the vocative *germana*:

> *Haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit*   (*Ann*. 46).

There is no sound repetition in the pair with the exception of the final *-r* of *pater* and the medial *-r-* in the consonant cluster *-rm-* in *germana*, but the other two doubling figures, apparent and actual, which express a pair of familial relationships, suggest that this pairing is also to be taken as an implied merism.

All three pairs are divided by a caesura, and the second constituent is placed at the beginning of a second caesura in two instances. *Prognata pater* bridges a feminine caesura and ends at a hepthimimeral caesura:

> ¯ �‿ ˘ ¯ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ ¯ ¯ ˘ ˘ ¯ x
> *Eurydica prognata / pater / quam noster amavit*.

Likewise, *germana soror* is deployed on either side of a feminine caesura and *soror* is also on one side of a hepthimimeral:

$$-\ -- \ -\ -\ \smile\ \smile\ -\ -\ -\ \smile\ -\ -$$

Postilla germana / soror / errare videbar

The weakest candidate for an apparent doubling figure also bridges a caesura, but this time it is a penthimimeral caesura, and the second element is not deployed before a second caesura:

$$-\ -\ -\ \smile\ \smile\ -\ \ \ -\ -\ \smile\ \smile\ -\ \smile\ -\ \smile\ -\ \text{x}$$

Haec ecfatus pater, / germana, repente recessit.

Each pair bridges a caesura which suggests that the placement of these lexemes is not accidental.

The repetition of *pater* and *germana* already draws attention to the family relationships at work in the passage, and their side by side deployment across caesurae may be read as a subtle commentary on the nature of these relationships. Familial relationships require two people to fill these roles just as doubling figures require two lexemes to be placed together. These particular relationships are sundered by a caesura, which emphasizes Ilia's isolation from her sister and her father, especially in her dream. It is especially poignant that Ilia's mortal sister would be separated from their now immortal father, and now from Ilia, who is about to become the mother of a god and the wife of the immortal Anio.

At the same time, because these pairings may be taken as a graphic representation of a single relationship, the caesura cannot sunder the two terms completely. The inability of the caesura to separate the two terms in the merisms completely is highlighted by the additional hephthimimeral caesura which immediately follows two of the three pairs, suggesting that they belong more to the same half line to the left of the hepthemimeral caesura. As in every other aspect of the construction of this passage which has been so far

investigated in this study, what appears to be a disjunctive force manages to achieve an underlying unity.

Since the entire passage is first and foremost about the conception of Romulus and Remus such an emphasis on family should not be surprising, but it is interesting that none of the relationships reflected in the three pairings of lexemes for familial roles directly delineate that between Aeneas and Ilia. The pairing of *prognata pater* graphically represents the relationship between Ilia's nameless sister and her unnamed father Aeneas, whose voice has yet to address Ilia, although it can just as easily generically describe the relationship between Ilia and Aeneas, as the use of the pronoun *noster* to modify *pater* in the relative clause demonstrates, which references Aeneas' relationship with Ilia as well as with her sister. The pairing of *germana soror* reflects Ilia's relationship with her sister is followed a few lines later by *pater germana*, which delineates the relationship which Ilia has with her sister and Aeneas drawing Ilia into the family network through an implied triangulation.

Two of the three times Ennius uses the term *pater* in the passage, it serves as one half of a doubling figure, albeit in both cases in an apparent one and not an actual pairing bound by syntax. In light of the placement of the first two occurrences of *pater*, the deployment of the third immediately preceding the pronoun *me* is suggestive. Ilia and Aeneas here are graphically alongside one another although he is only a generic *pater*, and she an even less specific *me*:

> *Exim compellare <u>pater me</u> voce videtur*.

The deployment of a personal pronoun to the right of *pater* is reminiscent of *pater quam noster amavit* which more directly expresses the relationship of Ilia to Aeneas.

The vocative *gnata* is also placed alongside *tibi* in Aeneas' address to Ilia in the line immediately following:

> *His verbis: "o <u>gnata, tibi</u> sunt ante gerendae*.

The placement of a pronoun immediately following a noun in two morphologically distinct cases cannot be read as even an apparent doubling figure, but it is worth considering if these arrangements are extensions of the traditional Italic tendency, and of Ennius, to express important thematic elements in the form of doubling figures, even if the answer is negative. Whether they are influenced by such tendencies or not, the two sentences which employ *pater* and *me* as subject and object and place *gnata tibi* side by side directly express the relationship between father and daughter.

3.2.3 Traditional Phraseology

The repetition of *pater* and the heavy emphasis on family in Ilia's narrative call attention to the problematic relationship between Ilia and Aeneas, as her father and as a god. *Pater* is not only a title for father of a family, it is also a title given to various gods in the Roman pantheon in language of prayer. Cato addresses Mars and Ianus as *Mars pater* (*De Agr*. 141) and *Iane pater* (*De Agr*. 134) in his prayers to these respective deities. The name Jupiter is actually a fossilized phrase employing a form of *pater*, whom Ennius names *divomque hominumque pater* (*Ann*. 591), in imitation of Homer, but also probably etymologizing *Iu-piter*. The title of *pater* in Aeneas' case is especially ambiguous because of his status as the begetter of Ilia and her sister and a god at the same time.

This ambiguity may explain why Ennius never directly expresses the relationship of Ilia and Aeneas in an apparent or actual doubling figure. The ambiguous nature of Aeneas allows Ennius to highlight the tension between his role as a god, which forces him to allow her to be subjected to undeserved suffering in order that the city of Rome might be founded, and as a father to Ilia, which moves him to comfort his daughter. Although he is never mentioned by name, Mars is also drawn into the ambiguous semantics of *pater* in Latin as the god addressed as *Mars pater* in Cato's prayer and the actual sire of Romulus and Remus.

The participle *ecfatus* can simply mean 'to speak' but it tends to be used with words "of a solemn nature," and is also a technical term for marking the boundaries of an augury.[192] The ritual connotations of this participle are quite natural in describing an oracular pronouncement from a god, but a deeper, reflexive meaning underlies its solemnity. The narrative of Ilia is marked by at least one expression with a formulaic parallel in the prayers of the Iguvine Tables, another with a parallel in Oscan, and yet another phrase which can be found in at least two Latin epitaphs, suggesting the phrase is also a traditional phrase from the Latin epigram. *Ecfatus* could be a reference to the solemn utterances appropriated by Ennius into this passage, although Aeneas himself does not utter any of the three phrases.

The second oldest of the collection of epitaphs for several members of the family of Cornelii Scipiones reads thus:[193]

Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus
Gnaivod patre prognatus fortis vir sapiensque
Quoius forma virtutei parisuma
Fuit, consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud vos
Taurasia Cisauna Samnio cepit
Subiugit omne Lucaniam opsidesque abducit   (*CIL*[2] 6 and 7 and Ernout 13)

Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus
Son of Gnaeus, a brave and wise man,
Whose appearance was very much equal to his courage,
Who was consul, censor and aedile among you,
Captured Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium,
Subdued all Lucania, and brought back hostages.

The *elogium* may be written in Saturnians,[194] but even if it is not composed in Saturnians, it displays some markers of Italic verbal art. *Fortis…sapiensque* forms a doubling figure distended by the noun *vir* and the phrase *consol censor aidilis* comprises a tripling figure which may be seen an extension of an alliterative doubling figure. The placement of *aidilis* last in a series of magistracies which includes consul and censor may also be intended to defeat the expectations of a reader familiar with Italic verbal art, and possibly to isolate consol censor to highlight the alliteration between the two words.

In addition to the usual doubling and tripling figures, the phrase *patre prognatus* may be a traditional collocation. The addition of the preposition *pro* to the root *gnatus* appears to be motivated by the tendency to generate alliteration in Italic verbal art, giving the air of a formulaic phrase. It is possible that metrical considerations may have been the underlying reason for the alliteration phrase, but the phrase also appears in Plautus and in a fragment of a tragedy, suggesting its origin lies outside of the of the Saturnian meter:

Tun meo patre es prognatus (*Men.* 1079)

---

[194] Van Sickle p. 42 identifies the four epitaphs not composed in elegiacs as Saturnians, but I prefer to err on the side of caution, given the controversial status of the Saturnian meter.

Iove patre prognatus est (*Inc. trag.* 101).

The intercession of the verb *es* in the Plautine line would hardly be noticeable when it was pronounced because of the elision of the ending of *patre* and *es* and the weakness of final –*s* in the Latin of the early second century. The second example is interesting because the *pater* is *Iove patre*, which plays on the ambiguity of the title *pater* when it is applied to deities just as Ennius does in the Ilia passage. The three examples of *patre prognatus* are all couched in the same word order, with some distension in Plautus, and deploy the participle *prognatus* rather than *gnatus* which alliterates with *patre*, suggesting that *prognata pater* in Ilia's narrative is evoking a traditional collocation. The is an exact syntactic match between the phrase *Eurydica prognata* and *patre prognata*, also suggests a reference to the masculine version.

If Ennius is referencing such a phrase the switch in gender may have been somewhat surprising to his audience. There is at least one example of a transformation of *frater germanus* into the feminine in Plautus, *germana mea sororcula* (*Cist.* 451), and the feminine form *prognata* is used by itself, but there appear to be no examples of *patre prognata* in early Latin literary or epigraphic texts. If such an expression was used and simply does not survive, it would still be a traditional collocation with overtones of solemnity when Ennius has Ilia describe her sister as *prognata pater quam noster amavit*.

Ennius' decision to create an apparent doubling figure out of a traditional form may also reflect the discontinuity of the family line after Eurydica, and by contrast highlight Ilia's role in the furthering of the ancestry of Aeneas. The change of gender from the more common *prognatus* to *prognata* also emphasizes that Romulus and Remus and the Romans must trace their hereditary links to Aeneas through his daughter. The

emphasis on the feminine may also remind the audience that Aeneas is the son of a goddess not a god.

Towards the beginning of her story, Ilia tells her sister that her very life force left her body:

Vires vitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne   (*Ann.* 37).

Vires vitaque is not only an alliterative doubling figure but also bears a strong resemblance to an Oscan doubling figure **biass biitam**, one of five pairings which comprise a *defixio* already discussed in the introduction. Calvert Watkins suggests it is taken from the traditional language of Italic verbal art.[195]

The correspondence between *vires vitaque* and **biass biitam** is not exact, but Oscan **biitam** and Latin *vita* are both reflexes of the Indo-European root *g^wita-, and both phrases carry essentially the same semantic message, 'strength and life'. Watkins believes that the sound change which rendered the inherited voiced labiovelar *g^w- as *v*- in Latin produced *$vi\bar{a}$, 'strength' and a near homonymy with *via* 'way'.[196] This near homonymy led to a 'renewal' of the traditional collocation in which *$vi\bar{a}$ was replaced with the synonym *vires* which preserved the semantic message, the alliteration, and even the number of the original Italic formulation as reflected in the Oscan. This replacement also removed any possible confusion between *via* and *$vi\bar{a}$ in this stylistic figure.

If *vires vitaque* is a reflex of an ancient Proto-Italic collocation, it must indicate just how serious Ilia's claim to have lost all life and strength was and may imply that she has been robbed of these things by supernatural means. The Oscan curse lists five pairings of an intended victim who is handed over to some infernal power, which implies

---

[195] Watkins 1995 p. 155

[196] Watkins 1995 p. 155-56

that *vires vitaque* was a way to express a totality of existence in magical, and possibly ritual terms. The deployment of such a collocation indicates the seriousness of what has happened and what will happen to Ilia. She has been raped by a god, and in the process broken her vows of chastity as a Vestal virgin. The results will be quite literally a loss of *vires* and *vita* as a mortal being. In addition, its presence in a curse formulation may not be unique and if this doubling figure was common enough in these *defixiones*, or in spoken curses now unrecorded, the phrase may have been enough to suggest to the audience of the *Annales* that Ilia is bereft of her life and strength because of the use of magic on the part of Mars.

3.2.4 The Indo-European Tradition

Ennius ends the second to last line of Ilia's narrative with a rather redundant deployment of the first person singular imperfect of the verb *voco* immediately following the ablative of the noun *vox*:

> *Tendebam lacrumans et blanda <u>voce vocabam</u>*   (*Ann.* 49).

Skutsch asserts that *voce* is not 'redundant' but "needed to accompany *blanda*."[197] With or without *blanda*, the coupling of *voce* and *vocabam* creates a *figura etymologica*, which marks the narrative as Italic verbal art as well as Greek poetry.

The formulation of an etymological figure is justification enough for Ennius to end the line with this phrase, but this particular collocation appears to be extremely ancient. Six times the Iguvine Tables use the phrase *subocau suboco*, 'I invoke an

---

[197] Skutsch p. 201 does not elaborate on why *voce* must accompany *blanda*.

invoking,' all of which occur in the last two tablets and as a part of a ritual utterance.[198] Without the repeated preverb *sub-*, the Umbrian phrase is a combination of the same verbal and nominal root Ennius deploys in the *Annales*. The close correspondence suggests that *voce vocabam* and *subocau suboco* are inherited ritual utterances which would lend even more semantic weight to a narrative laden with solemn connotations.

Although the phrases are cognate, it does not necessarily follow that Ennius would have to appropriate *voce vocabam* from elsewhere instead of simply creating a *figura etymologica* on his own. Unlike the Umbrian, Ennius does not add any preverbs to *voce* or *vocabam*, although there are no instances of *subvoco* or *subvox* in the extant remains of Classical or Pre-Classical Latin.[199] The word order in Ennius is noun verb which is the reverse of the Umbrian cognate phrase and *suboco* is an accusative not an ablative like *voce*. Given the metrical constraints of the hexameter and general weakness of final *-m* in Latin, the latter two objections are weak at best, but a basic etymological figure like *voce vocabam* could be coined spontaneously. Finally, should *voce vocabam* and *subocau suboco* somehow be a reflex of a Proto-Italic collocation, it is possible that the Proto-Italic phrase was not a ritual utterance, but became one only in Umbrian.

When *voce vocabam* is examined in its broader Indo-European context, it becomes more likely that it is an inherited phrase which was a part of the ritual language of the Proto-Indo-European speakers and remained so in at least two traditions in the

---

[198] Schirmer pp. 255-272 lists all six occurrences of the phrase and gives a detailed discussion of the various interpretations of the phrase which have identified suboco as an adverb and an infinitive. She identifies the phrase as a formula. Watkins 1995 p. 216 notes that the phrase is part of a loose ring composition framing the prayer in *IT* VIa 22-34, beginning with *teio subocau suboco dei grabovi* (*IT* VIa 22), and ending with *di grabovie tio subocau* (*IT* VIa 34).

[199] No entry can be found for either in the *OLD*.

daughter languages. Both the Vedic and Greek epic traditions employ *figurae etymologicae* created from a verbal and a nominal reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root *wekʷ-* , the same root from which *subocau* and *suboco* and *vox* and *voco* are derived.[200]

The *Iliad* abounds with collocations which pair some form of the noun ἔπος and its verbal counterpart εἰπεῖν. Unlike the Umbrian examples, which consistently conform to the same pattern of *subocau suboco*, Homer makes use of several combinations of ἔπος and ἔπειν. The Greek etymological figures fluctuate in word order and verbal tense but collocations of the same roots are deployed consistently throughout the *Iliad*. In a manner analogous to the variations in word order and verbal tense, there is no single context in which this etymological figure is deployed.

In the heated dispute over what to do when the plague of Apollo strikes the Achaeans, Agamemnon reacts to Calchas' suggestion that he give up the daughter of Chryses with an invective against the priest in which he claims:

<p style="text-align:center">ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτε τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὔτε ἐτέλεσσας   (*Il*. 1.108)</p>

You have never spoken a good word nor accomplished (anything good). The neuter accusative of ἔπος immediately follows the aorist second person form of ἔπειν, employing a marked verb object word order, which lends some added semantic weight to the phrase. It is perhaps significant that Agamemnon uses this particular phrase to describe Calchas' prophecies, which may be an indication that the phrase in this particular line has retained some vestige of the ritual context in which Calchas would have pronounced his readings of omens or oracles.

---

[200] Schmitt pp. 264-65 is the classic discussion of this reconstructed Proto-Indo-European 'formula'.

A second example of this collocation in the *Iliad* comes not from the solemn

utterance of a prophet but rather from the fight between Achilles and Aeneas, who

disparages talk in favor of action, reflecting that there are many kinds of words:

ὁπποῖόν κ' εἴπῃσθα ἔπος, τοῖόν κ' ἐπακούσαις   (*Il*. 20.250)

listen to whatever sort of word you would say.

As in the previous example, ἔπος follows a second person form of ἔπειν, which appears

to be a variant of the first example and retains the verb object word order. The phrase is

not used to describe the actions of a prophet but there is a great deal of musing on the

futility of speech in addition to this line, which implies an unspoken opposing viewpoint

which considers words to be powerful. Perhaps Aeneas is mocking those who would

speak a word in order to effect changes in a battle or another context outside of the

contexts of debate, or perhaps he is self consciously delaying his confrontation with

Achilles.[201]

The infinitive phrase ἔπειν ἔπος occurs multiple times in the *Iliad* as well. In her

reproach of Zeus for his clandestine planning in the beginning of the *Iliad*, Hera

complains that Zeus never undertakes to say a word, ἔπειν ἔπος, about what he is

thinking (*Il*. 1.543). In Book Seven, the Trojan herald Idaios speaks of a counsel of

Trojans in which Paris was enjoined to speak a speech, ἔπειν ἔπος (*Il*. 7.394). Like the

examples above, these phrases employ the verb object word order, but there is no

indication of any special meaning for the phrase beyond a general notion of speaking.

---

[201] Willcock p 280 notes the speech of Aeneas is 'rambling' and suggests that Aeneas is "only too willing to go on saying whatever comes into his head in order to postpone the moment when the action will have to begin."

There are other examples of phrases which combine ἔπος and ἔπειν throughout the *Iliad*, including some which are deployed in the normal object verb word order and with distension. Antenor confirms that Helen has spoken the truth when she identifies Odysseus in the *Teichoskopeia* with the following phrase:

ὦ γύναι, ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος νημερτὲς ἔειπες   (*Il.* 3.204)

You spoke this speech truly woman.

There are other configurations of ἔπος and ἔπειν which employ the same word order and distend the collocation with an adjective modifying ἔπος. For example, Sarpedon speaks a tearful word, ἔπος δ᾽ ὀλυφυδνὸν ἔειπε, to Hector after the Trojan hero has come to the rescue of a contingent of Lycians (*Il.* 5.683). The verb object word order may also be employed in a distension of the etymological figure, as when Andromache bewails that Hector did not speak some meaningful word to her, εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, before he died, which she could remember as she mourns him (*Il.* 24.744).

