

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

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The Latin Saturnian and Italic Verse

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Indo-European Studies

by

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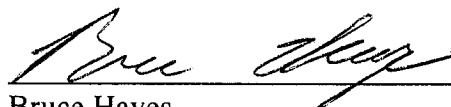
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2006

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2006

MEO·PATRI·MATRIQVE·FRATRIBVS·AC·VIRO
D·V·E·N·E·A·R·T·E·A·M·O·R·E·P·I·E
G·L·O·R·I·A·M·A·D·T·V·A·M·O·P·A·T·R·O·N·E·M·A·I·O·R·E·M

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IV Sigla

V	vowel	C	consonant
∨	short vowel	σ	<i>sigma</i> —syllable
∇	long vowel		
∪	glide or semivowel		
∨̃	nasalized vowel		
◻́	<i>combining acute</i> —in transcriptions, marks syllables bearing primary stress and/or as metrically strong		
◻̀	<i>combining grave</i> —in transcriptions, marks syllables bearing non-primary stress		
◻̄	<i>combining macron</i> —in transcriptions, marks vowels as long		
◻̆	<i>combining breve</i> —in transcriptions, marks shortened vowels		

- ◻ *combining sublinear inverted breve*—marks consonantal high vowels, i.e. glides or semivowels
- ◻ *sublinear circle*—marks usually consonantal segments as syllabic
- ◻ *diaeresis or umlaut*—marks a usually consonantal high vowel as syllabic

- # *number sign*—indicates boundary

- ◻.◻ *period*—in syllabification indicates syllable boundary
- ◻ *underdot*—marks uncertain epigraphic sequences
- ◻.◻ *interpunct or midlinear dot*—word-dividing punctuation mark in inscriptions
- ∴ *triple interpunct*—word-dividing punctuation mark in inscriptions; indicates word boundary in scansions
- ∴ *superscript triple interpunct*—indicates (prod-) elided word boundary in scansions
- | *single solid vertical line*—marks caesura and/or epigraphic line break in transcriptions and scansions
- || *double solid vertical line*—marks major caesura in transcriptions and scansions
- / *single slash*—in transcriptions and translations, mark between alternative entities; also signals (epigraphic or poetic) line breaks
- // *double slash*—mark between two entities that can occur in any order

- *black circle*—word-dividing punctuation in Faliscan inscriptions; stands for basal positions in metrical representations
- *white circle*—stands for basal positions in metrical representations
- ▲ *triangle*—word-dividing punctuation in Paelignian inscriptions

- ◻◻ *space-modifying sublinear tie-bar*—indicates elision in transcriptions
- ◻◻ *combining sublinear tie-bar*—joins syllables in resolution in transcriptions
- ◻◻ *combining supralinear tie-bar*—joins vowels in synizesis in transcriptions

- () *parentheses*—in transcriptions, mark unspelled/unwritten material
- [] *square brackets*—enclose phonetically/phonologically transcribed material; indicate damage in inscriptions and enclose restored material; in textual criticism, mark material to be deleted; set off metrical sigla inline within text
- // *slanted brackets*—enclose (quasi-) phonological transcriptions and/or underlying representations
- < > *angle brackets*—in transcriptions, enclose (transliterated) material in orthography; indicate mutual exclusivity in rules; in textual criticism, mark restored material; enclose internet addresses
- { } *curly brackets*—enclose alternants

- ⊂ ⊃ *wide parentheses*—enclose unmetrical or extrametrical material
- * *asterisk*—marks material as hypothetical or unattested
- ? *superscript question mark*—signals uncertain date or material with uncertain interpretation
- † *obelus* or *dagger*—marks corrupt or ill-formed material
- † † *obeli* or *daggers*—enclose corrupt material
- ‡ *double obelus*—marks incomplete lines
- >, < *left or right arrowhead*—indicates historical development into or from
- , ← *left or right arrow*—indicates derivation to or from by synchronic rule
- , ←←
left or right long arrow—in transcriptions, indicates direction of writing
- ⇒, ⇐ *left or right double arrow*—indicates secondary development into or from
- ↔ *two-headed arrow*—in metrical representations, indicates invertible constituents
- ∅ *null sign*—marks deleted entities
- abc** *Roman letters in bold face*—in diplomatic transcriptions of inscriptions, transliterate text written in Italic national alphabets
- abc* *Roman letters in italics*—in diplomatic transcriptions of inscriptions, transliterate non-Latin Italic texts written in the Latin alphabet
- ^{abc} *superscripted letters*—in transcriptions, indicate amoraic segments, i.e. those without metrical relevance
- ˊ *space-modifying acute*—in scansion and metrical representations, stands for stressed/ictic syllables
- ˋ *space-modifying grave*—in scansion and metrical representations, stands for ictic syllables bearing weak stress
- ˜ *space-modifying tilde*—in scansion and metrical representations, stands for stress-bearing resolutions
- ˘˘ *acute + tilde*—in metrical representations, indicate positions that can be filled by one stressed syllable or a stress-bearing resolution
- ˘ *space-modifying breve*—in scansion, stands for underlying or surface weak position, i.e. quantitatively light or accentually stressless or weakly stressed; also stands for any light syllable
- ˘˘ *space-modifying breve + combining acute*—in scansion, stand for metrical position that can be filled by a stressed or unstressed syllable; also stand for any stress-bearing light syllable
- ˘˘ *space-modifying breve + combining grave*—stand for any light syllable with weak

stress

- , — *space-modifying macron or longum*—stands for any heavy syllable; when numerically indexed in metrical representations, stands for strong positions
- ˘ *longum + combining acute*—stand for any stress-bearing heavy syllable
- ˘˘ *longum + combining grave*—stand for any heavy syllable with weak stress