The number of examples in the *Iliad* alone suggests that there was a template for the collocation on which Homer based the variants deployed in the *Iliad*, which was an established part of epic diction for some time. However the variety of word and context in the *Iliad* makes it difficult to determine the inherited context or the original shape of the inherited phrase. The phrases which combine ἔπος and forms of ἔπειν may have simply been a pleonastic way to express the idea of speaking with no extra connotations, either because the *figura etymologica* is an innovation or because the phrase had become so much a part of the epic diction that it was bleached of any inherited associations with ritual addresses to the gods.

The Greek evidence alone is not enough to support the assertion that *voce vocabam* is an inherited phrase. The possibility of innovation looms over any attempt to triangulate the Latin and the Greek phrase back to an Indo-European one. *Vox* and ἔπος are cognate, but they are reflexes of different forms of Proto-Indo-European *wekʷ-. *Vox* is an ō-grade consonant stem, similar to but not equivalent with the o-grade Greek ὄψ, while ἔπος is an e-grade neuter -*s* stem. *Vocabam* does not appear to be an *e*-grade root like ἔπειν. Ennius cannot have known that the Greek ἔπος and Latin vox were cognates and therefore, *voce vocabam* is not a calque or translation of ἔπειν ἔπος, but the general idea of expressing speech with a *figura etymologica* could have been a partial inspiration for *voce vocabam*.

The Umbrian evidence mitigates some of the objections that the comparison between the Greek and Latin traditions raises. All occurrences of the related phrase *subocau suboco* occur in the context of a ritual address of the gods, and the Umbrian collocation also deploys the o-grade root. In spite of the difference in vowel grade, *vox* and ἔπος ultimately stem from the same root and because there appear to be no survivals of the e-grade of Indo-European *wekʷ- in Umbrian or Latin, the replacement of an e-grade noun and verb would naturally be the o-grade of the same root. Sihler has expressed some doubt that Latin *voco* is a true o-grade, suggesting that it may actually be a reflex of an e-grade vowel,[202] which would leave only one shift in ablaut to explain rather than two.

---

[202] Sihler p. 118 expresses his doubts in a rather cryptic manner, making it difficult to decide how seriously to take his implicit questioning and even more difficult to determine how he would derive *voco* from *wekʷ-. When he charts the various reflexes of ablaut in the reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European root

Any argument which asserts that the Indo-European phrase was deployed in the language of ritual based solely on the Umbrian evidence can only be circular, but two instances of cognate *figurae etymlogicae* occurring in Vedas, which are ritual texts composed and once recited in an archaic form of Sanskrit, suggest that the phrase was a ritual utterance. The two Vedic examples also provide evidence from the crucial third branch of the Indo-European family, which is considered necessary in order to identify a linguistic phenomenon as an inheritance.

In a hymn addressed to all the gods of the Vedic pantheon, the composer asks that his word will not fall upon deaf ears:

Mā vo vacāṃsi paricákṣyāni vocaṃ (*RV* 6.52.14c)

Let me not utter words that ye may disregard (Trans. Griffith).

The word-order of the request shows a remarkable resemblance to the class of collocation of ἔπος and ἔπειν in Homer marked by distension and object verb word order:

ἔπος νημερτὲς ἔειπες

vacāṃsi paricákṣyāni vocaṃ.

Both phrases are marked by the insertion of an adjective between nominal and verbal reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *wek^w-, and both end a line. The multiple examples of

---

*wek^w-, he lists voco as an o-grade in the following manner: *voco*(?) but perhaps <*wek^w-). It possible that the idea is not Sihler's but a lack of footnoting makes it impossible to know. My best guess for his obscure suggestion is the influence of the initial labial element and the labial element of the original labio-velar in the second consonant of *voco*.

this type of ἔπος ἔπειν phrase in Greek may indicate this particular configuration is of Indo-European date.

The Vedic does differ from the Greek in some respects worth noting. The Vedic and the Greek phrases also employ an e-grade noun but differ in the ablaut of the verb. The Vedic aorist injunctive *vocaṃ* is a zero-grade reduplicated aorist which is a contraction of *a-va-uc-am. *Vacāṃsi* is etymologically equivalent to Greek ἔπος and also a neuter -*s* stem, and presumably retains the same vowel grade,[203] but it is plural rather than singular as in all the Homeric and Italic examples discussed above.

In a hymn addressed to Rudra, the Vedic forerunner of the Hindu god Shiva, the composer reflexively notes that his hymn is recited in honor of the Vedic god:

> *Idám pitré marútām <u>ucyate vácaḥ</u>*   (*RV* 1.114.6a)

To him, the Maruts' Father, is this hymn addressed   (Trans. Griffith)
The Vedic phrase deploys the same verb noun word order evidenced in the other class of ἔπος ἔπειν collocations in the *Iliad*, but it also demonstrates some significant differences. The verb is in the passive voice and in the zero-grade like its active counterpart in the previous example from the *Rig Veda* and, by virtue of the passive construction *vácaḥ*, the nominal reflex of Proto-Indo-European *wekʷ- is in the nominative case rather than the accusative.

Like the Italic examples, neither Vedic phrase is an exact match for the various types of Greek ἔπος ἔπειν phrases. Both verbal forms are in the zero-grade and one is in the passive, which is never deployed in the Greek or Italic examples. On the other hand,

---

[203] All ablaut vowels in Sanskrit are reflected as –*a*-, but the neuter –*s* stem ἔπος suggests the original vowel was also –*e*- in Indo-Iranian .

157

the word order of both Vedic reflexes mirrors that of the two types of the analogous Greek phrase. Moreover, the nominal element in all instances in Greek and Vedic is a neuter -*s* stem. The most significant difference between the two traditions is the context of the phrases. The variety of context in the *Iliad* stands in stark contrast with the specifically ritual milieu of the Vedas.

When the changes of language which are liable to occur over the thousands of years and which separate Latin, Umbrian, Greek and Vedic from the original Proto-Indo-European, are taken into consideration, it is the similarities which are surprising rather than the differences. The most important of the common features in this inherited *figura etymologica* is the consistent pairing of a noun and verb deriving from the same root regardless of its vowel grade. Often traditional collocations of Indo-European date which survive into a daughter language replace lexemes rather than change the vowel grade of the same root.

Nevertheless, some of these differences may be the result of transformations of an ancient etymological figure caused by language change. The passive construction in the one Vedic example is not only a very small minority, it also deploys a passive which is not a development of the Proto-Indo-European medio-passive from, and therefore cannot be of Indo-European date. The zero-grade of the Vedic verb also stands in contrast with the e-grade of the Greek verb and possibly that of the Latin, suggesting that the vowel grade of the verb was an e-grade. Similarly, the Vedic and Greek evidence agree against the Italic that the vowel grade of the nominal root was also -*e*-. The strong parallels between the Greek and Indic examples suggest that there were two variants of word order in these expressions at an early date and the Umbrian evidence appears to fall into the

category of the simpler class which deploys a marked verb object word order. The combined evidence suggests the following shapes for the two variants of this phrase:

$$*wek^w\text{- (V) } *wek^w\text{- (N)}$$

and

$$*wek^w\text{- (N) [ADJECTIVE] } *wek^w\text{- (V).}$$

The nominal element is always in the accusative with the exception of the Latin *voce vocabam* and Vedic *ucyate vácaḥ*, suggesting that this was the case in the original formulations and the fluctuation of form in the verbal elements implies that there was some freedom concerning the verb.

The context of this phrase in Proto-Indo-European and ultimately in Latin may also be narrowed down by the same comparative process. The Greek evidence may be the most abundant and it may show no association with a particular context, but the Vedic and the Umbrian examples are exclusively found in ritual utterance. As noted above, at least one example in the *Iliad* refers to the words of the prophet Calchas, which may refer to the ritual speech spoken as a *mantis* rather than his everyday banter, implying some lingering ritual association in the Greek tradition. It is also possible that there were Greek prayers no longer extant which deployed the traditional collocation. The sum of the evidence points towards a ritual address to the gods and it is likely to be the original context of Ennius' *voce vocabam* which would be an allusion to a no longer extant collocation from the language of Latin ritual inherited from Proto-Italic and cognate with *subocau suboco*.

The Ennian context of *voce vocabam* also shows signs of a ritual context inherited from Proto-Indo-European. Ilia not only calls out to her father, but also raises her hands up to the sky:

> *Quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa*
> *Tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam*   (*Ann*. 48-49).

The raising of the hands to the sky is a posture of prayer which can be found in several traditions of the daughter languages of the Indo-European family. There is a number of expressions of the hands raised upwards in prayer, in which a reflex of the Indo-European root *ĝhes*-, 'hand' is deployed with a verb that means to raise.[204] These expressions culled from the Greek, Indo-Iranian and Anatolian branches suggest that *manus …tendebam* not only reflected a particularly Indo-European attitude of prayer but may be a reflex of a traditional Proto-Indo-European collocation.

The evidence outside the Italic languages points toward a phrase which can be reconstructed as:

<div align="center">RAISE + *ĝhes*-.</div>

George Dunkel has collected no less than eight examples of the collocation χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν, which accompany an act of prayer or stands for prayer metonymically.[205] He identifies four instances of hands raised in prayer in the Vedas,[206]

---

[204] Dunkel 1993 p. 114 believes that the lack of a reconstructable phrase is due to lexical variation in Proto-Indo-European. While I believe Dunkel is right in essentials, I am inclined to believe the variation is due to poetic transformations of an already existing phrase which may be a hypothetically reconstructed 'zero-phrase'.

[205] Dunkel p. 111 lists several variants of the phrase which occur in *Il*. 3.318, 6.301, 1.450, 8.347, 5.174, 24.301 and *Od*. 9.249 and 20.97.

two in the Gāthās, and three in Hittite ritual texts.[207] All three traditions are unanimous in the employment of the root *ĝhes- but there is no agreement on a root that will allow a reconstruction of the verbal component of the phrase.

The Latin phrase may be the clue needed to reconstruct the verbal element of the phrase. Although Latin *manus* must be a lexical replacement, this is to be expected because the root *ĝhes- survives in Latin only in vestigial forms such as *praesto* from *prai-ĝhes-to-*. On the other hand the verb *tendebam*, which derives from the Proto-Indo-European root *ten-, 'to stretch', matches the verbal roots of the Vedic compound *uttānahasto* and the Old Avestan verb *ustānazastō*, both of which are used to express the act of raising the hands and can be derived from the suffixed root *ud-ten- and *ĝhes-to-. The correspondence suggests that Proto-Indo-European phrase should be reconstructed as:

*ten- + *ĝhes-

which suggests that *manus … tendebam* is a reflex of an extremely ancient expression.

There are further parallels between the Latin phrase which suggest that *manus … tendebam* is an inheritance from Proto-Indo-European. Three examples of the Homeric expression χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν are accompanied by the dative Διί, which is not only the dative of Zeus, but also the Proto-Indo-European root for 'sky'. Ilia raised her hands to the sky as well. In all three branches outside of Italic which deploy some version of this

---

[206] Dunkel p. 110 points out that raised hands must be an archaism in the Vedas, in which the normal attitude of prayer is with bent knee. The Vedic examples are *RV* 3.14.5ab, 6.16.46cd, 6.63.3c and 10.79.2cd.

[207] Dunkel pp. 112-13 lists *Yasna* 28.1a and 29.5a in Old Avestan and KBo III 4 Vs. I.22ff., VI 29 II 9ff., and IV 9 I 39 in Hittite.

collocation, it is deployed with a verb of speaking or address and Ilia follows this pattern by calling out to her father after raising her hands to the sky.

The presence of *voce vocabam* could be accidental or an archaism which was inadvertently summoned from the unconsciousness of the poet. The presence of two archaisms which are vestiges of the ritual language of Proto-Indo-European suggests that etymological figure *voce vocabam* is neither an invention of Ennius, nor randomly deployed to evoke a ritual solemnity. It is likely that some Latin prayer or ritual text no longer extant preserved these traditional collocations and when Ennius places them in the narrative of Ilia he is alluding to solemn phrases which his audience would recognize.

These two very ancient acts of prayer in Ilia's address to Aeneas force the reader of the *Annales* to confront the inherent ambiguity in the language of family and ritual in Roman society and the reality Ilia faces as the daughter of a god. It may appear somewhat natural for a Vestal Virgin to use ritual figures of speech, especially when addressing a god, but Aeneas is still her father in the earthly sense. The ambiguity created by the language used to describe Ilia's address to her father dovetails with the repeated use of *pater* rather than the name Aeneas, which can be used to describe one's begetter but also one of several gods in the Latin pantheon. This ambiguity may itself be of an ancient date, as the head of the Indo-European pantheon was known as *dyēus-ph₂tēr*, 'father sky'. Therefore, Ennius employs the language of ritual not only for an effect of solemnity, but to explore the ambiguities of the Latin language and their repercussions when one's *pater* becomes *Pater Aeneas*.

Chapter 4

162

The Poet(ics) of Polemic: Ennius and the Saturnian Tradition

4.1 *Annals* 1

In what may be the very first line preserved from his *Annales,* the Latin epic poet Ennius sends a firm message that he will not be following in the steps of his predecessors in Roman epic, Livius Andronicus and Naevius. The poet invokes the Muses:

> *Musae quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum* (*Ann.* 1)[208]

> O you Muses who strike great Olympus with your feet.

This single line makes it clear that the *Annales* will be an epic greatly influenced by the Greek epic poets. Despite the poet's apparent intention to create an epic in the Greek tradition, the fragments of the *Annales* reveal a work that is very much a product of the Italic tradition, as the analyses above have indicated.

---

[208] Most accept this line as the opening of the *Annales*. However, Varro, who quotes it (*LL* 7.5), does not specify that this is the first line of the epic. Skutsch 1985 p. 143 argues on the basis of Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* and Solon 1, both of which have a second line that begins with the word Μοῦσαι,, that this is the second line of the epic. On the other hand, the first line of Hesiod's *Works and Days* begins with Μοῦσαι, and Solon *1* is not epic. The alliteration of the Ennian line is startlingly like that of the opening line of the *Odyssey* (Skutsch maintains this is "accidental"), and this may be an argument for the line as the first in the poem. Even if every Greek epic poem extant began its second line with Μοῦσαι, Ennius is not obligated to follow every precedent set by his Greek models. The *Annales* is composition modeled on Greek epic, not a slavish imitation.

Ennius' meter is the Greek hexameter instead of the Latin Saturnian. This in itself is a powerful statement. The two previous Roman epics, Andronicus' translation of the *Odyssey* and Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, both were composed in Saturnians.[209] Ennius rejects this choice of meter in favor of the Greek hexameter, which makes it clear that he is not going to follow the metrical model of the earlier Roman epics. His use of *pedibus*, 'feet,' in the first dactyl of the poem is a self-conscious reference to the newly imported hexameter, rendering the 'feet' of the Muses the 'feet' of the dactyls.[210]

The verb *pulsatis*, which may mean 'to strike repeatedly or beat (a musical instrument) in order to produce sounds'[211] may also reference the Ennius' newly appropriated meter. Ennius' word choice may not only index his choice of meter, but also the difference in Latin and Greek accentuation and thus, a crucial difference in the sound of his epic as opposed to his Greek models. The striking of a drum or other musical instrument often presupposes some beats are more pronounced than the other in a manner reminiscent of the Latin stress accent rather the quantitative accent of Greek.

---

[209] The controversy over how Saturnians actually worked is far beyond the scope of this paper but needs to be acknowledged. The only thing that is universally agreed on is that each line has a caesura dividing it into two parts. A variety of suggestions have been made concerning how the lines were actually scanned, but the number of lines written in Saturnians may be too small for this to be determined conclusively. There is even little agreement as to which putative Saturnians constitute "true Saturnians." Freeman pp. 61-90 gives a good overview of conflicting points of view but adds little himself to the subject. Cole pp. 3-73 is the classic exposition of the quantitative-syllabic argument. Parsons pp. 117-137 argues the Saturnian is based on the grouping of syllables, and Mercado pp. 188-208 adjusts Parsons' model to work as a quantitative-syllabic meter.

[210] Hinds pp. 56 notes that "invocations of poetic goddesses do not invariably focus upon their dancing feet; this invocation does, not because of some robust archaic association with vigorous stamping in the dance, nor even (primarily) to signal a debt to Hesiod, but to 'annotate' through a reflexive pun in the word *pes* which is being enacted even as we read."

[211] *OLD s.v. pulso*

Annales 1 owes something to both Homer and Hesiod, the earliest surviving

Greek poets who invoke the Muses. Hesiod's *Theogony* begins with this word:

> Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' ἀείδειν,
> αἵ θ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεον   (*Theog*. 1-2)
>
> Let us begin to sing of the Heliconian Muses
> Who haunt (lit. hold) the great and holy mountain of Helicon

Μοῦσαι is in the genitive, instead of the nominative, but it holds the same place as

Musai, literally beginning the poem as Hesiod reflexively indicates with the verb

ἀρχώμεθα, 'let us begin'. Ennius' *quae* could index the relative pronoun αἵ (trumping

Livius, and even Homer) by providing two 'beginnings' of lines in the first two words of

the *Annales*. Ennius diverges from the epic and Homeric practice when he does not

elaborate on the subject of his epic in the relative clause,[212] but instead follows Greek

hymnic practice by referring the residence of the Muses.[213] The relative clause I the

Annales parallels the same hymnic usage in Theogony. Neither the Greek nor the Latin

poem are hymns, but as Martin West writes, they "have much in common with invocation

structure."[214] *Magnum*, could then be a appropriation of μέγα, solidifying the impression

that *Annales* 1 is a condensation of *Theogony* 1 and 2.

---

[212] West 1966 p. 152 notes that the *Iliad, Odyssey, Works and Days*, *the Little Iliad*, and the *Thebaid* all state their subjects in relative clauses.

[213] Norden 1913 p. 168 observes this pattern.

[214] West 1966 p. 152

Homer refers to the Muse as a goddess in the first line of the *Iliad*, but he only

explicitly names her Μοῦσα in the opening line of the *Odyssey* and in Book Two of the

Iliad. A line late in the *Odyssey* opens with the Muses:

Μοῦσαι ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ   (*Od*. 24.60)

All nine Muses responding in a beautiful voice

Besides the intial Μοῦσαι, nothing matches with *Annales* 1. There is no obvious reason

to quote a line from the end of the *Odyssey* at the beginning of the first Latin hexameter

poem ever written. The numbering of the Muses and the formulaic ὀπὶ καλῇ are

markedly Hesiodic, suggesting that the line may be an appropriation from the Hesiodic

tradition and the beginning of a now lost epic, but Ennius' breadth of reading in Greek

does not appear to be so expansive as to be likely to include an obscure and now

unknown Hesiodic epic. The alliteration in the line is startlingly like that of the opening

line of the *Odyssey,* which employs repeated *p-* and *m-* sounds just like Homer's ἄνδρα

μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον, which reminds the reader that Homer is not far from

the mind of Ennius in this *incipit*. The first surviving line of Ennius' epic is already

engaging in a *contaminatio* of reference.

 Annales 1 is also in dialogue with Ennius' Latin predecessors, Gnaeus Naevius

and Livius Andronicus, further tangling the net of intertexts. In the place of the Italian

Camena of Andronicus are the Greek Muses, whose presence implies that Ennius is

correcting the older poet's syncretism of the *Camenae* with the Muses. There is no direct

evidence that Naevius' nine unnamed sisters with whom he begins his epic are also

Camenae, but it is generally accepted that Naevius invokes the *Camenae* as well.[215] Thus, the evidence suggests Ennius is making a statement about the place of his poem in both the Greek and the Latin traditions.

Livius Andronicus, who was a Greek, perhaps from Tarentum in Magna Graecia, begins his translation of the *Odyssey* with the following line:

virum mihi Camena   insece versutum (*Od*. 1)

Tell me, Camena, of the man who was turned.

From a teleological point of view, which views all Latin poetry as a progression towards the *Aeneid*,[216] this is a less than auspicious beginning of Latin poetry. From the teleological point of view, it is a simple translation of the opening of the *Odyssey* which already loses something by the deployment of *versutum* rather than the Greek compound πολύτροπον, demonstrating the lack of free compounding in the Latin language.[217] Instead of the Greek Muse, Livius invokes some type of Roman water goddess.

---

[215] The main reason for accepting this other than the silence of Naevius on the Muses is the "epitaph" of Naevius' in which the poet writes, "flerent divae *Camenae* Naevium poeta." Cf. below for the use of the Greek word *poeta* in the epitaph.

[216] Hinds p. 63 mentions a 'formulation' in which "Hellenizing revolutions such as Livius Andronicus/ Ennius/Virgil [are seen] as a progressive series of steps" (e.g. progressing toward an Augustan *telos*). Although Hinds' purpose is to refute such a formulation in his discussion and the *telos* he seeks to deconstruct is in fact Ennius, this is a good concise definition of the teleological approach.

[217] As Katz 2006 p. 143 notes, "Classicists tend to take for granted that fancy compounds in Latin are almost always Greek calques." Lindner 2002 p. 212-291 traces the history of Latin compounding from archaic Latin to Vergil and determines that compounding in Latin was productive until the age of Varro and Caesar, who appear to have influenced the writers of their age in the avoidance of compounding. Biville pp. 55-70 also believes compounding was a productive means of word formation in Latin.

Stephen Hinds has recently discussed the 'Enniocentric' bias that has led some modern scholars to read Ennius' version as an 'advance' on Livius' line.[218] Skutsch reads the presence of the Muse as an expression of the "intention to subject Roman poetry more closely to the discipline of Greek poetic form,"[219] implying that Livius and anyone not composing in Greek meter are somehow 'undisciplined.' Ernout and Meillet regard the word *Camena* as 'grossière'.[220] No matter how crude the replacement of the Muse with the *Camena* may be in the eyes of Ernout and Meillet, Hinds is right to point out that Livius was still invoking the Homeric Muse, albeit under a different name and that the transliteration of a Greek name is not necessarily an improvement on the *Camena* "with its etymologizing suggestiveness."[221] Furthermore, the simplex *versutum* not only has the literal meaning of 'turned' but also the sense 'translated,' generating a line that works within the limits of the Latin lexicon while achieving a reflexive effect not found in the original *Odyssey*.[222] The line may be justifiably translated as, "Tell me, *Camena*, of the man who was translated."

Andronicus' opening is not only a *tour de force* of Hellenistic poetics, including a 'dialectical gloss' of the Greek Muse; it also deploys poetic elements which have a claim to be Italic as much as Greek. The play on *versutum* is a pun on a technical meaning of

---

[218] Hinds 58-63 thoroughly deconstructs this notion. The term 'Enniocentric' is taken from his discussion. Mariotti 1952 p. 26 before Hinds sees Livius as a poet in his own right: "Italicizzare, romizzare la poesia d' Omero: questo fu il fine dell'opera di Andronico…non precedette Ennio nell'importare l'esametro." Although other must have had the same opinion, Mariotti is the earliest printed opinion I was able to find.

[219] Skutsch p. 144.

[220] Ernout-Meillet *s.v. Camenae.*

[221] Hinds p. 61.

[222] Hinds p. 61 points out that "*vertere* is the technical term *par excellence* for translation in early Latin literature."

Latin *verto*, but it may also refer to an ancient Greek understanding of πολύτροπον.[223]

Varro falsely etymologizes *carmina* as a derivation of *Casmena*, a hypothetical form of *Camena*, which produced the word *carmina* after rhotacism.[224] (*Ling.* 7.26-27). Livius did not need such an etymology to make his choice, and the association of the *Camenae* with a spring outside the Porta Capena in Rome may have inspired him to equate them with the Hippocrene-haunting Muses. However, if Livius also chose the *Camena* because of this folk etymology, then he is creating an implied etymological figure with *Camena* and his *carmen*.

Whether it is an improvement or not, Ennius' opening line is in dialogue with the Livian *incipit*, and this relationship is symptomatic of the intertextual relationships that are so prevalent in the *Annales*. The emphasis on the Greek *Musae* in the opening line is as much a reference to the *Camena* as to Homer's Muse. By implicitly referencing the first line of Andronicus' translation, Ennius is also indirectly alluding to the first line of the *Odyssey*, highlighting the difficulty of separating any reference to the Greek poem from its Latin translation. Any other allusion to the Saturnian poet cannot be without a relationship to the ultimate source of the *Odusia*.

The opening line of the *Annales* is also is in dialogue with another Saturnian poem, the *Bellum Poenicum* of Gnaeus Naevius:

---

[223] Pucci 50-57 discusses a reading of a scholiast for *Odyssey* 1.1 who understood Odysseus' many turns to be of language. Plato appears to hint at a linguistic interpretation of πολύτροπον in the *Hippias Minor* 364c: πολύτροπον ψευδῆ λέγεις, and this idea may ultimately come from Antisthenes 51 Caizzi = Gianantoni *SSR* II.391-2.

[224] The *-r-* in *carmen* is actually a reflex of *-n-*: *-n-* before *-m* in Latin dissimulates into *–r-*, seemingly regularly. Rhotacism of *-s-* in Latin only occurs intervocalically. *Carmen* is cognate with the verb *cano* and can not be a reflex of the hypothetical form *Casmena*.

Novem Iovis concordes   filiae sorores (*Bell. Poen.* 1)

Nine sisters, likeminded daughters of Jupiter.[225]

Unlike in Livius but as in Ennius, Naevius' goddesses of poetic inspiration, most likely *Camenae*, are more than one. Unlike Ennius but like Hesiod and Homer, Naevius gives a specific number of sisters. He also explicitly names Jupiter as the father of his poetic divinities, perhaps indirectly due to Livius, who calls them the daughter of Moneta, the Latin equivalent of Mnemosyne (*Od*. 21).[226] Although the nine sisters are most likely *Camenae*, but the tangle of literary references can only be references to the Greek Muses by any other name.

The beginning of the *Bellum Poenicum* is at an intermediary point between Ennius and Livius with respect to the Muses, not only chronologically but also literarily. Naevius' nine sisters may be *Camena*e, but they are not a single *Camena* like Livius'. In addition, their Greek pedigree is made more explicit through the specific number nine and their patrilineage. On the other hand, they are not explicitly Greek Muses as in the *Annales*, and the allusion appears to be to Hesiod, who explicitly numbers the Muses at nine and names Zeus as their father, and not to Homer, who appeals to a single goddess without any explicit patrimony in his poems. Like the Muses of the *Annales*, these goddesses also occupy the space of an entire line without any information on the subject matter of the poem.

---

[225] The ancient sources (Caesius Bassus, Marius Victorinus, and Terentianus Maurus) do not explicitly place this line at the beginning of the epic. Hence, Mariotti 2001 p. 114 conservatively lists the fragment under *Frammenti di sede incerta*, but this is counter to usual practice.

[226] Hinds p. 60 n. 14 calls Moneta "evidently a mother adopted as an etymological analogue to the Muses' mother Mnemosyne." This is a precious piece of evidence for Livian *contaminatio*. Homer does not mention Mnemosyne in the *Odyssey*, and this addition to the *Odusia* must therefore be attributed to Livius.

Perhaps because of the Enniocentric formulation of literary history that usually dominates any discussion of this fragment, the independence of Naevius in his *incipit* is lost in discussions of his relationship to Livius and Ennius.[227] He does not allude to the opening of the *Odyssey* at all, asserting his independence from Andronicus and Homer at the same time. The lack of any name for the poetic goddesses allows his divinities to be either Muses or *Camenae*, which could be seen as a wavering or as an implicit comment on the syncretism between the Italic and Greek divinities that allows him to lay claim to both divinities more directly than Livius can. Naevius may be trumping Livius in two ways by spreading his poetic goddesses over an entire line and by naming the Latin equivalent of Zeus instead of his daughters.

The ambiguity between Muse and *Camena* is further emphasized by the reference to the canonical number of Greek Muses and probably to Hesiod's *Theogony*:[228]

ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι   (*Theog.* 76)

Nine daughters born of great Zeus.

The Hesiodic line, like Naevius', begins with the number nine; furthermore, θυγατέρες and Διὸς are matches for the Naevian *filiae* and *Iovis*. The phrase *concordes filiae* also bears a striking resemblance to another line-end: κούρας ὁμόφρονας (*Theog.* 60). Since he continues the Saturnian tradition where Andronicus left off, a reference to a line towards the end of the *Odyssey* would reflexively note Naevius' place in relation to Livius. However, to base such a reading on a single word when Hesiod numbers the Muses twice in the beginning of the *Theogony* is tenuous at best.

---

[227] Mariotti 2001 p 51, perhaps the most sympathetic reader of the Saturnian poets in modern scholarship, calls the line an "imitazione de Esiodo."

[228] Mariotti 2001 p. 51-54 notes this parallel.

The opening of the *Bellum Poenicum* displays distinct markers of Italic verbal art that the first line of the *Odusia* does not, but there is some implicit negotiation between Greek and Italic poetics. *Filiae* and *sorores* together form a doubling figure although without the binding alliteration. The familial opposition is not unlike the South Picene **Matereíh : patereíh** in the *Castignano Cippus*. Naevius also ends the first half of the line with *concordes*, which assonates with *sorores* at the end of the second half of the line. If there is a relationship between the epithet *concordes* and the Hesiodic phrase φωνῇ ὁμηρεῦσαι (Theog. 39), 'joined together in voice', the assonance between *concordes* and *sorores* could be acting out the implied resonance of the Greek phrase.

The issue of names aside, Ennius and Andronicus both invoke the Homeric Muse or Muses, and these entities are plural and given an entire line of description by Naevius and Ennius. One could trace a natural trajectory from Andronicus to Naevius to Ennius in which the Muses gradually became more Greek and the references to the early Greek texts which name the Muses more complex. Simply because a Greek source exists does not mean that it is the sole source for an allusion.

Many of the Greek sources for the fragments of the *Annales* are identifiable. Homer figures prominently among the Greek poets whose influence is present in the *Annales*.[229] There are also possible echoes of Callimachus.[230] As Ennius translated Greek tragedies into Latin, it is natural that his work would show echoes of the tragedians,

---

[229]Not only is Homer present at the beginning of the poem (*visus Homerus adesse poeta* (*Ann.* 3)), but several other passages allude directly to Homer; all are discussed below.

[230] Brooks p. 12 believes that the dream sequence shows Callimachean influence. Skutsch 1985 p. 7 notes that "Hesiod is not traceable except indirectly through Callimachus in the story of the dream on the Mountain of the Muses and possibly also line 1."

especially Euripides.[231] Conversely, there are very few points of certain contact between Ennius and the Saturnians, rendering the opening of all three poems extremely important for positing how the complicated relationship between Ennius and his Greek and Latin forebears must have worked.

Without any knowledge of the *incipits* of Naevius and Andronicus, the invocation of the Muses would be added to the list of Greek *topoi* to be found in the fragments of the *Annales* which Ennius appropriated from Homer or another Greek source. If no texts earlier than Ennius had survived in the Italic languages, there would indubitably be arguments that Ennius read the first line of the *Odyssey*, perceived the alliteration in the line, and then expanded on this type of patterning throughout his epic, handing it down to his heirs in the Latin tradition.

4.2. Ennius and Homer

Ennius' choice of Homer as a model creates a paradoxical relationship with Livius as the originator of the Saturnian tradition. The *Annales* is modeled on the work of Homer just as is the *Odusia*; but, at the same time a clear attempt is made to break with the fledgling tradition of the same translation. Without the unlikely recovery of complete texts of both Andronicus and the *Annales*, or an indisputable understanding of the scansion of Saturnians, it will never be entirely possible to know whether translations of Homeric diction in the *Annales* are invented or borrowed from the earlier poet.

---

[231] Skutsch 1985 pp. 7-8 identifies three candidates for possible Euripidean influence: *Annales* 1, 14 and 197-98, which may reflect *Iph Aul.* 1042 and 237 and *Troades* 1158 respectively. Ennius translated both tragedies.

The opening sequence of the *Annales* begins with a dream in which Homer appears to Ennius and explains to the Italian poet a cosmology that includes the transmigration of souls. The fragments assigned to the dream include a fragmentary line line presumably spoken by Homer who describes one of his past lives as a peacock (*Ann.* 11). Homer also apparently finds his soul in the body of Ennius.[232] Whether the soul of Homer made it into the body of Ennius or not, many elements of Homeric poetry did transmigrate into the poetry of Ennius, although not without some adjustment and not without some reshaping into a more Italic form.

4.2.1 Homeric Diction in the *Annales*

In addition to allusions to passages in the *Iliad*, Ennius transfers certain elements of Homeric diction directly into Latin. He attempts to import Homeric phrase ἡμέτερον δῶ (e.g. *Il.* 7.363) by employing the line ending phrase *endo suam do* (*Ann.* 587). The poet also employs a similar apocope in the phrase *altisonum cael*, but in this case there is no Homeric precedent. The lack of citation of Livius by the grammarians who record these forms renders it unlikely these experiments in apocope are found in the

Ennius also uses the phrase *dia dearum* (*Ann.* 19) which is a clear borrowing of the common Homeric formula δῖα θεάων (e.g. *Il.* 5.381). The poet also makes use of similar phrases such as *pulcra dearum* (*Ann.* 15) and *sancta dearum* (*Ann.* 53). The uncontracted *dearum* instead of *deum* may mirror the uncontracted θεάων in Homer. The importation of Homeric δῖα directly into the Latin, along with *dearum*, allows Ennius to

---

[232] Skutsch p. 147-153 discusses the dream and its testimonia including Porphyrio, the scholiast to Persius 6.11, and others who explicitly say that Ennius claims Homer soul has passed into his body.

bind the two elements of the phrase with alliteration. *Dia* could be perceived as a variant of Latin *diva*, perhaps suggesting a derivation of *dea* from *di(v)a* and therefore, that *dia dearum* is an etymological figure. The phrase *sancta dearum* may owe its existence to *sancta puer Saturni* in Livius (*Od.* 12), but if this is so, the relationship is still distant at best.

For the Homeric and Hesiodic πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, which never varies in word order and is used only at the end of a line, Ennius deploys two variations, *divomque hominumque pater, rex* (*Ann.* 591) and *patrem divomque hominumque* (*Ann.* 592). This *variatio* could also reflect the Alexandrian practice of allusion, but the requirements of translating Homeric diction into Latin must require some alteration in order to fit the meter of the hexameter. Ennius also exhibits a similar willingness to alter elements of traditional Italic phraseology, suggesting that he appropriated Greek and Latin traditional phraseology in a similar manner.

4.2.2. Homeric Allusions in the *Annales*

Excluding elements of Homeric diction translated into Latin, four passages, possibly five, directly reference the *Iliad*. There is a topical, if not a verbal allusion, to Homer's famous claim to be unable to name all the leaders of the Achaean host without the help of the Muses, even if he had a heart of bronze and ten tongues (*Il.* 2.89-90 and *Ann.* 469-70). The most discussed Homeric echoes are the tree felling scene (*Ann.* 175-79), alluding to the description of wood cutting for the pyre of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.114-20), the horse simile preserved in Macrobius (*Ann.* 535-39), which imitates a simile employed twice in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 6.506-11 = 15.263-68); and a description of the centurion in *Annales*

175

391-98, paralleling a passage which describes the retreat of Ajax beaten back by the Trojans as they attempt to set fire to the ships of Achaeans (*Il*.16.102-11). A simile describing the rush of two armies like the winds (*Ann*. 432-34) may be a *contaminatio* of two Iliadic similes (Il. 9.4-7 and 16.765-69)

The scholia on *Georgics* 2.43 records Ennius' appropriation of one of the great Homeric *topoi*; the image of the poet claiming not even if he had many tongues and heart of metal could he speak in detail of the multitude he was describing:

> *Non si lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem*
> *In me, tum ferro cor sit pectusque revinctum*   (*Ann*. 469-70).
>
> Not if I had ten mouths in me with which my tongue
> Would be able to speak and then my heart and breast were iron-clad.

There are some interesting differences between this fragment and Homer's use of this *topos*:[233]

> οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν
> φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη,   (*Il*. 2.489-90)
>
> Not even if I had ten tongues and ten mouths,
> An unbreakable voice and my heart was bronze.

The bronze heart of Homer has been replaced with a heart and breast encased in iron and the unbreakable voice in Homer is absent in Ennius.[234] The replacement of bronze with iron is especially interesting because it suggests that Ennius was not able to understand why Homer would need a heart of bronze when a perfectly good and more durable metal

---

[233] Hinds p. 35-38 treats this passage and possible allusions to it in later Latin literature in great detail. This discussion in based on Hinds' treatment of the passage and supplemented by Skutsch's commentary on these lines p. 628-29. Gowers pp. 170-82 briefly traces the history of the topos from Homer to Vergil, although her main concern is the use of the motif in the *Aeneid*.

[234] Skutsch p. 629: "Perhaps [Ennius] also failed to see how a heart of brass could aid voice production and instead encased heart and chest in iron to prevent their bursting."

like iron was available. If this is the case, Ennius is removing a detail culturally irrelevant to him, ancient Greek bronze, and replacing it with modern Italian iron.

There is not a great deal of assonance nor are there obvious markers of Italic art, but a close examination of the two lines in comparison with their Homeric counterparts reveals a passage influenced by the Italic tradition. The doubling figure *cor…pectusque* is not obvious because of the placement of *sit* between the two elements, but is a doubling figure. Although the doubling figure is split by the verb, it is further bound in an almost literal manner by its placement between the words *ferro* and *revinctum* creating a word order effect also not found in the Homeric passage. Furthermore, the *-rr-* in *ferro* assonates with the *-r* in *cor*, and the *–ct-* in *revinctum* with *pectus*, closely uniting the entire phrase through sound. Thus, the doubling figure is truly *ferro revinctum*.