- ˘˘, ˘˘ *double breve*—in scansions, indicates (un- or weakly stressed) resolutions or binary weak positions
- ˘˘, ˘˘, ˘˘, ˘˘ *double breve + combining acute or grave*—indicate resolved longa or uncontracted binary weak positions filled by two light syllables, the first of which bears stress
- ˘ *breve + longum*—in quantitative metrical representations, signal metrical positions that can be filled by either one light or one heavy syllable
- ˘? *breve + longum + question mark*—in quantitative metrical representations, signal syllables of uncertain quantity
- ˘˘ *double breve + longum*—in quantitative metrical representations, indicate resolvable strong or contractible binary weak positions
- ˘˘˘ *breve + double breve*—in metrical representations, indicate positions that can be filled by one or two light (un- or weakly stressed) syllables
- ˘˘˘ *breve + double breve + longum*—in quantitative metrical representations, indicate positions that can be filled by one light, one heavy, or two light syllables
- ^ *up arrowhead*—in scansions, marks suppressed positions
- ‡ *quarter-rest*—in transcriptions, marks metrical suppressions

V **Abbreviations**

npl.	<i>nth</i> -person plural	dim.	dimeter	pl.	plural
nsg.	<i>nth</i> -person singular	f.	feminine	r.	reizianum
abl.	ablative	gen.	genitive	sen.	senarius
acc.	accusative	hex.	hexameter	sept.	septenarius
adv.	adverb	ia.	iamb(ic)	sg.	singular
amph.	amphibrach	ith.	ithyphallic	tetr.	tetrameter
cr.	cretic	m.	masculine	tr.	trochee/trochaic
da.	dactyl(ic)	nom.	nominative	trim.	trimeter
dat.	dativ	oct.	octonarius	V	verb

For the abbreviations of names of ancient authors and works, text collections, and reference works, see Bibliography § I.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Latin Saturnian and Italic Verse

by

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This dissertation investigates the remains of archaic Latin, Faliscan, South Picene, Umbrian, and Oscan stichic verse, mainly from the linguistic and comparative-philological perspectives, and, departing from traditional syllable-counting and/or quantitativist approaches, proposes synchronic descriptions of their meters based on their systems of phonological accentuation.

The Latin Saturnian can be described as a complex accentual meter, based on the rules of (ante-) penultimate accentuation in Plautine Latin, with thirteen or twelve positions distributed into two half-verses and

four quarters. The 130+ surviving literary and epigraphic epic, elegiac, and gnomic verses of archaic Latin point to 25 metrical line archetypes related to each other derivationally through the operation of inversion, anaclasis, and acephaly on essentially two half-verse archetypes. The meager Faliscan remains may instantiate two Saturnian line archetypes, either by initial or (ante-) penultimate accentuation. Close examination of South Picene poetry likewise yields a Saturnian and several more accentual trochaic-dactylic cola according to Sabellian initial accentuation. The trochaic-dactylic colon is also found in Vestinian and Paelignian Oscan, and possibly Faliscan. Lastly, Paelignian attests a complex trochaic-dactylic pentapody.

The synchronic descriptions I propose further point to a prehistoric Italic poetic-metrical unity, recoverable through the tentative reconstruction of an extendable and invertible *trochaic-dactylic colon. This is also found in archaic Celtic, suggesting a possible Proto-Italo-Celtic unity as well. That archaic Italic (and Celtic) meters can be described in coherent systems with reference to phonological accent has far-reaching implications for the broader comparison of Indo-European metrical systems and for the reconstruction of the *Urvers*.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

§ 1.0 Preliminary remarks

The Augustan poet Horace (65–8 BC) encapsulated in five lines of dactylic hexameter the political and cultural history of the Romans from the time of their “liberation” of Hellas in 196 BC to his (*Epistulae* 2.1.156–160):

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
intulit agresti Latio. sic horridus ille
defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.

*Captured Greece captured her savage victor and brought
her arts to the sticks of Latium. Thus did that rough
Saturnian meter fade, and elegance drove out bitter poison;
but for a long time yet traces of it remained
and remain today in the country.*

This dissertation investigates from the linguistic point of view the problem of the Latin “numerus Saturnius,” the so-called Saturnian meter, which the Romans abandoned in favor of Greek metrical forms in the composition of their poetry. P. Kiparsky stated that “the linguistic sames which are potentially relevant in poetry are just those which are potentially relevant in grammar” (Kiparsky 1973: 235), and that “rules of versification are based on facts which are at bottom linguistic, and that systems of metrics must be explained by phonology” (Kiparsky 1973: 240). We have sufficient details of Latin phonology, namely syllable weight and the primary accentuation of words, and a small

but substantial corpus of verses regarded as Saturnians with which to construct a theory of the lost meter. Yet faced with essentially the same set of Latin data for the past two thousand years, and given sufficiently established phonological facts in our time, it is a wonder that the principles of Saturnian versification remain unknown.