The other instance of assonance in the Ennian passage implies a *figura etymologica* not present in the Homeric version. The phrase *lingua loqui* is made up of two elements just similar enough to invite a consideration over whether Ennius is creating an etymological figure based on the analogy of Greek ablaut alternations and nasal infixed presents in the paradigms of verbs in Latin, such as *linquo liqui*. The unvoiced labio-velar *-qu-* of *loquor*[235] and the voiced labio-velar *-gu-* of *lingua*[236] are not

---

[235] Allen pp. 16-17 lists several reasons to believe that *qu-* was a labiovelar and not a consonant cluster. The grammarians describe the labial element as confuse with the velar element. Q*u-* does not normally make position in poetry like a consonant cluster. In addition *-m-* does not assimilate to *-n-* before *-qu-* as it does before *-c-*.

[236] Allen p. 25 is not as confident that *gu-* is a voiced labio-velar and not a consonant cluster because the grammarians do not treat the cluster. Priscian does mention that the *-u-* in *-qu-* and *-gu-* is different from the normal Latin *-u-* (ii.7), implying a parallelism between *qu-* and *gu-* in Latin that may indicate that *gu-* is a labiovelar. Allen also notes that all other Latin stops are in voiced and unvoiced pairs and on balance it seems best to suggest that *–gu-* is labiovelar with some reservations.

exact phonological equivalents, although they are very similar. The superficial similarity of the two words, and their common semantic field of meaning, may have been enough for Ennius to perceive them as derived from one another and to place them next to one another. If he was not consciously etymologizing *lingua* and *loqui*, the alliteration highlights their shared semantics.

Ennius also adopts a description of Ajax and uses it to describe the actions of a tribune[237] during the Istrian War:

> *Undique conveniunt velut imber tela tribuno:*
> *Configunt parmam, tinnit hastilibus umbo*
> *Aerato sonitu galeae: sed nec pote quisquam*
> *Undique nitendo corpus discerpere ferro.*
> *Semper abundantes hastas frangitque quatitque:*
> *Totum sudor habet corpus multumque laborat,*
> *Nec respirandi fit copia: praepete ferro*
> *Histri tela manu iacientes sollicitabant*   (*Ann.* 391-398)

> Missles converge on the tribune from everywhere like rain
> They pierce his shield, the boss of his helmet rings with bronze ringing
> From the spear shafts but no one is able to dislodge his body with iron
> while they strive. He breaks and brandishes the spears that keep coming at
> him in waves.
> Sweat covers his whole body and he labors mightily;
> There is no time to regain his breath: the Histrians throwing weapons by
> hand kept on harassing him with high flying iron.

A shower of enemy spears assaults both the unnamed tribune and Ajax, but the central image in the Homeric model is Ajax crouching under his great shield[238]:

> Αἴας δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἔμιμνε: βιάζετο γὰρ βελέεσσι·
> δάμνα μιν Ζηνός τε νόος καὶ Τρῶες ἀγαυοὶ

---

[237] Skutsch p. 558-59 identifies the tribune as a certain Caelius based on a fragment of Lucilius which speaks of *Caeli pugnas* and is addressed to C. Sempronius Tuditianus concerning his campaign against the Istrians in 129 B.C. He does not accept a possible identification of the tribune as one the Caecilii, who Pliny claims inspired the addition of Book 16 to the *Annales*.

[238] Goldberg pp. 87-88 analyzes this passage in some detail. He notes the shift of emphasis. He also notes that the Homeric allusion "raises the Roman soldier to epic stature."

βάλλοντες· δεινὴν δὲ περὶ κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ
πήληξ βαλλομένη καναχὴν ἔχε, βάλλετο δ᾽ αἰεὶ
κὰπ φάλαρ᾽ εὐποίηθ᾽· ὃ δ᾽ ἀριστερὸν ὦμον ἔκαμνεν
ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχων σάκος αἰόλον· οὐδὲ δύναντο
ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῷ πελεμίξαι ἐρείδοντες βελέεσσιν.
αἰεὶ δ᾽ ἀργαλέῳ ἔχετ᾽ ἄσθματι, κὰδ δέ οἱ ἱδρὼς
πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολὺς ἔρρεεν, οὐδέ πῃ εἶχεν
 ἀμπνεῦσαι· πάντῃ δὲ κακὸν κακῷ ἐστήρικτο. (*Il.*16.102-11)

Ajax did not remain, for he was forced out by missiles.
The losses and the mind of Zeus and the noble Trojans
Were beating him and his shining helm, being struck,
Made a terrible noise around his temples. He was hit continually
On his well-made helmet and his right shoulder was weary
Always holding the shimmering shield. They were not able to
Force him out of position with missiles on both sides of him in the attempt
And he always panted heavily, and much sweat dripped down
his limbs everywhere. Not even then was he able
to breathe for everywhere evil followed evil closely.

The most striking difference between the descriptions in the two passages is the repetition

of forms of the verb βάλλω in the first seven lines of the Greek passage while Ennius

employs a variety of words to express the image of the weapons of the Histrians striking

the tribune. Homer places the etymologically related βελέεσσι twice at a line ending,

which Ennius mimics with *ferro* in the Latin.

The point of view in the Ennian passage is more fluid than in the Iliadic one, now

focalizing on the weapons, then the tribune, then the Istrians, then the tribune, and finally

the Istrians again. Homer changes his focus to various parts of Ajax, bit he is always the

center of attention. The lack of a consistent focus in the version from the *Annales*

contributes to the general sense of chaos in battle.

Ennius replaces Ajax's great shield with the tribune's small *parma*, which

reminds the audience that "we are in a modern world facing modern conditions."[239]

---

[239] Goldberg p. 88

Twice the weapons are described as iron rather than Homeric bronze, while Homer never once mentions bronze or any other metal in his description. The siege occurs in the contemporary world, and tribunes with Roman weapons are substituted for Homeric heroes with shields made of hide. The bronze helmet is part of the normal equipment of the legionary,[240] allowing Ennius to draw some connection to the heroes of the Bronze Age in Homer while still remaining in the Iron Age.

There are few markers of Italic verbal artistry in the adaptation of the Homeric passage. There is little alliteration of any sort and there are no alliterative doubling figures. While there is one doubling figure not found in the Homeric passage: *frangitque quatitque*, it has no assonance other than the *homoioteleuton* and the double *–que*. Skutsch identifies as a possible *figura etymologica* the phrase *corpus discerpere*. The etymological figure is one of the salient features of Italic verbal art but the etymologizing is dependent on a perceived ablaut alternation of *-e-* and *-o-*, which is a still an important part of Greek word formation while the same inherited vowel gradation is no longer productive in Latin. The adjective *praepeto*, usually employed as a term of augury, gives the passage the faintest association with Latin ritual, perhaps also indicating some greater significance for the last volley of missiles thrown by the Histrians.

Despite the lack of any overtly Italic elements, the passage has undergone a considerable transformation from Homer to Ennius. Italic iron replaces Achaean bronze. *Variatio* prevails in the Ennian version while repetition dominates the Homeric passage. The Italic elements of composition are not obvious or many, but they are not absent, and the melding of Italic and Greek poetics in this passage is almost seamless. The passage is

---

[240] Keppie p. 173 lists the equipment of a legionary in the early empire as "equipped in uniform fashion, with bronze helmets."

clearly an allusion to Homer, but not a slavish copy, demonstrating the hybrid compositional style of the *Annales*.

Perhaps the most famous of Ennius' allusions to Homer remains to be discussed. Macrobius (6.2.27) identifies the preparations for the funeral of Misenus in the *Aeneid* (6.179-82) as an allusion to a passage from Ennius describing the felling of trees in a forest:

> *Incedunt arbusta per alta, securibus caedunt*
> *Percellunt magnas quercus, exciditur ilex,*
> *Fraxinus frangitur atque abies consternitur alta,*
> *Pinus proceras pervortunt: omne sonabat*
> *Arbustum fremitu silvai frondosai.*　　　　　　(*Ann*. 175-79).

> They step through the tall groves, they strike with axes
> The great oaks, the holm oak is felled
> The ash is broken and the high fir is upended.
> They overturn the lofty pines: the entire grove
> Was sounding of the groaning of the leafy wood.

This, in turn, alludes to a passage from the *Iliad* also describing the preliminaries of a funeral:

> ο̣ἳδ̓ἴσανὑλοτόμουϲπελέκεαϲἐγχερϲὶνἔχοντες
> σειράς τ᾽ εὐπλέκτους· πρὸ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ οὐρῆες κίον αὐτῶν
> πολλὰ δ᾽ ἄναντα κάταντα πάραντά τε δόχμιά τ᾽ ἦλθον·
> ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε ἢ κνημοὺς προσέβαν πολυπίδακος Ἴδης,
> αὐτίκ᾽ ἄρα δρῦς ὑψικόμους ταναήκεϊ χαλκῷ
> τάμνον ἐπειγόμενοι·　　　　　　(*Il*. 23.114-19).

> And they went holding wood-cutting axes in their hands
> And well-woven ropes. The mules went before them.
> And they came up and down and from the side and diagonally
> But when they stepped towards the spurs of many-springed Ida
> Straight away with sharp bronze they cut the lofty-leaved oaks
> Hurrying.

The Ennian passage has been gone over in great detail, especially with respect to its influence on Vergil, and little can be added concerning its similarity to Homer.[241] Like the description of the tribune, there is an emphasis on sound in this passage, perhaps reminding the reader that the sounds of Latin and the *Annales* are very different from those of Homer's Greek.

The differences, as always, are telling. Ennius employs short contained *clausulae* to describe the action of the wood-cutters, while Homer describes the action of his woodcutters in thoughts that often occupy an entire line. The Homeric focus is on the woodcutters while Ennius focuses on the trees, highlighted by adjectives or verbs that alliterate with their names. For example, he describes the uprooting of the pines as *pinus proceras pervortunt* (*Ann.* 178). The self-contained grammatical units are reminiscent of the organization of thought found in the remains of the Saturnian poets, and the alliteration, which binds the elements of the individual cola,[242] reinforces such an impression. One could argue that the absence of bronze in this passage is a reflection of the cultural irrelevance of bronze to Ennius.

Macrobius (6.3.7-8) cites a *Homerica descriptio…equi fugientis,* to which he asserts Ennnius alludes in the *Annale*s:[243]

---

[241] Hinds pp. 11-13 and Dominik pp. 83-84 are both concerned with the influence of Ennius upon Vergil while Skutsch pp. 341-42 discusses the relationship between this passage and Homer in some detail.

[242] Skutsch p. 342

[243] Von Albrecht pp. 63-73 is the classic discussion of this passage. He concludes that Ennius is following Alexandrian practice by removing the part of the simile that "contradicts the real situation." This is certainly possible but uncontrolable as the context of the Ennian simile is no longer extant and even if it accorded with Alexandrian theory it would not be impossible that Ennius was simply following his own proclivities rather than pre-Aristarchian theory.

Et tum sicut equus, qui de praesepibus fartus
Vincla suis magnis animis abrupit, et inde
Fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata
Celso pectore saepe iubam quassat simul altam
Spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas   (*Ann*. 535-39)

And then (he is) just like a well-fed horse who breaks
His tethers with his spirits high, and then bears himself
From the stable and through the dark green and happy meadows of the
field with his breast held high. Often he shakes his lofty mane
at the same time his breathing brings forth white froth from hot breath.

The referent is not preserved by Macrobius, but Homer employs the horse image twice to

for Paris and another time for Hector:

ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνη
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείη πεδίοιο κροαίνων
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο
κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· ὃ δ᾽ ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθὼς
ῥίμφά ἑ γοῦνα φέρει μετά τ᾽ ἤθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·
                              (*Il.* 6.506-11 = 15.263-68)

Like when some stalled-in-the-manger, barely-fed horse
breaks his bonds and runs beating the ground with hooves
Being wont to bath in the well-flowing river
Bearing himself proudly, he holds his head high. The hairs
Around his shoulders leap and, trusting in his beauty, he
Swiftly bears his knees among the haunts and pastures of the mares.

Vergil uses a similar simile in describing Turnus (*Aen* 11.492-497), which suggests that

the referent in the *Annales* is also a warrior of some sort. The vehicle of both similes is a

horse which has broken his bonds and runs free across a plain. Macrobius does not note

another simile that appears to allude to the Homeric version, in Apollonius Rhodius

(3.1259-62).[244]

---

[244] Von Albrecht pp. 63-73 appears to be the first to notice the connection with the Apollonius simile.

The Ennian simile is by no means an exact translation of the Homeric simile. Ennius' horse does not reach the pastures of the mares like Homer's, which renders the action of the Ennian simile somewhat incomplete, or perhaps simplifies the Homeric model. Ennius employs abstract nouns "to pinpoint psychological facts"[245] while Homer uses participles to describe such phenomena. In contrast to Homer, who uses only one adjective in the entire simile, Ennius has several adjectives, including words for color.[246]

This simile is not completely free of Italic elements despite its impeccable Greek pedigree. Ennius employs assonance and alliteration and, more significantly, he deploys a doubling figure that is marked by consonance and assonance.[247] He describes the plain over which the horse runs as *caerula laetaque* (*Ann.* 537). This meristic phrase gives the simile a slight Italic flavor mixed with heavy Greek flavor. If the Ennian phrase *caerula caeli templa* is an adaptation of a traditional collocation from Latin ritual and not an Ennian innovation,[248] the word *caerula* would charge the meadows over which the horse treads with some semantic weight of ritual. The adjective *caerula* could give the meadow the quality of the sky with an adjective which may have been derived from the word *caelum*, which is often the place from which omens are perceived as in the phrase *servare de caelo* or *tacta de caelo*. Only speculation is possible without any context and a secure ancient etymology of *caerula*, but the horse may be some sort of omen on a sky-colored meadow.

---

[245] Von Albrecht p. 67

[246] Von Albrect p. 68

[247] Von Albrecht p. 66

[248] Cf. Chapter 3 for a discussion of both possibilities.

Although not an allusion to a specific Homeric simile, Macrobius (6.2.28)

preserves a simile from *Annale*s 7 describing two armies seem to run together:

> *Concurrunt veluti venti, quom spiritus Austri*
> *Imbricitor Aquiloque suo cum flamine contra*
> *Indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant* (*Ann*. 432-34).

> They run together just as the winds when the rain-sending breath
> Of the South wind and the North wind with its own blast
> Struggle to raise up the waves in the great sea.

Macrobius compares this to a Vergilian simile for which he later suggests two Homeric

precedents (5.13.14):

> ὡς δ᾽ ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα
> Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τώ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον
> ἐλθόντ᾽ ἐξαπίνης· ἄμυδις δέ τε κῦμα κελαινὸν
> κορθύεται, πολλὸν δὲ παρὲξ ἅλα φῦκος ἔχευεν· (*Il*. 9.4-7)

> As the two winds that stir up the fishy sea,the North wind and Zephyr,
> which blow coming suddenly from Thrace, the dark wave rises into a crest
> altogether and pours seaweed along the sea coast

 and

> ὡς δ᾽ Εὖρός τε Νότος τ᾽ ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλοιιν
> οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃς βαθέην πελεμιζέμεν ὕλην
> φηγόν τε μελίην τε τανύφλοιόν τε κράνειαν,
> αἵ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔβαλον τανυήκεας ὄζους
> ἠχῇ θεσπεσίῃ, πάταγος δέ τε ἀγνυμενάων (*Il*. 16.765-69)

> And just as the East wind and the South wind contend with each other in
> the glens of a mountain to shake the deep wood,
> the oak and the ash and the smooth-barked cornel tree,
> which strike their slender-pointed branches against one another.
> With an unspeakable echo, and there is the crackle as they break.

The excerpt from the *Annales* appears to be a conflation of the two Homeric precedents.

Ennius uses the North and South winds as the vehicles of the simile, while Homer in his

chooses the North wind and Zephyr and the South and East wind, respectively. In the

Homeric passages, the former pair of winds blows upon the sea and stirs it up while the latter pair blows through the forest.[249]

The passage is a mixture of Greek and Italic elements. The compound *imbricitor* may or may not stem from a Greek parallel, or may be a wholly independent invention of Ennius.[250] The alliterative collocation *mari magno* is found in the fragments of Livius Andronicus (*Scen*. 33), and Ennius employs it in the fragments of his dramas as well (*Scen*. 65),[251] suggesting this may be a nod to Andronicus or perhaps a traditional Latin way of describing the sea.

The presence of the salient features of Italic verbal art in the work of a man who believed he was the reincarnation of the Greek poet Homer is suggestive. It should not be surprising that the Italic elements are downplayed in these passages; but perhaps it is mildly surprising that they are there at all. If Ennius could not escape his Italic roots in his nods to Homer, it begs the question how he manages to create a distance between himself and his Saturnian predecessors, who must also negotiate between the Greek and Italic traditions.

4.3 *Saturnia Regna*: Ennius and the Saturnian Poets

Ennius' careful distancing of himself from Naevius and Andronicus would not have been necessary if there was reason to believe his poetry was somehow radically

---

[249] Skutsch p. 593 lists several other possible Homeric sources, including *Il*. 11.296ff., 11.305ff., and *Od*. 5.295ff. He sees Alexandrian influence in Ennius' freedom of adaptation of similes. However, it is unclear to me why Ennius would need to be familiar with Alexandrian practices to alter a Homeric simile.

[250] Skutsch p. 594 discusses the possibility that *imbricitor* is an *indigitamentum*, but cautions against this assumption, citing several Greek parallels.

[251] Skutsch p. 595.

different from the work of his predecessors. By claiming to be *Homerus alter*, Ennius cannot escape comparison with Andronicus and his translation of the *Odyssey*. The choice of contemporary historical subject matter also owes more to Naevius than to Homer.[252] Furthermore, the preferred caesura in the Ennian dactylic hexameter is the penthimimeral caesura unlike the Greek poets who favor the hepthimimeral caesura, which may be the result of the influence of the marked caesura in the middle of the Saturnian line, one of the few certain features of the Saturnian.

4.3.1 The Penthimimeral Caesura and the Saturnian Caesura

In the Ennian hexameter, the penthemimeral caesura is markedly preferred over the hepthemimeral, while the penthemimeral caesura is found in only about forty-five percent of Homer's verses.[253] Fifty-eight percent of Homer's lines contain a third-trochee caesura combined with others, while it appears only in ten percent of Ennius' lines.[254] The fragments of the *Annales* contain about as many holospondaic lines as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* combined, yet only nineteen holodactylic lines can be found in the *Annales*

---

[252] Naevius did not invent the historical epic. Choerilus of Samos had written an epic on the campaign on Xerxes, the *Persica.* Also, Rhianos of Crete had written a *Messeniaca*, and Apollonius' *Ktiseis* probably was semi-historical. Nevertheless, as R. A. Brooks p. 23 writes, these poems were "obscure and largely unsuccessful," as they do not appear to have spawned many imitators. There also existed a genre of panegyric poetry that began with Choerilus of Iasos' panegyric of Alexander. This genre differed from the encomiastic poetry of Bacchylides and Pindar in its employment of the hexameter rather than a lyric meter. This may have had some influence on Naevius. Naevius' contribution was to cover contemporary events, not focusing on one particular hero, but dealing with the Romans as a collective people. Individuals are highlighted, but from what we can tell from the fragments, no one individual dominates the scene for long.

[253] Witte pp. 217-18is the first who proposed a connection between the Saturnian caesura and the penthimimeral caesura in Ennius.

[254] Skutsch p. 48.

as opposed to one out of every five lines in the Homeric poems.[255] The preponderance of

holospondaic lines and the elision of final -s in a short syllable may be explained as

logical outcomes due to the nature of the Latin language. Latin as a language is poor in

words of dactylic shape[256] and this *egestas sermonis* would naturally result in a heavily

spondaic line.

The dominance of the penthemimeral over the third-trochee caesura in Ennius

may be the result of the influence of the Italic tradition. This caesura is reminiscent of the

caesura placed in the middle of the Saturnian line, the only feature of the meter which is

universally agreed on. Goldberg has demonstrated that the penthemimeral caesura

influences the structure of certain lines. He cites *Livius inde redit magno mactatus*

triumpho (*Ann*. 299) as an example of this type of patterning. The line can be divided into

two separate thoughts, like many Saturnian lines such as Naevius' *silvicolae homines*

bellique inertes (*Bell*. *Poen*. 11).[257]

Goldberg is quick to give caution against reading too much into such

correspondences. The hexameter is a bipartite line and could have prompted Ennius to

separate his thoughts on either side of a caesura just as easily as his predecessors.

Goldberg concludes that the shape of the Ennian line is due to "more the influence of

Latin word shape and stress accent than a conscious imitation of earlier epic."[258]

---

[255] Skutsch pp. 48-49.

[256] Palmer p. 103.

[257] Goldberg pp. 92-93

[258] Thomas pp. 31-32 believes that the high percentage of penthimimeral caesuraa in Vergil is a "necessary consequence" of the "clash of accent ad ictus" because the penthimimeral caesura "guarantees conflict of ictus and accent in the third foot" if the word ending at the caesura is not a stressed monosyllable. This may explain the same phenomenon in Ennius, but it is also possible Vergil has refined his hexameters to achieve an effect in Ennius which resulted from grouping phrases on either side of the caesura and the relative

Nevertheless this 'traditional pattern' of line shape would have been familiar to Ennius' Italic audience and suggests a general Italic influence, if only at the most basic linguistic level. The Ennian hexameter, then, is not completely free of general Italic influence.

There are two key divergences from Homeric prosody in the *Annales* as well. Unlike Homer, Ennius elides final *-s* after short vowels and before consonants, but lengthened a final short syllable ending in *-s* if another *s-* followed.[259] The final *-s* in Latin also appears to have been quite weak before consonants as was final *-m*, which must have been quite weak in general. Neither of these features of the Ennian hexameter appears to stem from any aesthetic consideration; rather, they are necessary adjustments to make the hexameter a workable meter in Latin.

4.3.2 *Annales* 206

In Book Seven of the *Annales*, Ennius contemptuously refers to the work of his poetic antecedents:[260]

> *Scripsere alii rem*
> *vorsibus quae fauni vatesque canebant*   (*Ann.* 206-7)
>
> Others wrote about this matter
> In verses which fauns and singers used to sing.

---

frequency of spondaic words in Latin which would cause the accent not to fall on the last syllable before a caesura.

[259] Skutsch pp. 56-57.

[260] This fragment is a reconstruction from stray phrases in the passage in Cicero's *Brutus*. Valmaggi *ad loc.* believes that this statement is not from the *Annales* and that Cicero is here presenting the reasons he thinks that Ennius chose not to treat the first Punic War. His is the minority opinion. There are other parts of the passage which are taken to be fragments of the *Annales* and possibly the polemic of Ennius. Suerbaum pp. 249-95 discusses this passage and other possible fragments of Ennius' polemic extensively. I will concentrate solely on this fragment because it is the only one which directly addresses Naevius and possibly Andronicus, at least if Cicero can be trusted.

The passage was famous in antiquity and quoted in part or in full by several sources, among them Cicero (*Brut*. 71 and 75, *Div*. 1.114 and *Orat*. 171), Varro (*Ling*. 7.36) and Quintilian (9.4.115). One of the 'others' Ennius refers to is Naevius, whom Cicero specifically mentions in his discussion of this passage (*Brut*. 75). Cicero also claims that Ennius did not treat the First Punic War, the subject of Naevius' epic, explicating what Ennius meant by the word *rem*.

Skutsch and Douglas believe that Naevius is the sole target of Ennius' dismissal, citing the "common device of polemics [in which] the person attacked is veiled in an anonymous plural." [261] It is possible that Ennius is referring only to Naevius, but the plural *faunei vatesque* allows the possibility that there is more than one *faunus* or *vates* who sang these verses in a meter so offensive to Ennius. The obvious other candidate for membership in this less than prestigious club is Naevius' predecessor in Saturnian epic, Livius Andronicus. Still, it is equally possible that Ennius is simply referring to anything old that was once considered poetic in Italy.

The word *vates* is a key term in the polemics of the *Annales*. Ennius is not a *vates*, the traditional Latin word for 'singer,' but rather a *poeta*. He indirectly states this when he describes his alter ego Homer as a *poeta* in the opening dream sequence of the *Annales* (*Ann*. 3). Ennius explicitly names himself a *poeta* in a fragment from his satires:

> *Enni poeta salve, qui mortalibus*
> *Versus propinas flammeos medullitos* (*Saturae* fr. 11)[262]

---

[261] Skutsch p. 371 and Douglas p. 61.

[262] The text is that of Courtney 2003. Luck p. 275 credits "some scholars" with the idea that the epigram is from Varro's *Imagines* and composed by Varro himself. This epigram would have been added to the prose biography of Naevius, which must have been one of the 700 biographies in the work.

> Greetings poet Ennius, you who give mortals
> Flaming verses to drink inwardly in their marrow.

Although there is no explicit contrast with *poeta* and *vates* in the extant fragments the implicit contrast is clear.[263] Ennius has adopted not only the Greek hexameter but the Greek title of *poeta*, simultaneously distancing himself from the Saturnian tradition and bringing himself closer to the Greek.

It is not clear whether Naevius thought of himself as a *vates*. Gellius preserves what he calls an *epigramma*, which he claims Naevius himself composed for his funerary monument (*NA* 1.24.2):

> *Immortales mortales   si foret fas flere*
> *Flerent divae Camenae   Naevium poetam*
> *Itaque postquam est Orci   traditus thesauro*
> *Obliti sunt Romae   loquier lingua Latina.*

> If it would be right for immortals to weep for mortals
> The divine *Camena*e would weep for the poet Naevius
> After he was handed over to the vault of Orcus
> They forgot how to speak the Latin language at Rome.

It is unlikely that this epigram was truly written by Naevius, but it does appear to have been written by an admirer who presumably had read the *Bellum Poenicum*.[264] The possibility must be entertained that Naevius refers to himself somewhere in his work which has not survived.

---

[263] I omit possible references to Ennius in the *Pro Archia* on the grounds that the possible quotations are not direct. Suerbaum1968 p. 263-65 treats these references.

[264] Courtney 2003 p. 50 lists several features of the epigram and a type of Hellenistic epigram which the author may be imitating, including a close parallel for *immortals mortales* in Antipater of Sidon (*HE* 238) and weeping in an epigram by Alcaeus of Messene. He believes that this epigram and the one Gellius identifies as written by Plautus show enough parallelism to argue that these epigrams have been composed by the same author and are "not by the poets."

Still another fragment, quoted by the grammarian Caesius Bassus and in a commentary on Cicero's first Verrine oration attributed to Asconius,[265] refers to Naevius as a *poeta*:

> *Malum dabunt Metelli Naevio poetae*

> The Metelli will give grief to the poet Naevius.

The ancient sources credit Quintus Caecilius Metellus (cos. 206) with this response to a line attributed by Naevius:

> *Fato Metelli Romae   fiunt consules*

> Fate made the Metelli consuls at Rome.

The two sources are very late and their testimony is suspect. The lines are preserved in a story in which Naevius attacks Metellus with his verse and Metellus replies with a line of his own. This type of poetic exchange is a common story type in the Greco-Roman world in which a public figure responds to poetic criticism with a retort of his own.[266] Although the story must have been circulating in 70 B.C., its popularity does not guarantee that it dates back to 206. Additionally *fato* does not appear to have meant mere 'luck' at the time of Naevius but rather 'oracle' or 'prophecy'.[267]

Although there is some evidence that Naevius may have appropriated the title of *poeta* before Ennius, all of it is unreliable and late, suggesting the sources which refer to the Saturnian composer as a *poeta* are anachronistic forgeries. This does not mean that Naevius thought of himself as a *vates* or a *faunus*, only that he left no explicit term for his

---

[265] Jocelyn 1969 p. 43 believes that the "two accounts must have the same source" but does not follow Rowell pp. 25-32 in postulating a metrical treatise by Varro as this source.

[266] Jocelyn 1969 p. 42 suggests that the Naevius story in the later authors is modeled on this pattern.

[267] Jocelyn 1969 p. 44 notes that a "context was required" to give *fato* a positive or negative meaning in the first century BC; without that context "there is some difficulty in seeing the insulting point."

occupation as a poet. In this way, Naevius is truer to Homer than Ennius as Homer never explicitly names himself a ποιητής and the word itself, meaning 'poet', appears to be much later than the Homeric poems.[268]

The state of the evidence for Ennius' polemic against *vates fauneique* leaves several questions that can only be answered by conjecture. The opposition of *poeta* and *vates* is only implicit, and it is not entirely clear whether his role as a *poeta* is implied in opposition to those he refers to as *vates fauneique*. It is not even possible to say with absolute certainty that Ennius was the first to lay claim to the title of *poeta*. The use of the plural *vates fauneique* may be a vague and insulting way to refer to Naevius alone, or it may refer to Naevius and Livius, both of whom composed in those verses employed by the rustic *vates*, or it may refer to anyone who came before Ennius, perhaps even the anonymous composers of the epitaphs of the Scipios not written in elegiacs. The subject matter that others treated and Ennius avoided is most likely the First Punic War, but it need not be only the subject of Naevius' poetry.

Although no piece of evidence is likely to appear that will resolve these issues, we can refine our understanding of Ennian polemic and of the relationship of the *Annales* to the *Odusia* and the *Bellum Poenicum*. Cicero had access to the original context of the Ennian passage, and a close inspection of the context of his quotation may shed some light on the original passage and its possible meaning. Any possible point of contact between Ennius and the Saturnian poets must be scrutinized intensely in order to determine how closely Ennius clings to his polemic outside his haughty *recusatio*.

---

[268] *LSJ s.v.* ποιητής lists no usage under the meaning 'composer of a poem, author' earlier than the fifth century. Ford pp. 13-18 discusses the terminology employed by Homer to describe epic composition and performance and its implications.

Finally, allusions to the polemic of Ennius in later authors must be identified and used to fill out the picture of the *Annales* and its relationship to its predecessors.

4.3.3 Ennius and Cicero

Annales 206-7 is not quoted in one piece in Cicero's *Brutus*, which is the fullest explicit treatment of Ennian polemic to survive from antiquity, but in separate parts of Cicero's discussion. The passage (*Brut*. 75) provides some information that bears directly on any reconstruction of the actual relationship between theSaturnian poets and Ennius:

> *tamen illius, quem in vatibus et Faunis adnumerat Ennius, bellum Punicum quasi Myronis opus delectat. (76) sit Ennius sane, ut est certe, perfectior: qui si illum, ut simulat, contemneret, non omnia bella persequens primum illud Punicum acerrimum bellum reliquisset. Sed ipse dicit cur id faciat. "scripsere" inquit "alii rem vorsibus"; et luculente quidem scripserunt, etiam si minus quam tu polite. nec vero tibi aliter videri debet, qui a Naevio vel sumpsisti multa, si fateris, vel, si negas, surripuisti.* (*Brutus* 75-76)

> But the *Bellum Punicum* of that one, whom Ennius numbers among *vates* and *Faunei*, delights us like the work of Myron. Granted that Ennius is certainly more refined as he certainly is, and if he really despises him as he affects to, then he would not have left (virtually) untouched[269] the first Punic War, while ranging through all other wars. But he himself say why he did it: "others treated this subject matter in verse." Indeed they wrote splendidly, even if less polished than you. Nor should it seem otherwise to you who borrowed much from Naevius, if you admit, or stole from him, if you deny it.

Cicero states that Ennius numbers Naevius among the *vates* and fauns, suggesting that he thinks Ennius has more than Naevius in mind. The plurals at the end of the passage also suggest that more than Naevius is meant.

---

[269] Douglas p. 65 glosses *reliquisset* thus.

The initial quotations of Ennius' polemic in *Brutus* 71, including *quos olim faunei vates canebant*, are tellingly followed by Cicero's statement that the boast is not idle: [270]

> *ait ipse de se nec mentitur in gloriando: sic enim sese res habet. nam et Odyssia Latina est sic [in] tamquam opus aliquod Daedali et Livianae fabulae non satis dignae quae iterum legantur.*

> And he himself said this concerning himself, and he was not lying in his boastfulness. For that is the way it is. The Latin *Odyssey* is like some work of Daedalus, and the plays of Livius aren't worth reading a second time.

The placement implies, at the very least, that when remembering Ennius' polemic, Cicero associated Andronicus with the later poet's dismissal. The most obvious reason for such an association is that Ennius somehow implied, in a passage no longer extant, that Livius is to be numbered among the rustic singers. The use of the work of Livius as proof that Ennius was not idly boasting is even more suggestive.

4.3.4 Ennius and Livius

Ennius references Andronicus' translation of the first line of the *Odyssey* in a fragment from Book Ten of the *Annales*:

> *Insece Musa manu Romanorum induperator*
> *Quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo*   (*Ann*. 322-23)

> Tell (me), Muse, what each Roman commander did
> With his cohort in the war with Philipp.

His use of allusion to correct Livius is quite artful and deserves closer attention. He reverses the word order of Livius' *Camena insece* and thus, imitates the original Homeric

---

[270] Douglas p. 63 identifies several issues which he believes need exploration. One of these is the question "Why does C. [sic] introduce the roundabout and inconclusive argument about the age of individual writers?" This discussion of the age of writers follows the dismissal of the work of Livius in Cicero, suggesting that he may simply be reminded of Livius because of the mention of Ennian polemic.

word order ἔννεπε Μοῦσα. *Insece Musa* not only employs the Homeric word order, it also possesses the same metrical shape as ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, highlighting Ennius' introduction of the Greek hexameter into Latin verse, while Livius' Saturnians were unable to preserve these aspects of the Homeric phrase. Ennius is even able to approximate the sound of the Greek phrase by directly importing the Greek *Musa* and exploiting the phonetic similarities and the shared metrical shapes of *insece* and ἔννεπε. Both words begin with an initial vowel and both words employ the short -*e* and the consonant –*n*- in the same position. All this renders Ennius' *insece Musa* a closer imitation of Homer, and Ennius' correction of Livius implies that Ennius is both a better poet than Livius, and a better translator of Homer..

Insece Musa is a clear allusion to the beginning of Livius' translation of the *Odyssey*, but the placement of *insece* at the beginning of the line recalls the *Iliad* rather than the *Odyssey*. In his invocation of the Muses before the catalogue of ships, Homer asks:

> ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι
> (*Il*. 2.484 and 16.112)

Tell me now you Muses who have Olympian houses.[271]

The plural imperative has been replaced with a singular imperative and likewise a single Muse is invoked by Ennius. There is no epithet for the Muse, but the line does begin with a singular calque on ἔσπετε, and the Muse is invoked by name. The relative clauses which follow are roughly parallel to the relative clauses in the Iliadic passage following Homer's invocation of the Muses and both the Ennian and the Iliadic invocation introduce catalogues, suggesting that the Ennian passage is a condensed allusion to the

---

[271] Columna p. 1 notes this parallel.

Iliad and not to the beginning of the *Odyssey*. If this is Ennius' version of *Iliad* 2.489-90, the fragment invoking the Muse (*Ann*. 469-70) could be appended to *Annales* 322-23:

> *Insece Musa manu Romanorum induperator*
> *Quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo*
> *Non si lingua loqui saperet quibus, ora decem*
> *In me, tum ferro cor sit pectusque revinctum* (*Ann*. 322-23 + 469-70).

There is another reason to believe that the fragment is an allusion to the *Iliad* rather than the *Odyssey*. There are no surviving specific allusions to the *Odyssey* in the extant remains of the *Annales*, with the possible exception of the matched alliteration of *Annales* 1 and the first line of the *Odyssey* and Ennius' revision of Andronicus' *incipit*. In both cases the allusions are extremely indirect. The opening of the *Annales* appears to owe more to Hesiod than to Homer, who does not invoke plural Muses in the beginning of the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad*. In any case, the invocation of the Muses is a *topos* that does not require a direct relationship with the *Odyssey*.

There is one general undisputed reference to the *Odyssey* in the *Annales*, but it has no context. In a short simile, Ennius likens an unknown referent, perhaps Philip V of Macedon,[272] to the belly of the Cyclops swollen with human flesh:

> *Cyclopis venter velut olim turserat alte*
> *Carnibus humanis distentus*   (*Ann*. 318-19)

> Just as the belly of the Cyclops once swelled very much
> Distended with human flesh.

This short simile is the only immediately apparent reference to the *Odyssey* in the remains of the later epic. The allusion is indirect in two ways. As a simile, it is removed from the main narrative and is only a point of comparison to a referent in *Annales*. It is

---

[272] Skutsch p. 496 bases his suggestion on Walbank p. 1 who suggests similar imagery relating to Philip in Alcaeus of Messene.

also not a specific verbal allusion to the *Odyssey*. There is no image of the belly of the Cyclops swollen with the men of Odysseus' crew, although Homer does mention the Cyclops filling his νηδύν (*Od*. 9.296). It is not impossible that Livius deployed this image in his own version of the Cyclops story, but the extant fragments as they stand suggest that Ennius would not have directly alluded to Andronicus.