The scope of this work also includes certain remains of the non-Latin Italic languages and literatures. In contrast to Latin, grammatical and lexical descriptions of non-Latin Italic are incomplete, and the poetic remains are short, few, and obscure. Consequently, interpretations of non-Latin Italic material have naturally depended and will continue to depend on comparison with Latin, and knowledge of other Indo-European languages must also be brought to bear on the problems that attend non-Latin Italic grammar and etymology. The dependence on Latin and other Indo-European, specifically Greek, underlies approaches to non-Latin Italic poetic and metrical analyses, which, as for archaic Latin verse, have likewise produced no satisfactory solutions.

The present chapter sets out these problems for which I propose solutions in the body of the work. I first define the corpora of archaic Italic poetic texts to be studied. I then follow with a critical survey and evaluation of previous proposals for the Latin Saturnian. An outline of the hypotheses I explore in subsequent chapters then closes this introduction.

§ 1.1 Latin verse: The Saturnian corpus

About 100 literary Saturnian verses comprise the bulk of the archaic Latin poetic corpus. We know these are poetic, thus likely metrical, from the verses' rhetoric and stylistics

(sound play and marked word order), as well as from ancient testimony. But the ancient witnesses themselves postdate the verses and did not know the actual meter (or their knowledge of it has since been lost). Several inscriptions, for almost all of which the actual stones are still extant and mostly intact, preserve about 30 more Saturnian verses in short complete poems. Some of these are laid out on their stones and punctuated so as to indicate verse boundaries.

§ 1.1.1 **The literary corpus**

We know the names and some biographical details of three Saturnian poets represented by extant verses, two of whom composed the majority. The first is Lucius Livius Andronicus, who was born of Greek stock in Tarentum [modern Taranto] and flourished around 240 BC. 37 fragments survive of his *Odyseia*—commonly given in the quasi-archaized form *Oduſia* (Weiss 2004: *xiii* and *xviii*22)—a translation/paraphrase in Saturnians of Homer’s *Odyssey*. 28 of these fragments appear to be complete verses according to syllable count. The verses have been preserved in the form of quotations in antiquarian and grammatical works. The earliest source was possibly Verrius Flaccus (circa [?]55 BC–AD [?]22) but only indirectly so through his abridger Festus (late 2nd century AD). Another source for Andronicus roughly contemporaneous with Festus was Gellius (born between AD 125–128). Nonius, Servius, Charisius, Diomedes, and Priscian follow in the early 4th–5th or 6th centuries AD. Isidore of Seville (7th century AD) and the Lombard historian Paul the Deacon (circa AD [?]725–799) are the latest quoters of Andronicus, but Paul certainly only indirectly in his epitome of Festus for Charlemagne.

So the earliest sources for Andronicus are Gellius and Festus; the earliest manuscript containing Gellius' work dates from the 4th century AD (codex rescriptus Vaticanus Palatinus [rewritten Vatican Palatine]) and that of Festus from the 10th century AD (codex Escorialensis [Escorial]).

The second poet of Saturnians is Gnaeus Naevius, who was born in Campania (Oscan country) and flourished 235–204 BC. 66 fragments with 51 complete verses survive of his *Carmen Belli Poenici*, a long narrative epic on the First Punic War (264–251 BC). A number of these fragments consist of two or three contiguous lines. The Republican polymath Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), who himself was quoting from the Naevian commentators Cornelius and Vergilius, is the earliest direct source for Naevius. Pseudo-Asconius commenting on Cicero's speeches, Caesius Bassus the metrician, and Marcus Valerius Probus follow in the 1st century AD. After also Gellius and Festus come Lactantius (circa AD 240–circa 320), and with Nonius, Servius, Charisius, and Priscian can be numbered Donatus (4th century AD) and Macrobius (5th century AD). A scholiast of Vergil from before the 10th–11th centuries AD (the date of the manuscript that contains the scholia) likely follows Isidore and Paul the Deacon. The manuscript with Varro dates from the 11th century AD (codex Laurentianus [Laurentian at Florence]), so Gellius is again our earliest source with the earliest manuscript; all others appear in codices from the 9th century AD onwards.

Andronicus' and Naevius' epic verses comprise the bulk of the literary Saturnian corpus, which is filled out by a few more sundry verses. A four-line funerary poem for

Naevius known as the *Epitaphium Naevii* survives thanks to Gellius. Three gnomic Saturnians by the great statesman Appius Claudius Caecus (consul in 307 and 296 BC, perhaps the poet of the earliest extant Saturnians) survive complete along with one partial verse and another quoted in indirect discourse, thanks to the historian Sallust (86–35 BC), Festus, and Priscian. Naevius incurred the ire of the Metelli (consuls in 284, 251, and 206 BC), to whom a famous invective line is attributed. This verse, often taken as the model Saturnian, was preserved by Pseudo-Bassus (after the 1st century AD). Finally, Varro, Gellius, Festus, and Servius each quote a full verse from different lost texts.

Andronicus and Naevius were also already composing poetry in Greek meters, and we have several fragments of their comedies and tragedies alongside their Saturnians. Their near-contemporaries were composing poetry exclusively in Greek meters, such as the epicist Quintus Ennius (239–169 BC), Marcus Pacuvius the tragedian (220–130 BC), and the comic playwright Titus Maccius Plautus (flourished 205–184 BC). (Our knowledge of archaic Latin stems from the works of these and other authors, many of which are also fragmentary and preserved by the same antiquarians and grammarians who quote from Andronicus and Naevius.) Ennius sets his own narrative epic of Roman history, the *Annales*, apart from the likes of Naevius' *Carmen Belli Poenici*, stating in dactylic hexameter “scripsere alii rem / vorsibus quos olim Faunei vatesque canebant” ‘others have written of the matter in verses which the Fauns and bards once used to sing’ (Enn. *Ann.* 206–207Sk).

§ 1.1.2 **The epigraphic corpus**

The larger part of inscriptional Saturnians comes from epitaphs, most of which commemorate the pre-eminent Cornelii Scipiones. *CIL* 7 (= inscription number 7, dating from circa 270–150 BC, in the 2nd edition of vol.1 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*), for Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, is a six-line funerary Saturnian poem. Barbatus' son Lucius Cornelius Scipio is commemorated by another six-line poem in *CIL* 9 (circa 230–150 BC). Seven lines praise the memory of Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius, on *CIL* 10 (circa 170 BC). Another six-line elegium, *CIL* 11 (circa 170 BC), remembers another Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the son of Gaius and grandson of Gaius. (Within the same generation, departed Cornelii Scipiones begin to be commemorated by poetry in Greek meters, e.g. *CIL* 15, the epitaph in elegiac couplets of Gaius Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, possibly the brother of the Lucius Scipio remembered by *CIL* 11 and perhaps the cousin of Publius Scipio from *CIL* 10.) Last of the elogia surviving complete is that of Marcus Caecilius, *CIL* 1202 (late 2nd century BC), with three verses. The orator and statesman Cicero (106–43 BC) provides two more funerary Saturnian lines, which he quotes from Aulus Atilius Calatinus' (consul in 258 and 254 BC) epitaph.

Dedicatory poems took Saturnian form as well, though doubts attend the description and classification of several texts in this group. For sure *CIL* 1531 preserves a five-line poem on behalf of Marcus and Publius Vertulius (circa ?150 BC). The Faliscan cooks' dedication in Latin, *CIL* 364, from no earlier than the same time (I follow R. Wachter), contains six verses, but these are generally regarded as "aberrant." Pseudo-

Bassus quotes one line each from Acilius Glabrio's (consul in 191 BC) and Lucius Aemilius Regillus' (praetor in 190 BC) dedications. The historian Livy (59 BC–AD 17), quoting the actual text, furnishes more information on Regillus' inscription: it commemorates the Roman naval victory over Antiochus III of Syria in 189 BC, and the inscription was set up in 179 BC by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (consul in 187 and 175 BC). On the one hand, the inclusion of the opening line in studies of the Saturnian and the suspicion that Livy's quotation is corrupt rest only on Pseudo-Bassus' authority. On the other hand, comparison with contemporaneous and stylistically similar prose dedications casts doubt on the versehood of Regillus' inscription (perhaps also Glabrio's). One last complete Saturnian poem may be *CIL* 626, the votive inscription of Lucius Mummius (142 BC), but its status as verse is also disputed. Finally, Pseudo-Bassus again and Pseudo-Censorinus (after the 3rd century AD) each quote a complete line from other now lost dedicatory inscriptions.

§ 1.1.3 Textual problems, “experimental controls,” and “security”

Thus literary Saturnian poetry survives in a variety of sources from different time periods, some of which are fragmentary themselves. But the earliest source might appear in a manuscript that actually postdates another that contains a later source, and a later manuscript may be more worthy of textual authority than an earlier one. So centuries span the time between the Saturnian poets and their earliest quoters, and more centuries intervene between these and their manuscripts, making any expectation that Saturnian poetry was transmitted intact even as fragments unreasonable. Moreover, it is not always

obvious that a quoter was quoting full verses. The problem can be illustrated by the following example from Andronicus, which is just about the worst case. The ninth fragment of his *Odysseia* is preserved in a gloss by Festus, but textual critics disagree on how to read the verse (see Blänsdorf 1995: 24 ad Andr. 9).

(1) Andr. 9 apud Festus (208.3 Lindsay)

ommentans (Livius) in *Odyssea* cum ait:
waiting when (Livius (Andronicus)) says in the *Odysseia*:

- (a) “ in Pylum deveniens aut ibi⟨dem⟩ ommentans”
“ coming to Pylos or waiting ⟨right⟩ there”
- (b) ⟨aut⟩
either
- (c) devenies
you will come
- (d) ⟨h⟩aut
hardly
- (e) ibi
there

This is due to the existence of three passages from Homer’s *Odyssey* with directional ‘Pylos,’ and a verb of motion, with or without ‘stay’ vel sim.:

(2) Hom. *Od.*

- (a) 2.317 ἢ ἐ Πύλουδ’ ἐλθὼν ἢ αὐτοῦ τῶδ’ ἐνὶ δήμῳ
either coming to Pylos or right here in this country
- (b) 1.284–285 πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Πύλον ἐλθὲ καὶ εἴρεο Νέστορα δῖου
κεῖθεν δὲ Σπάρτηνδε παρὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαον

first come to Pylos and ask divine Nestor,
and from there to Sparta to fair Menelaos
- (c) 3.182 ἴστασαν· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε Πύλουδ’ ἔχον, οὐδέ ποτ’ ἔσβη
stayed; but I held on to Pylos, and (the wind) never let up