Skutsch identifies two other possible verbal parallels exclusively between the *Annales* and the Homeric *Odyssey*, but one of these parallels is very weak and the other is very short. The Scholia to *Georgics* 1.512 cites an Ennian parallel for the line:

> *Quom a carcere fusi*
> *Currus cum sonitu magno permittere certant*   (*Ann*. 463-4))

When chariots having poured forth from the cage struggle to hurl themselves with a great roar…

> *Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae*
> *Addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens*
> *Fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas*   (*Georg*. 1.512-14)

The four-horse chariots from the barriers poured
Still quicken o'er the course, and, idly now
Grasping the reins, the driver by his team
Is onward borne, nor heeds the car his curb. (Trans. Greenough)

Skutsch notes that the *Odyssey* has a simile likening a Phaeacian ship to a four-horse chariot (*Od*. 13.81):

> ἡ δ᾽, ὡς τ᾽ ἐν πεδίῳ τετράοροι ἄρσενες ἵπποι,
> πάντες ἅμ᾽ ὁρμηθέντες ὑπὸ πληγῇσι ἱμάσθλης
> ὑψόσ᾽ ἀειρόμενοι ῥίμφα πρήσσουσι κέλουθον   (*Il*. 13.81-3)

Just as four stallions on the plain, all rushing together under the blows of a whip, leaping high in the air and dash on their way,

which he believes is the source for the Ennian fragment and the line written by Vergil.[273] Skutsch's case for a Homeric reference in Vergil is not especially strong. The referent in Homer is a ship, while in Vergil it is war. Vergil and Homer employ a four-horse chariot as the vehicle but the details are very different. The habenas and retinacula are vaguely similar to the πληγῇσι ἱμάσθλης but this detail is the only similarity between Homer and Vergil with the possible exception of the rushing of the horses. On the other hand, the verbal parallels between Ennius and Vergil are quite strong. Variants of Ennius' currus, carcere and fusi are all deployed by Vergil in his simile, suggesting that Vergil is alluding to Ennius.

Skutsch's hypothesis hinges on the assumption that possible allusion to Homer and Ennius in the simile in the Georgics must mean that Ennius is also referencing the *Odyssey*, but it does not necessarily follow that the Ennian passage is an appropriation of the simile in the *Odyssey*. The scholiast to the Georgics also cites only this fragment, suggesting that there are no obvious verbal parallels between Vergil and Ennius, which may have indicated that Ennius is alluding to the *Odyssey*. In addition, there is no reason to believe the Ennian fragment is from a simile and there are no verbal echoes of the *Odyssey*, suggesting that the passage in Ennius is topically related but not a direct allusion to Homer.

Skutsch's parallel between the phrase *animusque in pectore latrat*, 'his spirit barked in his chest' (*Ann.* 481), and κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ὑλάκτει, 'his heard barked within him' (*Od.* 20.13), is much more convincing.[274] The metaphorical image of the seat

---

[273] Skutsch pp. 623-24 does not explicitly lay out his reasoning for adducing the parallel but the logic is clear although it is implicit.

[274] Skutsch 642-42 suggests a link to *Od.* 16.141 as well.

of the emotions barking is too striking to be a coincidental resemblance. The lack of context for the Ennian expression makes it difficult to evaluate whether the parallel was part of a topical allusion to the *Odyssey* or simply an appropriation of an unusual expression. The general lack of direct allusions to the *Odyssey* in the fragments of the *Annales*, suggests the latter.

There are two other possible references to Livius in the *Annales*, but neither is a direct reference to the *Odusia*. Ennius employs the phrase *mare magno* (*Ann*. 434), which Livius also deploys in a fragment from his dramas (*Scen*. 33). It is not certain that the invention of this phrase should be attributed to the earlier poet, and even if it does belong to him, the reference would not be to the translation of the *Odyssey*. *Annales* 53 appears to be an allusion to *Odusia* 12. Ennius writes:

> *Respondit Iuno Saturnia, sancta dearum*   (*Ann*. 53)

> Juno the daughter of Saturnus, sacred of goddesses, responded

while Livius writes:

> *Sancta puer Saturni   filia regina*   (*Od*. 12)

> The sacred child, daughter of Saturn, the queen.

The lines both describe Juno and employ the word *sancta*; furthermore, Ennius' patronymic *Saturnia* matches Livius' *puer Saturni*.

On the poetic level, the Ennian line is an instructive example of the flexibility of the Ennian hexameter as it relates to the Saturnian. He manages in two words to cover almost the entire line of the *Odusia*. He is also able to explicitly name Juno while Andronicus does not, demonstrating an ability to place a name in an hexameter line.

Ennius is able to produce a more 'Homeric' line than the translator of the *Odyssey*, emphasizing that he is *alter Homerus*. His use of the patronymic must have seemed more in line with Homeric usage, although Homer uses phrases such as Κρόνου πάις and *Saturnia* is a calque on Κρονίδης, which is an epithet exclusive to Zeus.[275] The dactylic shape of the final three syllables of *Saturnia* looks a great deal more Homeric. *Sancta dearum* is clearly a variant of *dia dearum* and the Homeric δῖα θεάων, perhaps demonstrating that Ennius can also gloss a Greek word with a Latin one.

In this case Ennius is not entirely successful in building a better Homeric reference. The Livian line closely parallels a formulaic line in the *Iliad*:[276]

Ἥρη πρέσβα θεὰ θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο   (*Il*. 5.721)

Revered goddess Hera daughter of great Cronus.

The correspondence of *Saturni filia* with θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο is almost exact, and *sancta* serves as a gloss of πρέσβα. The name Juno would not be necessary to anyone remotely acquainted with Juno's patrilineage or the Homeric poems, and there would be less need to explicitly inform the reader that she is a goddess.

Despite the Homeric qualities of the line and the possible multiple allusion to the *Iliad*, the Ennian line may well be a reference to the *Odusia*. There is no good correspondence in the *Odyssey* for Andronicus' line and, even if there were such a

---

[275] West 1965 p. 36

[276] Broccia p. 83 suggests this line as the source for Livius through 'contaminazioni a distanza.' The suggestion does not seem to have been adopted by many critics, probably because the suggested Homeric source does not appear in the *Odyssey*. *This* seems to me to underestimate Livius, who is certainly as capable of *contaminatio* as any other Latin poet.

correspondence, it would be difficult to place such a generic description.[277] If there is a Homeric model for the line it is to be found in the *Iliad*. An allusion to the *Iliad* by Andronicus would allow Ennius to allude to the *Odusia*, but not the *Odyssey*, and therefore to Livius, but not his epic. The epithet *Saturnia* may also be a reflexive indication that the reference is to Livius and not Homer. If the word *Saturnia* could mean the meter as well as the goddess, -which is by no means certain[278] -Saturnian Juno would not only be the daughter of Saturn, but the Juno who was in the poem composed in Saturnians. If this is the case, the dactylic shape of the word *Saturnia* would serve to emphasize the difference between Ennius and Livius, even as it serves as a point of contact between the two poets.

The line from the *Odusia* is also an effective demonstration of how any poet writing in Latin must negotiate the Italic tradition. Livius ends his line with a doubling figure, *filia regina*, and *sancta* alliterates with *Saturni*, both of which are elements of the Italic tradition. It is possible that *puer filia* is a traditional collocation and if so, the pleonastic *puer … filia*[279] would retain some semantics from the collocation. *Sancta puer* (*Od*. 12) may be an innovation, but *sancta* is part of Latin ritual and legal terminology and may owe something to those spheres as well as the Saturnian poems.

It is even more difficult to determine whether a marker of Italic verbal art in Ennius stems directly from a lifelong exposure to Italic poetics or indirectly from literary influence. *Saturnia sancta* appears to be a combination of the alliteration and doubling

---

[277] Blänsdorf p. 25, following Leo 1895 p. 91, suggests the epithet πότνια Ἥρη, which ends *Odyssey* 4.513, but the parallel is weak.

[278] The earliest attestation of Saturnius as a meter is Varro *L* 7.36.

[279] Mariotti 1952 p. 33 suggests this but cites only *geminos filios pueros* (Plautus *Amph*. 1070) as a parallel.

figure in Livius, in which Ennius shows himself willing to outdo Andronicus in the Italic tradition by creating an alliterative doubling figure, moving *sancta* next to *Saturnia*. The figure is not as semantically obvious as *filia regina*, but it is syntactically impeccable. Livius provides the raw material for the line, but the Italic tradition lends the impulse to deploy *Saturnia* and *sancta* in the form of an alliterative doubling figure.

Ennius imitates the alliteration of the opening line of Homer's *Odyssey* but this cannot be a reference to Livius' *incipit*, which does not deploy repeated -*p* and *m*- sounds. Ennius' imitation of the sound pattern of Homer is an ingenious indirect statement about his relationship to Livius. He will not countenance any direct reference to the Latin translation of the *Odyssey*. Even without such direct references, he manages to place himself far closer to author of the Greek *Odyssey* than even a direct translation into Saturnians could through the use of Homer's own meter, and by employing the same alliterative pattern, another poetic marker which Livius chooses not to incorporate into his own version.

If the evidence is not misleading, Ennius is avoiding direct allusions the *Odyssey* while referencing the *Iliad* fairly frequently, suggesting that this lack of direct allusions to the *Odyssey* is not accidental. Cicero states that Ennius avoided the subject matter of the First Punic war because 'others' had already written on that subject matter. This statement indicates that Ennius is avoiding any direct reference to Naevius on the topical level, and therefore, making his own space in literary history through avoidance as well as through innovation. The avoidance of the *Odyssey* in the extant fragments and the implied association in Cicero's thought between Andronicus and the Ennian polemic suggest that the *alii* mentioned by Cicero included Livius. It may not have been an

explicit *recusatio* on the part of Ennius, but Cicero may have extrapolated that the *rem* that others wrote that could secondarily refer to the *Odyssey*.

Such a move would also achieve a primacy of sorts for Ennius, who implicitly takes the *Iliad* as his model rather than the *Odyssey*. The *Iliad* is chronologically older than the *Odyssey* in mythic terms, and a Roman *Iliad* could somehow 'precede' a Roman *Odyssey*. If Livius writes the Latin *Odyssey*, then Ennius is writing the Latin *Iliad* and appropriating first place in the Roman canon by taking the earlier epic as his model.

4.3.5 Ennius and Naevius

Cicero claims that Ennius *reliquisset* the First Punic War, while he still borrowed *multa* from the earlier poet. There are two ways to resolve the apparent paradox. First, Ennius may have borrowed from Naevius only on the level of diction, and perhaps only in a general way, such as the employment of the previously discussed compound epithets. Secondly, the extant evidence from Ennius and Naevius and the testimonia to the *Bellum Poenicum* indicate that Ennius did treat some of the same subject matter as Naevius. Not incidentally, the few verbal parallels that may be adduced from the two poems probably also come from the mythic portion of the *Bellum Poenicum*.

Although Ennius chose to omit a detailed account of the First Punic War, the subject of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, he treats the founding of the city just as Naevius did. Ennius not only employs the same subject matter, he agrees with Naevius in points of detail independent of the history of Fabius Pictor and Cato's *Origines*.[280] Servius reports that Naevius and Ennius made Romulus and Remus the grandchildren of Aeneas,

---

[280] Gruen pp. 35-37 discusses the relationship between Pictor, Naevius and Ennius and the evidence in some detail.

while Dionysius Halicarnassus makes it clear that Cato and Fabius place a gap of some time between the arrival of Aeneas and the founding of Rome. Like the text of Andronicus, there is little left of the *Bellum Poenicum* on which to base a discussion of its relationship to the latter epic, but there are some verbal echoes. Ennius is playing on the title of Naevius' work by avoiding the ostensible subject matter of the *Bellum Poenicum* but not anything that might be perceived as background material to the war, thus rendering the *rem* in his polemic a very slippery word, even if it applies solely to Naevius.

There are no certain specific allusions to the surviving fragments of the *Bellum Poenicum* in the remains of the *Annales*, but a lack of dialogue between two texts in such a state does not mean that Ennius did not allude to Naevius, only that the evidence no longer exists. If Ennius has adopted Naevius' etymology of Aventinus from *avem*,[281] there is one indirect reference to Naevius, but little else can be added to this statement without any knowledge of the context of the Naevian *figura etymologica*. Ennius deploys another etymological figure in the *Urbs Condita* fragment which could be based on Naevius. Ennius' acrostic arrangement:

> *Avium…*
> *Conspicit…*
> *Auspicio…*   (*Ann*. 89-91).

The acrostic *figura etymologica* matches a similar figuration in Naevius: *auspicat auspicium* (*Bell. Poen*. 39). In addition, the phrase *avem aspexit* in the *Bellum Poenicum* (*Bell. Poen*. 25) bears some resemblance to *avem servat* in *Annales* 75.

The repeated etymologizing of expressions with *avem* should give pause to anyone wishing to credit Naevius with the invention of all these etymological figures.

---

[281] Cf. Chapter 2

Auspicio is not entirely transparent on its own, but, in the context of augury, the two elements of the compound must be fairly obvious. It seems likely that Ennius and Naevius are appropriating their augural etymologies from a common source and that Ennius is not directly referencing Naevius through these particular examples of word play.

Cicero claimed that Ennius borrowed *multa* from Naevius and there is no reason to doubt the truth of his claim, though there is little left of Naevius to confirm it. What remains conforms to the general pattern already seen between Ennius and Livius. The limited evidence suggests that Ennius references the mythic portions of Naevius fairly extensively, and Ennius probably made verbal allusions to the older poet's mythic material as well. Just as he seems to have chosen to allude to Livius where the connection to the *Odyssey* was at its weakest, Ennius chose to borrow *multa* from Naevius when his narrative was chronologically distant from his ostensible subject matter, his *rem*.

The state of the evidence allows only a provisional conclusion concerning the influence of the Saturnian poets in the *Annales*, but the evidence is at least consistent. Ennius avoids the subject matter of his literary Latin forebears in a literal way, but he borrows from and alludes to them in a manner which allows him to distance himself and still draw on their poetic authority. This state of affairs explains how Ennius could leave the First Punic War virtually untouched (*reliquisset*) and still borrow *multa* from Naevius.

4.4 Ennius and Horace

Although he occasionally alludes to and even quotes Ennius, Horace never explicitly comments on his polemic. However, Horace is very concerned with literary

history, and the importance of the decision to adopt the Greek hexameter could not have escaped him. The later poet would not be likely to write on literary history without an implicit comment on Ennius' most famous and hostile pronouncement concerning the Saturnian poets. A possible allusion to Ennius' disparagement of *faunei vatesque* in *Satires* 1.4 implicitly associates the word *poeta* with Ennian polemic, adding to the evidence which suggests that the term was opposed to *vates fauneique* in his poetic program. An allusion to Livius' *incipit* in *Epistles* 2.1 ,on the other hand, refines the terms of Ennius' 'correction' of the beginning of the *Odusia*, suggesting that Livius was perceived as a target of Ennian criticism by Horace, who, like Cicero, had access to the entire text of the *Annales*.

4.4.1 The Poet(ics) of Literary History: *Epistles* 2.1.69-70

The first 'letter' in the second book of Horace's *Epistulae*[282] begins with an address to the emperor Augustus and the speaker's claim that he would be committing a great wrong by taking up too much of Augustus' time. The speaker approves of the honors the emperor has won and uses this as a springboard to meditate on the crowd's preference for old things rather than new things. He demonstrates the fallacy behind approving of something simply because of its age and afterwards begins to examine objects of the crowd's affections in specific, namely the established canon of Latin poets in Horace's day, including Naevius, Ennius and the playwrights Plautus and Terence. Stating his dissatisfaction with the judgment of the crowd yet again, the speaker is careful

---

[282] The text is that of Wickham 1901.

to make it known that, although he feels perhaps these poets get more credit than they deserve, he does not wish to see their poetry disappear so much as he desires a fair accounting of their merits. The speaker specifically names Livius Andronicus the father of Latin verse as the representative for the canon in line 69 of the epistle:

Non equidem insector delendaque carmina Livi esse reor   (*Epist.* 69-70)

 I'm certainly not attacking the poetry of Livius or think it should be destroyed.

The speaker's opinion of Livius appears to be a skillful allusion to the first line of Andronicus' translation of Homer's *Odyssey*, and he signals this allusion not only through his use of the word *insector*, as Stephen Hinds has noted,[283] but also through the word *carmina*; both of these are connected to Livius' *insece Camena* through phonological similarity and folk etymology. By specifically indexing the words *insece* and *Camena*, the speaker is able to highlight Andronicus' unusual word choice and to 'correct' Livius' usage of what appears to be an active form of the deponent verb *insequor*. Finally the two words together evoke Ennius' earlier implicit correction of Livius' *incipit*, suggesting that Horace is problematizing the polemic of Ennius against the Saturnian poets.

The word *insece* appears to be either sort of a calque of sorts of the Greek word ἔννεπε, the same verb employed by Homer in the opening of the *Odyssey* and a root separate from, but homophonous with, the Greek ἕπομαι, which, like Latin *sequor*, means 'to follow'.[284] If *insece* is a calque and if Livius were a modern linguist who

---

[283] Hinds p. 71. For the literary implications of this interpretation see below.

[284] Sihler 490.3 argues that *insece* and *inquam* are derived from the same root and native to Latin. Olav Hackstein pp. 37 ff. has made a case for *inqu-* as a zero-grade aorist root of *inseco* which has delabialized

realized he was dealing with two distinct roots, he may have chosen the Latin verb *inquam*, which is an etymologically correct reflection of the Indo-European root *$*sek^W$*-, 'to speak.' Livius either created an active form of *sequor*, the deponent reflex of the homophonous root *$*sek^W$*-, 'to follow', or employed a form of *insequor* that was passing out of everyday usage as evidenced by its rarity even among the early Republican poets.

In either case, there is every reason to suppose that the speaker and readers familiar with Livius would have perceived a connection between *insece,* employed in his translation of the *Odyssey*, and Horace's *insector*. The verbs *insece* and *inseque* were sometimes confused and considered to be two alternate forms of the same verb, as reported by Aulus Gellius (*NA* 18.9).[285] The homophony between *insece* and *insec*(*tor*), with the exception of the suffix -*to* and the passive ending of *insector,* is unmistakable. Both make use of the delabialized stop *c*- rather than the labiovelar normally used in forms based on the root *sequ*-, creating a close phonological resonance between the two words. Finally, the speaker is using the verb *insector* in a context that specifically references the poetry of Livius. In addition, the rare form *inseco* appears to have some association with Andronicus, if Ennius' phrase *Insece Musa* (*Ann.* 322), which appears to be an implicit correction of *Camena insece*, is any indication.

Likewise, the word *carmina* may reference the *Camena* of Livius Andronicus through folk etymology and phonological similarity. With the exception of the -*r*- in

---

through the first person ending –*o*, but he glosses over the problem of why *inseco* has delabialized but not *insequor*.

[285] Gellius considers *insece* to be an older form of *insequo(r)* but the loss of the labial element is difficult especially in light of its retention in *inquam*. The only uncontested use of the form *insece* from the ancient world is Andronicus'. Cf. also Paulus ex Festo 99.

carmina, both words share the same consonantal shape and the same initial vowel. It is this similarity of sounds that must have led antiquarians such as Varro to falsely etymologize *carmina* as a derivation of *Casmena* (*L.L.* 7.26-27). By itself the word *carmina* would be very unlikely to evoke thoughts of etymological connections with the *Camena* of Livius, but the context, which specifically treats Livius in company with the speaker's *insector,* renders such a reading possible.

The allusion to Livius is first and foremost a signal to the knowing reader that the speaker is quite familiar with the texts he is criticizing or at least the first line of one text.[286] The speaker is not only able to allude to Livius but also to etymologize two of the key words in his opening line. The intimate familiarity with the text implied by the allusion authorizes the speaker as a fair judge of the merits of Andronicus as it gives the impression he has read the older poet and considered the poetic register deeply enough to etymologize it.

However, it is difficult to tell if Horace has actually read beyond the first line of Andronicus' *Odyssey*, as there are no apparent allusions to the other extant fragments of Livius' translation. This could simply be an accident of survival, but it raises the intriguing possibility that the speaker is a faulty critic who never bothered to go beyond the first line of the poem and really is in no position to make any pronouncements over the style of Andronicus. This scenario could be an example of the implied author metaphorically 'winking' over the shoulder of the speaker to a knowing reader who

---

[286] Hinds p. 71 writes that the allusion "suggests that [Horace] expects his readers, like himself, to earn their right to condescend to a poet who (as he grudgingly admits in 73-74) still has a couple of words worthy of the attention of a *doctus lector*."

would know better than to accept the opinion of a critic who demonstrates knowledge of only the first line of Livius Andronicus' translation.

The allusion may also be read in a reverse manner in the inner drama of the text. In this scenario it is the speaker who is indicating the ignorance of the crowd by making allusions to Livius that will go over the head of the crowd he is addressing. The crowd misses his allusion to Andronicus' translation because they simply parrot the sentiments of others without actually reading any of the poets they praise. An allusion to the first line of a poem would also only be natural in antiquity when poems were often cited by their first line. Such a reading again authorizes the speaker as a critic and devalues any judgments cast forth from the masses.

As *insece* was perceived as a form of *insequor,* the reference to Livius may serve as an implicit criticism of the Greek poet's command of Latin. *Insequor,* as every native speaker of Latin would instinctively know, is a deponent verb and does not have an active form in normal usage, and yet Andronicus seems to have created an active form to match the Greek ἔννεπε. By using the deponent *insector*, the speaker may be reminding the reader that a form like *insece* was ungrammatical according to the standards of Latin grammar while the speaker is using the grammatical deponent form of *insequor*.

Horace's use of the purer Latin *insector* over Andronicus' odd form also plays into one of the major themes of the epistle as a whole. Horace sets up a deliberate antithesis between the Greek and Roman poetic traditions in which the former is presented as a natural outgrowth of Greek culture while the latter is "at odds with the national character" of the Romans.[287] The allusion suggests that, from the speaker's point

---

[287] Feeney pp. 181 and 187.

of view, Livius found the Latin language so recalcitrant as a poetic medium that he was forced to 'misuse' a 'simple verb' like *insequor* in the very first line of the first known attempt at poetry in the Latin language.

The fact that this particular reference is a multiple allusion also requires some consideration. As stated above, the line of Livius, which the speaker indexes, is a translation of the opening line of the *Odyssey*. The two key words *insector* and *carmina* evoke the two most striking word choices of Andronicus' opening line, *insece* and *Camena*, looking forward to Ennius' *insece Musa*. Ennius' replacement of *Camena* with Musa implies a correction of Livius and simultaneously suggests that the speaker is also engaged in some criticism of his own and that the allusion may be read as reference to Ennius as well as to Livius Andronicus.

A final element of Ennius' corrective allusion remains to be considered. Gellius reports that the transmitted text of Ennius' phrase is *inseque Musa* and that *insece* is a conjecture (*NA* 18.9.3-5). As suggested above, it is just possible that Ennius was aware that the labiovelar in Latin was often reflected by an unvoiced labial or *p-* sound in Greek. As an Oscan speaker, Ennius would have certainly been aware that Latin *quis* is *pis* in Oscan and perhaps he drew a connection between the interrogatives in Latin beginning in *qu-* with similar Greek words such as πῶς and ποῦ. Ennius may have employed such an insight to further improve upon Livius by substituting the *-c-* in *insece* with *-qu-*, rendering his translation of Homer more accurate than Homer's 'translator.' It is also a very real possibility that Ennius was simply using a more 'correct' form of *insequor* than Livius' *insece*.

In any case, such a correction of phonology fits in well with Horace's allusion to Livius and Ennius, which also engages in highlighting one poet's superior grasp of Latin over another's and locates Horace as the most recent interlocutor in an implicit poetic debate over the word *insece*. Gellius confirms the existence of an ongoing debate over *insece*, which continued into the second century AD. Whatever the correct reading may be, Gellius' report suggests that Horace's text of Ennius would have read *inseque Musa*. Based on the apparent similarity of function and literary history, Horace's *insector carmina* appears to be as deeply in dialogue with Ennius as with Livius. Horace appears to have taken Ennius' correction one step further by restoring it to its deponent form.

Furthermore Horace appears to be placing himself in opposition to the Ennian attack against Saturnian poetics. Ennius disparages Saturnians as the work of *vates* and *faunei* in the *Annales* (206-7), while Horace does not attack the *carmina* of Livius, thus contrasting himself with Ennius who does. As *carmina* was felt to be etymologically equivalent or at least related to *Camena*, one may further interpret Horace's refusal to attack Livius' poetry as a refusal to criticize and correct the older poet's *Camena* and perhaps, a negation of Ennius' attempt to differentiate himself from his Saturnian predecessors.

The inextricability of the isolated reference here invites the reader to consider the place of odd forms such as *insece* and *Camena* in literary history as well as the place of the author in the same continuum. The use of this correction suggests that the speaker has the superior place in Latin literary history because he is able to allude to the form *insece* while still avoiding an unusual verb form of somewhat questionable Latinity. On the other hand, the reference to Homer, who stands at the head of the Greek canon, reminds

the reader that in the case of the Greeks, the oldest poets may indeed have produced the better product. The speaker himself suggests such a juxtaposition earlier in the epistle:

> *Si quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque*
> *scripta vel optima…* (*Epist.* 2.1.28-29)

If each of the most ancient writings of the Greeks is in fact the best…

In this reading of the allusion to Andronicus, the reference subtly and implicitly drives home the speaker's arguments about the respective places of Greek and Latin poets in literary history.

The reference to Homer and Ennius also may betray the position of the speaker on Ennius, to whom the critics refer as the second Homer:

> *alter Homerus*
> *ut critici dicunt*   (*Epist.* 2.1.50-51)

a second Homer as the critics say.

Ennius replaces Andronicus' *Camena* with Homer's *Musa*, but he still deploys an active (and therefore ungrammatical) form of insequor (*Ann.* 322), and his failure to replace *insece* with a form more congenial to Latin usage is highlighted by the speaker's avoidance of the active form. If Homer is rightly at the head of the Greek canon, Ennius' use of *Musa* may be regarded as an improvement, but his use of *insece* alludes to Homer's imperfect translator Livius Andronicus and not to Homer himself. Therefore, Ennius is as much an *alter Livius* as an *alter Homerus*, making himself an improvement over Livius but a not radical one. This glimpse into Latin literary history creates the impression of a slow progress toward a better product, a process which suggest that the oldest poets are not necessarily the best poets.

If this reading of the Horatian passage is correct, it furthers the understanding of the *Annales* in several ways. On the bare level of textual criticsm, it reminds the modern reader that *insece* is an emendation to the text of Ennius which was circulating during the life of Gellius and that this reading should at least be taken seriously enough to be added to the *apparatus criticus* of the text of the *Annales*.[288] Horace or any other poet in the Golden Age would read *inseque* in the text of the *Annales*, and any possible allusions to the Ennian passage must take the 'vulgate' reading under consideration. The change to the older reading may seem minor, but even this small change renders the 'correction' of Livius more subtle and linguistically adept that simply appropriating the form employed in the *Odusia*. Even if the correct reading is *insece* and not *inseque*, the intertext is yet more evidence that Ennius carefully and seriously considered his response to Livius Andronicus. If Livius is the target of such a thought-out response, there is more reason than before to seriously consider understanding the *alii* and *vates fauneique* in *Annales* 206-07 to refer to Livius as well as Naevius.

4.4.2 *Sermones* 1.4.38-62 and the Poet(ics) of Satire

The fourth offering from Horace's first book of Satires, or *Sermones*, may be divided into roughly six sections. In the opening lines the narrator gives a rather truncated version of the development of satire consisting of the poets of Old Comedy and Lucilius and two contemporaries of Horace who may or may not compose satire (*S* 1.4.1-25a). The speaker then turns to the unpopularity of satire and the fear it generates (*S* 1.4.25b-

---

[288] Skutsch p. 98 does list *inseque* in the apparatus criticus for *Annales* 322 and Columna prints inseque in his text of 1585. However, if I have understood the abbreviation *Paul.* Skutsch rightly, he reports that Merula prints *inseque* when the text of Merula prints *insece*.

38a). An assertion that satire is not poetry then follows, which does little to answer any charges levied at this *suspectum genus scribendi*, although the transition would lead one to believe it was some sort of defense (*S* 1.4.38b-62). The speaker follows this digression with some more direct attempts at addressing the perceived dangers of satire (*S* 1.4.63-103a), which in turn leads him to reminisce over his upbringing by a father (*S* 1.4.103b-129a) who has a suspicious resemblance to Demea from Terence's *Adelphoe*,[289] himself a father who advises his son. The satire concludes with the explanation that writing them is only a moderate fault and if the addressee doesn't like it, there is a crowd of poets on hand to help him reconsider (*S* 1.4.129a-143).

The claim that satire is not poetry is a curious one for several reasons. It does nothing to redress the imagined charges leveled at satire in the previous lines. It could not have escaped the reader that, whatever the claims of the persona, the entire argument is conducted in hexameters, rendering such a line of thought difficult to accept despite an attempt on the speaker's part to remove this objection.[290] The example of the work of a *poeta* provided by the narrator, a direct quotation from the *Annales* of Quintus Ennius, seems ill suited as an example of a *poema*, a fact which is highlighted by the display of poetic skill displayed in the line immediately preceding it.[291] It is also difficult to reconcile this attempted separation of satire and poetry with the assertion at the end of the

---

[289] Kiessling-Heinze 1961 p. 84 note the parallels between the advice of the father in the satire and that of Demea in the *Adelphoe* ll. 414-19.

[290] Freudenberg p. 124 refers to this claim as "against all precedent."

[291] Oberhelman and Armstrong p. 243 note the contrast in word order between Ennius and Horace and argue that this is indicative of the principle called "the impossibility of metathesis" and related to similar arguments made by Philodemus.

text that a band of poets will aid the speaker, which implies the speaker considers himself to be among their number.

It is the Ennian fragment and its failure as an example of poetry that ultimately provide the clues needed to determine the *raison d'être* for the digression on satire and its relationship to poetry. The speaker's rejection of the title of poet despite a flash of poetic virtuosity immediately preceding the quotation of Ennius suggests backhanded compliment in the manner of Catullus to Cicero. In addition, the reference to the dismembered limbs of the *poeta* in reference to Ennius is reminiscent of Ennian polemic against his predecessors, which activates a second allusion to Ennius. This second reference allows the reader to see the relationship of this particular digression to the theme of the poetic genealogy of satire, which shows itself to be a dominant theme throughout.

The first signal that causes some suspicion concerning any claims about the poetic nature of satire stems from the logic of the inner drama of the text. The transition leads one to expect an *apologia pro satura* but instead leads into a completely irrelevant discussion on poetry. This digression does nothing to address any of the hypothetical concerns voiced in the previous section. A satirist's inability to lay claim to the name *poeta* does not render him suddenly harmless. Invective need not be in verse to be effective, and it is hard to believe that the gossiping servants who are pictured as spreading the slanders of the satirists were repeating his words in verse to begin with. The irrelevance of the whole argument is a red flag to the reader that something is amiss.

The particular quotation of Ennius, which is provided as an illustration, is even more unsettling for one who wishes to be persuaded by the speaker. It runs for a line and a half:

> *Postquam Discordia taetra*
> *belli ferratos postis portasque refregit* (*S*. 1.4.60-61=*Ann*. 225-26)[292]

after sad Discord broke the iron gates and gateposts of war.

There is nothing especially poetic about the quotation other than the imagery. Although *taetra* and *ferratos* have a vaguely poetic quality about them,[293] the word order is that of prose –subject + object + verb- which suggests no conscious poetic art. The noun-adjective word order at the end of the first line is not only the usual Latin word order but it was also avoided by Golden Age poets and the end of a line.[294] With the exception of the meter and the alliterative doubling figure, there is nothing but everyday conversation in meter, which according to the persona, is satire, not poetry.

As if to ensure that the reader will notice the inept choice, the immediately preceding lines before the quotation are quite artful and contrast sharply with what the speaker identifies as the work of a poet. The persona explains that if the meter were removed and the former word order were restored,

> *quod…est*
> *posterius facias praeponens ultima primis*

[292] The quotation was identified as long ago as Porphyrio (*Ad Sermonem* 1.4.61-62). Vergil (*Aen*. 7.607) and Ovid (*Fast*. 1.253) both allude to this line.

[293] Morris 1909 p. 76 calls these two words "charged with poetic suggestion." He also notes the poetic use of imagery, but it is not immediately apparent that this is an image from the context of the satire, and even so the use of this image by other Augustan poets suggests that it may have become a cliché.

[294] Harrison pp. 138 demonstrates that both the Hellenistic poets and the Golden Age Latin poets avoided a noun followed by an adjective at the end of the line. It is interesting to note that Ennius deploys the noun-adjective combination less than Homer, if the fragmentary state of the *Annales* is not a skewed sample.

> *non…*
> *invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae* (*S* 1.4.58-60 and 4.62)

> putting what is last before what is first one would not even find
> the remains of a poet.

 The word order skillfully mirrors the action suggested by the speaker as the *quod …est posterius* is literally placed first, and the last words are also literally placed before the first words, suggesting their natural order. The marked verb/object word order is also employed. This carefully crafted line with its marked word order and neoteric effects contrasts sharply with the unmarked conversational word order of the Ennius quotation.

Not only does the preceding line of the persona outdo the line of Ennius in poetic effects, it also imitates the one poetic device that Ennius actually uses, alliteration. *Posterius facias praeponens ultima primus* matches the alliteration of Ennius' *postis portasque* and improves on it by spreading the initial *p-* sounds throughout the line and employing still more of them. The fact that the alliteration dovetails seamlessly into the Ennius quote also belies any lack of poetic skill on the part of the speaker.

In addition to the signals that the separation of satire from poetry is deceptive, it cannot escape the reader that the entire argument has just been carried on in hexameters. The meter in which the persona is communicating renders the quotation from the *Annales* even more mundane than it would have been in a prose text. In a prose text the poetic nature of the hexameters would have been immediately apparent, but in this particular *sermo* all conversations are conducted in hexameters.

The entire diatribe on satire and poetry shows a great deal of resonance with Catullus' dubious praise of Cicero. Catullus calls Cicero the best of all orators by the same degree that Catullus is the worst of all poets (*Cat*. 49). One could certainly read this

as modesty on the speaker's part in his praise of Cicero, but if anything consistent can be determined about the poetic persona of the Catullan corpus, he is not one who considers himself the worst of all poets. This trait of the persona would then be a signpost to the real message of the short panegyric of Cicero. A similar process may be at work in the discussion of poetry and satire. The speaker states that he is not a *poeta* and then gives an example of the work of one who is a *poeta*, which contrasts rather unfavorably with his own 'unstudied' conversation. This contrast between the artful persona and *hirsutus* Ennius then leaves the reader wondering who would want to be a *poeta* if it meant writing verses like Ennius.

If one wished to see a kinder persona in *Sermones* 1.4, one could read the assertions of the speaker against the background of Ennius' polemic against his predecessors Naevius and Livius Andronicus. Ennius explicitly separates himself from his predecessors, to whom he refers as *vates fauneique*, while Ennius is a *poeta*. In a sense Ennius is *the poeta*, and one could read the speaker's *recusatio* as a nod to the original *poeta*.

The Ennian background also activates a second allusion to Ennius. The persona of *Sermones* 1.4 relates that if one were to remove the meter from *ego quae nunc olim quae Lucilius scripsit* (*S* 1.4.56-57), "what I now, what Lucilius once wrote," and rearranged the word order, the results would not be the same as with Ennius. With the polemic of Ennius in mind, the phrase *olim quae Lucilius scripsit* recalls Ennius' polemic: *scripsere alii rem vorsibus quos olim Fauni vates canebant* (*Ann.* 206-07). Neither *olim* nor *scribo* nor the relative pronoun is a terribly uncommon word which would signal an allusion. Nevertheless, the combination of words creates a compelling case for a reference to

Ennius, especially given the context *of olim quae Lucilius scripsit*. The persona's insistence on the quality of everyday speech in satire may also be a signpost that an allusion is being made through common conversational words or *puris … verbis*.

The allusions to Ennius and the speaker's handling of them suggest that one must read this particular *recusatio* with Ennius' treatment of his predecessors in mind. Through the employment of this subtext, the illusion is created that the persona compares favorably to Ennius in his relationship to his predecessors. The narrator does not directly attack Lucilius and, when he objects to his style, as in the beginning of the satire, he does not dismiss him as a *faunus*.

Reading Horace's *recusatio* against an Ennian background not only clarifies the interpretation of Horace, but also casts more light on the polemic of Ennius. The word *poeta* is the focus of Horace's refusal of the title, and this focus is emphasized through repetition of the word and various poetic effects. The heavy emphasis on the title and the allusion to Ennius' polemic quoted in Cicero is suggestive and adds to the weight of the evidence which points toward *poeta* as a key word in Ennius' polemic. Since Ennius never explicitly states this binary opposition in the remaining fragments of the *Annales*, any clues which may be garnered from those who could read the entire text of the epic needs to be collected and marshaled, no matter how indirect this evidence may be. It is possible that Ennius as a *poeta* in relation to the Saturnian poets as *vates* is a contruct extrapolated by Horace, but the evidence as a whole, including the use of the word *poemata* in *Annales* 12, suggests that Ennius was the first to lay claim to the title *poeta* and that this very claim was made as part of his polemic.

References

.

Adams, J. N.
    2003   *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge
           University Press.

Aicher, P. J.
    1989   Ennian Artistry: *Annals* 175-179 and 78-83 (Sk.). *CJ* 85:218-224.

Albrecht, Michael von
    1999   *Roman Epic*: *An Interpretative Introduction*. Leiden/Boston: E.J. Brill.

Allen, F. D.
    1880   *Remnants of Early Latin* Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Allen, Sidney
    1989   *Vox Latina*: *A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Latin*.
           Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ashmore, Sidney
    1908   *The Comedies of Terence Edited with Introduction and Notes*. Oxford:
           Oxford University Press. [1967 Reprint].

Badian, Ernst
    1971   Ennius and his Friends. *Ennius*: *Sept Exposés suivis de discussion*. Otto
           Skutsch (ed.). Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique vol. 17. Geneva:
           Foundation Hardt, 151-199.

Battile, Anna and Cavazza, Albertina eds.
    1981   *Lexicon Livianum et Naevianum. Hildesheim*: Olms.