J. Blänsdorf restores ⟨-dem⟩ in Andr. 9 (1a) on the basis of Hom. *Od.* 2.317 (2a), though he does not adopt O. Guenther's restoration of ⟨aut⟩ (1b), which undoes a possible haplographic omission after almost homographic *ait*. The codex Vaticanus 3369 (15th century AD) preserves not the participle but the 2sg. form (1c), which W. Morel and M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis adopt, suggesting that Hom. *Od.* 1.284–285 was Andronicus' inspiration. F. Leo, whom Morel follows here, restores ⟨h-⟩ (1d) and reads *ibi* on the basis of the codices Vaticanus 1549 (15th century AD) and Vaticanus 3369 respectively, taking Hom. *Od.* 3.182 (2c) as the source. Two of the competing readings would negligibly affect possible scansion of the line: *devenies* vs. *deveniens*; *aut* vs. ⟨h⟩*aut*. But restoration of ⟨aut⟩, ⟨-dem⟩, or both alters the syllable count, and the addition of ⟨-dem⟩ removes one context (-i before o-) but creates another (⟨-dem⟩ before o-) that can be subject to the operation of a scansional license.

So the additional information provided by the existence of Andronicus' source actually produces multiple plausible alternative readings which can only be decided by knowledge of the meter. In contrast to the *Odyseia*, Naevius' and others' compositions are original, so sound readings of such fragments necessarily depend only on the manuscript authority. Therefore, as a control, it is Blänsdorf's 1995 edition of the literary fragments (despite the overall unfavorable review of it by E. Courtney in 1996) which I use provisionally to establish the Saturnian meter, for the simple reason that he is an impartial textual critic, non-committal as to what the Saturnian meter was (Blänsdorf

1989). What makes Leo's reading (1d)–(1e) suspect is his theory of the meter (Leo 1905), which did not secure acceptance. Because Morel in his 1927 edition of the fragments (with very parsimonious critical apparatus, noticed and praised in J. Duff's 1932 review) adopts Leo's readings of enough verses (in place of a full apparatus criticus, references to Leo 1905 are given with each fragment), I part ways with previous investigators who have depended on Morel's textual-critical authority.

The lack of a secure text naturally makes any metrical investigation extremely difficult to carry out. In addition to adopting Blänsdorf 1995 provisionally, the textual difficulties of the literary corpus can be mitigated by inclusion of the epigraphic verses, though they can have their own issues of interpretation. Among such issues is a general regard of Latin (and Greek) inscriptional poetry as subliterate. Compare the ill-formed dactylic hexameters instantiated by certain 1st-century BC oracular responses (3):

(3) *CIL*¹

2175 *dē_~incertā certā | nē fiant sī sapi^s caveās* $\dot{1} - 2: - \cup | - 4 - 5: \omega: \omega -$
If you are wise, beware of uncertainty, lest things become certain.

2179 *formīdat omnēs | quod metuit id sequi satīust* $\dot{1} - 2: - 3 | - \omega - 5: \omega: \omega -$
he is afraid of everyone; it is better to follow that which he fears.

(See § 1.3 below on the hexameter.) *CIL* 2175 has a light syllable where a heavy syllable is required, and *CIL* 2175 and 2179 have two light syllables in positions that can take only single heavy syllables, notwithstanding the anachronistic vowel lengths in the 3sg.

¹ In the transcription: let the space-modifying sublinear tie-bar “_~” signal elision; any letter that is superscripted spells an *amoraic* segment, e.g. *-is c-* [-] usually but in *CIL* 2175 *-ī c-* [~]; the combining sublinear tie-bar joins syllables in a resolved position, e.g. *cayē-* [~]. In the scansion, the triple interpunct “:” stands for unelided word boundary and superscripted “[˙]” signals elided word boundary.

desinences †-ā*t* and †-ī*t*. But apart from such occasional *actually unmetrical* compositions as these, which are associated with lower-register or non-normative Latin, there is no essential difference between literary and epigraphic Latin (and Greek) poetry. Moreover, the fact that most Saturnians come from the epitaphs or dedications of *aristocrats* removes any reason to regard inscriptional Saturnians as subliterary a priori. (Though metrical deviations might indeed be found in the Faliscan cooks' dedication.)

Before the Saturnian meter is established, we have no choice but to trust Blänsdorf as far as we can and to construe the epigraphic verses on a par with literary poetry until given sufficient cause to do otherwise. Investigations that exclude or devalue epigraphic Saturnians, such as Leo 1905, risk omitting very many relevant details in formulating the meter and rules of Saturnian versification, as do investigations that avoid the textual problems of the literary verses entirely by excluding them, e.g. Radke 1991. Therefore, I will take any metrical form instantiated by many literary lines with epigraphic witnesses as most secure; any form repeated by several literary lines but without epigraphic witness and any epigraphic form without literary counterpart will also be *bona fide*. The Saturnian meter and rules of versification must account for such verses, and any metrical shape that deviates greatly from secure patterns and is represented by only one literary verse is to be considered suspect.

§ 1.1.4 **Other verses**

The formulation of the Saturnian meter and rules of versification will be based on undisputed literary and epigraphic verses. With meter in hand, the problems presented by

the Faliscan cooks' dedication can be described more clearly, and the status of Lucius Mummius' dedication as verse can perhaps be decided. Certain isolated verses and short complete poems of religious, medical, magical, and rustic character, have also been analyzed along similar lines as Saturnian poetry, e.g. Leo 1905, and I will address them in light of the Saturnian meter I propose.

Other investigators have included along with the literary and epigraphic Saturnians several other pieces of archaic Latin poetry that do not permit satisfactory analysis according to principles of Greco-Latin quantitative versification.² Among these are fragments of the *Carmen Saliare*, three of which contain parts of the actual text of the Salian Priests' hymn, thanks to Varro and the grammarian Terentius Scaurus (flourished AD 117–138), and the complete Arval hymn, the *Carmen Fratrum Arvalium*, preserved in the inscription *CIL* 2. These belong to a different genre, the Latin *carmen* of law, magic, didactic, and prayer, and cursory inspection of these texts reveals very different style and more wildly varying line lengths. These are, in fact, generally regarded as rhythmic prose, so I exclude from present consideration these and other carmina, which require a separate investigation.

§ 1.2 Non-Latin Italic verse

The corpora of non-Latin Italic verses, all epigraphic, dating from before to the same time as Latin relicts, microcosmically reflect the state of epigraphic archaic Latin. Faliscan, Oscan, and Umbrian texts in prose—legal documents, manufacturers' trademarks,

² Cf. also H. Eichner's (1988–1990c) interpretation and quantitative scansion of *CIL* 4, the famous "Duenos" inscription, but most of the 6th/5th-century BC Old Latin dedicatory text is too obscure to permit poetic analysis.

descriptions of ritual, etc.—far outnumber rhetorically and stylistically poetic texts of dedicatory and funerary character, the ones most likely to be metrical. By contrast, the South Picene corpus consists almost entirely of epitaphs and commemorations, and the complete texts exhibit poetic rhetoric and style. In Umbrian, quoted among descriptions of ritual actions are actual ritual utterances, which I nonetheless exclude along with Latin prayer. So I limit the scope of the present investigation to complete but short, minimally obscure, and rhetorically and stylistically adorned non-Latin Italic inscriptions.

§ 1.3 **Expectations: The predictiveness of well-known meters**

The predictiveness of any formulation of the Saturnian meter can be measured against the predictiveness of well established meters of Greco-Latin stichic verse. On one end of the spectrum is the twelve-position dactylic hexameter of epic, the most elevated poetic form with respect to language and theme and metrically the most restrictive. Still elevated but metrically more free is the twelve-position iambic trimeter, the spoken meter of tragedy. Finally, least elevated and metrically least restrictive are the spoken meters of comedy: the twelve-position iambic senarius and the iambic and trochaic septenarius, which both consist of 15 positions. Most Saturnian verses that survive vary in length between twelve and 17 syllables, but consideration only of the five most common stichic forms of better understood Greek and Latin poetry should suffice.

Saturnian verse having been used for both epic and elegium, any formulation of the forgotten meter should strive for the restrictiveness that the hexameter has, the later meter of choice for the very same genres. I give a scheme of the dactylic hexameter in

(4).

(4) Dactylic hexameter	$\perp \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$
64 possible instantiations	$= 2_1 \times 2_2 \times 2_3 \times 2_4 \times 2_5 \times 2_6$

Let “–” stand for a heavy syllable in a *princeps* or strong position (these are numbered for visual reference), “∪” for two light syllables in a *biceps* or binary weak position, and “—” for a heavy syllable in the place of two light syllables in a contracted biceps; “∪” thus represents the two possible realizations of the biceps. A spondee [– —] can take the place of a non-cadential dactyl [– ∪]. In the cadence, the brevia of the fifth dactyl [∪ ∪] can also be so contracted [(∪) —] but infrequently, and the sixth dactyl consists of longum [∪] + *indifferens* [∪], which can be realized as spondee [∪ —] or trochee [∪ ∪]. The *caesura* or major break “|” occurs after the third princeps or within the third biceps. Now, if every dactyl has two possible realizations ([– ∪] → [– ∪, – —], [∪ ∪] → [∪ ∪, (∪) —]), [∪ ∪] → [∪ —, ∪ ∪]), multiplying the number of possible feet produces 64 possible forms for the hexameter. (For visual reference, I have indexed the multiplicands with subscript numbers to correspond to each foot of the hexameter.)

The spoken meter of tragedy, the iambic trimeter, has greater variability in nine of its twelve positions and consequently predicts a greater number of possible realizations. The scheme is given in (5).

(5) Iambic trimeter	$\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$ $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup$
1,000 possible instantiations	$= 5_1 \times 2_2 \times 5_3 \times 2_4 \times 5_5 \times 2_6$

Let “ $\overline{\cup}$ ” stand for *anceps*, the weak position in quantitative iambo-trochaic meters that can be filled by one syllable (light or heavy) or two light syllables; here “ $\overline{\omega}$ ” represents a resolvable longum (numerically indexed for visual reference), the strong position which can be filled by one heavy syllable or two light syllables. The calculation of the iambic trimeter’s total number of possible realizations is slightly more complex given FRAENKEL-THIELFELDER-SKUTSCH’s rule against the resolution of both positions in an iamb (Boldrini 1999: 82–84). So, an odd iamb / $\overline{\cup} \overline{\omega}$ / in the trimeter can surface as one of five forms [$\cup -$, $\cup \cup$, $- -$, $- \cup$, $\cup -$, $\dagger \cup \cup$]. and an even one / $\cup \overline{\omega}$ / has two possible realizations. Multiplying the number of possible iambs produces 1,000 possible instantiations of the iambic trimeter.