Behagel, Otto
    1909   Beziehungen zwischen Umfang und Reihenfolge von Satzgliedern.
           IF 25:110-142.

Benveniste, Emile
    1969   *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. Paris: Éditions de
           Minuit.

Bergk. Theodor
    1884   *Kleine Philologische Schriften*. Halle: Verlag des Buchhandlung des
           Warsenhauses.

Biville, Fréderique
  2005   Aspects populaires de la composition nominale en latin. *La Composition et la préverbation en latin*. (*Lingua Latina* 8). C. Moussy (ed.). Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 55-70.

Bländsdorf, Jürgen
  1995   *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum Prater Ennium et Lucilium Post W. Morel*. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner.

Bonfante, Giuliano and Larissa
  1983   *The Etruscan language*: *An Introduction*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bonfante, Larissa
  1990   *Etruscan*. London: British Museum Publications.

Bongi, Vincenzo
  1946   Apollonio Rodio, Virgilio ed Ennio. *Athenaeum* 24: 68-74.

Bréal, Michel
  1875   *Les tables eugebines*. Paris: A. Franck.

Brennan, T. Corey
  2000   *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Brignoli, F. M.
  1957   Le sede augurali di Romolo nel racconto Enniano dell'auspicio. *GIF* 10: 55-64.

Broccia, Giuseppe
  1974   *Ricerche su Livio Andronico Epico*. Padova: Editrice Antenore.

Brooks, R. A.
  1981   *Ennius and Roman Tragedy*. New York: Arno Press.

Bücheler, Franz
  1883   *Umbrica*. Bonn: Cohen.

Buck, Carl
  1928   *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*. Boston: Ginn and Company.

Cerri, Romolo and Ancillotti, Augusto
  1966   *Le tavole di Gubbio e la civiltà degli Umbri*. Perugia: Jama.

Coarelli, Filippo
    1972   Il sepolcro degil Scipioni. *Dial di Arch* 6: 36-106.

Cole, Thomas
    1969   The Saturnian Verse. *YCS 21*: 3-73.

Coli, Ugo
    1973   *Scritti di Diritto Romano*. Università di Firenze. Pubblicazioni della
            Facoltà di giurisprudenza 5. Milan: A. Giuffré.

Columna, Hieronymus
    1585   *Quinti Ennii Fragmenta ab Hieronymo Columna conquisita*, *disposita*, *et
            Explicate*. Naples: Salviani.

Conte, Gian Biagio
    1994   *Latin Literature*: *A History*. J. B. Solodow trans. Baltimore: Johns
            Hopkins University Press.

Costa, G. C.
    2000   *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetic italica*. Florence: Olschki.

Courtney, Edward
    1999   *Archaic Latin Prose*. American Philological Association Monograph 42.

    2003   *Fragmentary Latin Poets*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Cunliffe, Richard
    1963   *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press.

Devoto, Giacomo
    1951   *Gli antichi Italici*. 2nd edition. Florence: Vallechi.

    1974   *Le tavole di Gubbio*. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni.

Dominik, W.J.
    1993   From Greece to Rome: Ennius' *Annales*.
            Roman Epic. A.J. Boyle (ed.). New York: Routledge.

Douglas, A. E.
    1966   *Marci Tulli Ciceronis Brutus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Dumezil, Georges
    1958   *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens*. Bruxelles: Latomus.

    1974   *La religion romaine archaique*: *avec un appendice sur la religion
             des Etrusques*. 2nd edition. Paris: Payot and Rivages [2000 reprint].

Dunkel, George
    1993   Periphrastica Homerohittitovedica. *Comparative-Historical Linguistics*: *Indo-European and Finno-Ugric Papers in Honor of Oswald Szemerényi III*. Bela Brogyanyi and Reiner Lipp (eds.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia" Benjamins.

Edmunds, Lowell
    2001   *Intertextuality*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Eichner, Heiner
    1988   Pikenische Pietas: Das Zeugnis des südpikenischen Cippus von Castignano; ein Heldendenkmal der Sabiner mit trochäischem Epigramm eines pikenischen Plautus von des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.: Reklameiamben aus Roms Königszeit. *Die Sprache* 34: 195-238.

Ernout, Alfred
    1966   *Recueil de textes archaiques latines*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Ernout, Alfred and Meillet, Antoine (eds.)
    1959   *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. 4th edition. Paris: Klincksieck.

Euler, Wolfram
    1982   dōnum dō-: *Eine* figura etymologica *der Sprachen Altitaliens*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft Vorträge und Kleinere Schriften 29.

Fabb, Nigel
    1997   *Linguistics and Literature*. Oxford/Malden: Blackwell.

Feeney, Denis
    1991   *The Gods in Epic*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

    1998   *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

.   2001   *Una cum scriptore meo. Traditions and Contexts in the poetry of Horace* Denis Feeney and Tony Woodman (eds.). Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fernandelli, Marco
    1999   Aletto e Discordia (Su Eneide VII 325-6 e Enn. *Annales* fr. X Skutsch). *Maia* 51: 23-27.

Flores, Enrico
    1981   Ennio e l'augurio di Romolo. *Vichiana* 10: 17-23.

Ford, Andrew
    1992   *Homer*: *The Poetry of the Past*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Freeman, P. M.
    1998   Saturnian Verse and Early Latin Poetics. *JIES* 26: 61-90.

Freudenberg, Kirk
    1993   *The Walking Muse*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

    2001   *The Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Friedrich, W. H.
    1948   Ennius-Erklärungen. *Philologus* 97: 277-301.

Geiger, Joseph and Rosén, Hannah
    2003   Osca bybliotecha?. Petroniana: Gedenkschrift für Hubert Petersmann. József Herman and Hannah Rosén (eds.). Heidelberg: Winter.

Glare, Peter (ed.)
    1982   *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Goldberg, Sander
    1995   *Epic in Republican Rome*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Gowers, Emily
    2005   Virgil's Sibyl and the 'Many Mouths' Cliché (*Aen*. 6.625-7). *CQ* 55: 170-82.

Griffith, Ralph trans.
    1892   *The Hymns of the Rig Veda*. Benares: E. J. Lazarus and Co.

Gruen, Erich
    1992   *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Habinek, Thomas
    1998   *The Politics of Latin Literature*: *Writing, Identity and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

    2005   *The World of Roman Song: From Ritualized Speech to Social Order*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hackstein, Olav

1997   Probleme der homerischen Formenlehre I; ἐνίψω β 137, ἐνίψει Η 447,
λ 148 und die Etymologie von gr. ἔνεπτε, ἐνίσσω/ἐνίπτω und (alt)lat.
insece, inquit. *MSS* 57: 19-46.

Harrison, S. J.

1991   *Discordia Taetra*: The History of a Hexameter-Ending. *CQ* 41: 138-49.

Hinds, Stephen

Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry.
Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Insler, Stanley

1975   *The Gāthās of Zarathustra*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Jakobson, Roman

1971   *Selected Writings*: *Word and Language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Jocelyn, Henry

1969   The Poet Cn. Naevius, P. Cornelius Scipio and Q Caecilius Metellus.
Antichthon 3: 32-47.

1971   *Urbs Augurio Augusto Condita. PCPhS* 17:44-51.

1972   The Poems of Quintus Ennius" *ANRW* I2: 987-1026.

Katz, Joshua

1998   *Testimonia Ritus Italici*: Male Genitalia, Solemn Declaration and a New
Latin Sound Law. *HSCP* 98: 183-217.

2005   Review of Lindner 2002. *CR* 55: 104-6.

2006   Review of Moussy 2005. *CR* 56: 142-4.

Keppie, Lawrence

1984   *The Making of the Roman Army*. London: B.T. Batsford.

Kiessling, von, Adolf and Hienze, Richard

1955-7 *Q. Horatius Flaccus erklärt von Adolf
Kiessling*; besorgt von Richard Heinze; *mit einem Nachwort und
bibliographischen Nachträgen Erich Burck*. Berlin: Weidman.

Kirk, Geoffery S.

1985   *The Iliad*: *A Commentary*: *Vol*. 1: *Books 1-4*. Cambridge/New York:
Cambridge University Press.

Klaeber, Friedrich
        1950   *Beowulf and The fight at Finnsburg; edited, with introduction,*
                bibliography, notes, glossary, and appendices. 3rd edition. Boston: Heath.

Krevans, Nita
        1993   Ilia's Dream: Ennius, Virgil and the Mythology of Seduction.
                HSCP 95: 257-271.

Kristeva, Julie
        1986   *The Kristeva Reader*. Toril Moi ed. New York: Columbia University
                Press.

Leach, Eleanor
        1971   Horace's *Pater Optimus* and Terence's Demea: Autobiographical Fiction
                and Comedy in *Serm* 1.4. *AJPh* 92: 626-32.

Lefkowitz, Mary
        1960   Metaphor and Simile in Ennius. *CJ* 55: 123-25.

Leo, Friedrich
        1905   *Der saturnische Vers*. Berlin: Weidman.

        1912   *Plautinische Forschungen*. 2nd edition. Berlin: Weidman.

        1913   *Geschichte der römischer Literatur*. Berlin: Weidman.

Liddell, Henry, Scott, Robert, Jones Henry, and MacKenzie, Roderick (eds.)
        1995   *A Greek-English Lexicon, Ninth Edition with a Revised Supplement*.
                Oxford/ New York: Oxford University Press.

Linderski, Jerzy
        1986   The Augural Law. *ANRW* II 16.3: 2147-2312.

        1996   *Roman Questions*. Heidelberger althistorische Beitra   ge und
                epigraphische Studien 20. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Lindner, Thomas
        1996   *Lateinische Kompostia*: *Ein Glossar, vornehmlich zum Wortschatz der*
                Dichtersprache. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
                89.

        2002   *Lateinische Kompostia*: *Morphologische, historische und lexicalische*
                Studien. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 105.

Lindsay, W. M.

    1922   *Early Latin Verse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Livingston, Ivy

    2004   *A Linguistic Commentary on Livius Andronicus*. New York: Routledge.

Livy

    1912   *The History of Rome*, *Vol. I Titus Livius*. Rev. Canon Roberts trans. New York: E.P. Dutton and Co.

Luck, Georg

    1981   Naevius and Virgil. *ICS* 8: 267-75.

Maltby, Robert

    1990   *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*. ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs 25. Leeds: F. Cairns.

Marinetti, Anna

    1985   *Le inscrizioni sudpicene I. Testi*. Florence: Olschki.

Mariotti Scevola

    1951   *Lezioni su Ennio*. Pesaro: Federici.

    1986   *Livio Andronico e la traduzione artistica : saggio critico ed edizione dei frammenti dell'Odyssea*. Pubblicazioni dell'Università di Urbino Scienze umane. Serie di linguistica letteratura arte 4. Urbino: Università degli studi di Urbino.

    2001   *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Nevio*: saggio con edizione dei frammenti del Bellum Poenicum. 3rd edition. Bologna : Patron.

Meillet, Antoine

    1925   *La methode comparative en linguistique historique*. Paris: Champion.

Meiser, Gerhard

    1987   *Lautgeschichte der Umbrischen Sprache*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 51.

Mercado, Angelo

    2003   A New Approach to Old Latin and Umbrian Poetic Meter. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*. Karlene Jones-Bley, Martin Huld, Angela Della Volpe, and Miriam Robbins-Dexter (eds.). Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man,188-219.

Merula, Paullus

    1595   *Quinti Enni Annalium LIBB XIIX Fragmenta conlecta, composita, inlustrata ab Paullo Merula*. Lieden: Paetsius and Elzevir.

Mommsen, Theodor

    1887   *Ro misches* Staatsrecht. Leipzig: Hirzel.

Newman, J. K.

    1981   *Memini Me Fieri Pavum:* Ennius and the Quality of the Roman Aesthetic Imagination. *ICS* 8: 173-193.

Nooten, Berend van and Gary Holland (eds.)

    1994   *Rig Veda*: *A Metrically Restored Text with an Introduction and Notes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Norden, Eduard

    1913   *Agnostos Theos*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesallschaft [1966 Reprint].

    1915   *Ennius und Vergilius; Kriegsbilder aus Roms grosser Zeit*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

Nussbaum, Alan

    1973   *Benuso, Couortuso*, and the Archtype of *Tab*. *Ig*. I and VI-VIIa. *JIES* 1: 356-69.

O'Hara, James

    1996   *True Names*: *Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

Oberhelman, Steven and Armstrong, David

    1995   Satire as Poetry and the Impossibility of Metathesis in Horace's Satires. *Philodemus and Poetry*: *Poetic Theory and Practice in Lucretius, Philodemus and Horace*. Dirk Obbink (ed.). Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 233-54.

Ogilvie, R. M.

    1965   *Commentary on Livy 1-5*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Otto, August

    1890   *Die Sprichwo rter und sprichwo rtlichen Redensarten der Ro mer*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

Palmer, Leonard

    1961   *The Latin* Language. London: Faber and Faber.

Parry, Milman
    1970   *The Making of Homeric Verse*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Parsons, Jed
    1999   A New Approach to the Saturnian Verse and its Relation to Latin Prosody. *TAPhA* 129: 117-137.

Pease, Arthur Stanley
    1920-3 *M. Tulli Ciceronis De divinatione liber primus*. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature Vol. 6 and 8. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Pfeiffer, Rudolph
    1967   *History of Classical Scholarship*: *From the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

    1976   *History of Classical Scholarship*: *1300-1850*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Pisani, Vittore
    1933   Studi sulla preistoria delle lingue indoeuropee. *Memorie della Reale Academia Nazionale dei Lincei* serie VI vol 4. Fascicolo 5: 545-653.

    1964   *Le lingue dell' Italia antica oltre il* Latino. Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier.

Planta, Robert von
    1897   *Grammatik der osckisch-umbrischen Dialekte*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

Poccetti, Paolo
    1979   *Nuovi documenti italici a complemento del Manuale di E. Vetter*. Pisa: Giardini.

Poultney, James
    1959   *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*. American Philological Association Monograph 18.

Prinzen, Herbert
    1998   *Ennius im Urteil der Antike*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler.

Prosdocimi, Aldo
    1983   *Le Tavole Iguvine*. Florence: Olschki.

Puhvel, Jaan
    1987   *Comparative Mythology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rix, Helmut

    2002 *Sabellische Texte : die Texte des Oskischen, Umbrischen und Sü dpikenischen* Heidelberg: Winter.

    2003   Towards a Reconstruction of Proto-Italic: The Verbal System. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*. Karlene Jones-Bley, Martin Huld, Angela Della Volpe, and Miriam Robbins-Dexter (eds.). Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man, 1-24.

Rowell, H. T.

    1949   The Campanian Origin of Gn. Naevius and its Literary Attestations. *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome* XIX: 15-34.

Rudd, Niall

    1966   *The Satires of Horace*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sandys, John

    1908   *A History of Classical Scholarship Vol. III*: *The Eighteenth Century in Germany*, *and the Nineteenth Century in Europe and the United States of America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schlegel, Catherine

    2000   Horace and his Fathers: *Satires* 1.4 and 1.6. *AJPh* 121: 93-119.

Schmitt, Rüdiger

    1967   *Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanische Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.

Schirmer, Brigitte

    1998   *Studien zum Wortschatz der Iguvinischen Tafeln: Die Verben des Betens und Sprechens*. Frankfurt am Main/ New York: P. Lang.

Stephanus, Henricus (ed.)

    1564   *Fragmenta Poetarum Veterum Latinorum*. Geneva.

Suerbam, Werner

    1968   *Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter*. Hildesheim: Olms.

    2003   *Ennius in der Forschung des 20. Jahrhunderts : eine kommentierte Bibliographie fü r 1900-1999 mit systematischen Hinweisen nebst einer Kurzdarstellung des Q. Ennius (239-169 v.Chr.)*. Hildesheim: Olms.

Sihler, A. L.
    1993   *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. Oxford/New York:
              Oxford University Press.

Skutsch, Otto
    1968   *Studia Enniana*. London: Athlone.

    1984   *The* Annals *of Quintus Ennius*. Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press.

Steuart, Ethel
    1925   *The* Annals *of Quintus Ennius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, Richard
    1986   Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference. *HSCP* 91: 229-60.

    1988   *Virgil Georgics I-II*. Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press.

Untermann, Jürgen
    2000   *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Vahlen, Johannes
    1903   *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*. 2nd edition. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner.

Valeton, I. M. J.
    1890   *De modis auspicandi Romanorum. Mnemosyne* 17: 275-325 and 418-52.

    1891   *De modis auspicandi Romanorum II and III'' Mnemosyne* 18: 208-263
              and 406-456.

Valmaggi, Luigi
    1900   *I frammenti degli Annali. Commento e note di L. Valmaggi*. Turin:
              Chiantore.

Van Sickle, Jon
    1988   The Elogia of the Cornelii Scipiones. *AJPh* 108: 41-55.

Vergil
`   1900   *Bucolics*, *Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil*. J. B. Greenough trans. Boston:
              Ginn and Co.

Vetter, Emile
    1953   *Handbuch der italische*n *Dialekte*. Heidelberg: Winter.

Vine, Brent
    1986   An Umbrian-Latin Correspondence. *HSCP* 90: 111-127.

    1989   *Corde Capessere* (Ennius *Ann*. 42 Sk.). *Glotta* 67: 123-126.

Walbank, F. W.
    1943   Alcaeus of Messene. Philip V, and Rome (continued). *CQ* 37: 1-13.

Watkins, Calvert
    1985   *American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin [2000 Reprint].

    1994   *Selected Writings*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 80.

    1994   *How to Kill a Dragon*: *Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Watson, Alan
    1993   *International Law in Archaic Rome: War and Religion*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

West, M. L.
    1966   *Theogony*. Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press.

    1982   *Greek Metre*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

    1997   *The East Face of the Helicon*: *West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

    2004   An Indo-European stylistic feature in Homer. *Antike Literatur in neuer Deutung*. Anton Bierl, Arbogast Schmitt, and Andreas Willi (eds.). Munich: Saur, 33-49.

White, Peter
    1987   Horace, *Epistles* 2.1.50-54. *TAPhA* 117: 227-34.

Wigodsky, Michael
    1972   *Virgil and Early Latin Poetry*. Hermes Einzelschriften 24. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner.

Wiedmann, Thomas
    1985   The Fetiales: A Reconsideration. *CQ* 36: 478-490.

Wilkinson, L. P.
    1942   Onomatopoeia and the Sceptics. *CQ* 36: 121-133.

    1963   *Golden Latin Artistry*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Willcock, M. M.

    1984   *The Iliad*: *Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. New York: St. Martin's.

Wiseman, T. P.

    1995   *Remus a Roman Myth*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Witte, Karl

    1914   Der Hexamter des Ennius. *RhM* 69: 205-32.

Wezel, Ernestus

    1873   *De Silii Italici cum fontibus tum exemplis*. Leipzig dissertation.

Wölfflin, Eduard von

    1890   *De Scipionum elogiis*. *Rev Phil* 14: 113-22.