Most free of the spoken meters of Latin drama are the iambic senarius (6), and the iambic (7) and trochaic septenarius (8). These stichic forms are longer and are variable in almost all positions. Furthermore, in the trochaic meter, there is no ban on adjacent resolutions. Therefore, these comic meters’ schemes predict even greater numbers of possible realizations.

(6)	Iambic senarius 6,250 possible instantiations	$\overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup}$ $= 5_1 \times 5_2 \times 5_3 \times 5_4 \times 5_5 \times 2_6$
(7)	Iambic septenarius 37,500 possible instantiations	$\overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup}$ $= 5_1 \times 5_2 \times 5_3 \times 2_4 \times 5_5 \times 5_6 \times 3_7 \times 2$
(8)	Trochaic septenarius 37,500 possible instantiations	$\overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup}$ $= 2_1 \times 5_2 \times 5_3 \times 5_4 \times 5_5 \times 5_6 \times 3_7 \times 2_8$

The twelve-position iambic senarius can be instantiated by any one out of 6,250 possible

forms. Both the 15-position iambic and trochaic septenarius as formulated predict 37,500 possible realizations. (The calculation of possible trochaic septenarii is most easily accomplished by grouping in iambs.) It should be noted that in the iambic senarius, resolvable longum [⊃] is preferred over breve [⊂] four times to one in odd ancipitia (9 : 1 in fifth anceps), but the preferences roughly equalize to 3 : 2 in even ancipitia (Gratwick 1993: 44); in the trochaic septenarius, [⊃] occurs three times for every [⊂] in odd ancipitia and 4 : 1 in even (9 : 1 in sixth anceps) (Gratwick 1993: 44). These biases reflect a strong tendency to divide iambic senarii and trochaic septenarii into quarters where even iambs in senarii and odd trochees in septenarii serve as minor cadences.

Thus, the predictiveness of each of the five most familiar stichic meters of Greco-Latin verse can be quantified, marking points in a range of numbers of possibilities, from most elevated and restricted to least: 64 epic ~ 1,000 tragic ~ 6,250–37,500 comic. Now, since these meters vary in length, a measure of restrictiveness normalized for the five meters refers to freedom within a single metrical position. Here, the calculation of *surprisal*, connected with the concept of “entropy” or “self-information” in Information Theory (see Stabler 2003: 153–155 on linguistic applications), can be used as a measure of positional metrical freedom. Taking the log base 2 of the total number of possible lines and dividing it by a meter’s number of positions yields the average number of choices per metrical position. Compare the single toss of a coin with a surprisal of $1 = \frac{\log_2(2 \text{ possible outcomes})}{1 \text{ toss}}$ or the single roll of a die with a surprisal of $2.58 =$

$\frac{\log_2(6 \text{ possible outcomes})}{1 \text{ roll}}$. So, for each position of the hexameter, the surprisal is $0.5 =$
 $\frac{\log_2(64 \text{ possible instantiations})}{12 \text{ positions}}$; for each position of the iambic trimeter, $0.83 =$
 $\frac{\log_2(1,000 \text{ possible instantiations})}{12 \text{ positions}}$; for each position of the iambic senarius, $1.05 =$
 $\frac{\log_2(6,250 \text{ possible instantiations})}{12 \text{ positions}}$; and for each position of the septenarius, $1.01 =$
 $\frac{\log_2(37,500 \text{ possible instantiations})}{15 \text{ positions}}$. Note how the longer septenarius with more possible
 lines has a lower surprisal than the shorter iambic senarius.

Any formulation of the Saturnian meter, on the basis of whatever prosodic feature, *should* therefore be as restrictive and predictive as the dactylic hexameter, or should at least have a surprisal no greater than the iambic senarius' 1.05 or the septenarius' 1.01. So, in addition to appraisal of previous proposals' fit to the data, I evaluate predecessors' schemes with these expectations and measure in mind.

§ 1.4 Critical survey of select previous studies

Research on the problem of the Saturnian meter follows three broadly defined approaches: (i) QUANTITATIVIST, i.e. those that pursue the hypothesis that the Saturnian verse was based on the principled alternation and arrangement of short/light and long/heavy syllables; (ii) ACCENTUALIST, i.e. that the Saturnian meter was based on the alternation and arrangement of accented and unaccented syllables; (iii) MISCELLANEOUS: diverse approaches which take neither quantity nor accent but some other salient feature

as the verse's governing principle. Attempts to analyze non-Latin Italic poetry have followed approaches along these three lines.

All previous proposals *can* capture both quantitative and accentual metrical patterns of the Saturnian verses, but they can only do so so loosely as to admit non-Saturnian verses, such as the *versus quadratus* or even prose, and/or require ad hoc scansiones, e.g. shortenings and lengthenings in quantitative schemes or insupportable accentuations. The only features of the Latin verseform to win consensus are its bipartition into cola or half-verses and the colas' further divisibility into quarter-verses. This latter tendency was first noticed by T. Korsch in 1868, and the minor caesura now bears his name. Little profit can thus be gained from a detailed discussion of each and every previous attempt at discovering Latin's forgotten meter. This critical survey then explores only five representative works in detail, those which have commanded the most attention from scholars, and I treat the many other book- and article-length investigations of the Saturnian more broadly. I pass over in silence discussions of the Saturnian in the service of other topics, such as Coleman 1998 on the similarities shared by the Saturnian and dactylic hexameter and the transition from the use of the former and adoption/adaptation of the latter for Latin epic composition.

§ 1.4.1 The quantitativists

The hypothesis that the Saturnian meter was based on the principled alternation and arrangement of syllables according to their weights has been propounded by the most adherents, garnering the widest scholarly support, and the quantitativist approach

currently remains the dominant model. This is entirely understandable, given the fact that quantitative verse is most familiar from Greek and Plautine and Classical Latin (the other major archaic Indo-European traditions, Indic and Iranian, have syllable-counting meters, with or without fixed quantitative cadences). Moreover, the ancient grammarians and metricians themselves, who postdate the Saturnian by at least 300 years, initiated the tradition of describing the archaic meter in quantitative terms. P. Kruschwitz (2002b) recently collected the ancient testimonia and constructed a coherent account of the ancient views of the Saturnian: the metricians did not know the Saturnian and were as divided as modern scholars are as to its workings. Caesius Bassus (1st century AD) understood the archaic meter to be iambo-trochaic / $\overset{\wedge}{\cup}$ 1 $\overset{\wedge}{\cup}$ 2 $\overset{\wedge}{\cup}$ 3 – || 4 $\overset{\wedge}{\cup}$ 5 $\overset{\wedge}{\cup}$ 6 \cup / (Kruschwitz 2002b: 16; this is one of the eight types formulated by G. Pasquali, discussed shortly), on which subsequent metricians ultimately based their progressively derivative theories.

§ 1.4.1.1 Pasquali 1936 apud Campanile 1963

Building upon Leo 1905, G. Pasquali (1936) proposed that the Latin Saturnian meter, in quantitative terms, consisted of an iambic dimeter (ia.dim.) as first colon, the last position of which can be suppressed by catalexis (indicated by “^”), and of an ithyphallic (ith.) or reizianum (r.) as second colon (see West 1982: 30ff on these and other Greek metrical forms). The ithyphallic is but an acephalous and catalectic version of the iambic dimeter, with initial and final positions suppressed, and the reizianum an acephalous version of the

ithyphallic or a hyperacephalous and catalectic version of the iambic dimeter. A Saturnian verse can thus take four possible forms in the abstract. To these Campanile adds two others: iambic dimeter + catalectic iambic dimeter and ithyphallic + ithyphallic (Campanile 1963: 187). These six forms are schematized in table 1.1.

IA.DIM.([^]) + $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{ITH.} \\ \text{R.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} \end{array} (\text{⌘}) \text{⌘} \parallel (\text{⌘}) \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘}$
IA.DIM. + IA.DIM. [^]	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} \end{array} \cup \text{⌘} \parallel \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘}$
ITH. + ITH.	$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} & \text{⌘} \end{array} \text{⌘} \parallel \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘} \text{⌘}$

Table 1.1. Pasquali-Campanile’s Saturnian.

Pasquali and Campanile dispense with the quarter-verse boundaries known as Korsch’s caesurae, which Campanile sees as coincidental. He observed similar caesural patterns in the trochaic tetrameter and the tendency to align word boundaries with feet in cretic verse (Campanile 1963: 188). In and of itself, dispensing with Korsch’s caesurae need not be treated as suspect, since word-to-foot boundary alignment is typologically common. So, Pasquali’s Saturnian can take 75,000 forms = (250 ia.dim. + 250 ia.dim.[^]) × (100 ith. + 50 r.). Campanile’s additions—62,500 ia.dim. + ia.dim.[^] and 10,000 ith. + ith.—raise the total number of possible instantiations of their quantitative Saturnian to 147,500, which yields a surprisal or positional freedom of $1.14 = \frac{\log_2(147,500 \text{ possible instantiations})}{15 \text{ positions}}$.

147,500 possible lines is almost quadruple the number predicted for the 15-position comic septenarius, and 1.14 exceeds 1.05, the positional freedom of the iambic senarius, Greco-Latin poetry’s freest meter.

In less abstract terms, Pasquali-Campanile's scheme can be tested on Naevius' epitaph (9)³, a complete Saturnian poem which neither scholar actually discusses.

(9) Epigr. Naev. scanned after Pasquali-Campanile

1	immortālēs mortālēs sī foret fās flēre	- - - - : - - - - : - - : - - - -
2	flērent dīvae Camēnae Naevium poētam	- - : - - : - - - - - - - : - - - -
3	ītaque postquam est Orchī trāditus thēsaurō	~ - : - : - - - - - - - : - - - -
4	oblītī sunt Rōmae loquier linguā Latīnā	† - - - : - : - - ~ - : - - : - - -

*If it were right for immortals to weep for mortals,
the divine Camenae would weep for Naevius the poet.
And so after he was handed over to Orchus' hoard,
they forgot at Rome (how) to speak the Latin language.*

The first two verses can be scanned as ia.dim.^ + ith. and the third as ith. + ith. However, the fourth verse takes a form *not* predicted by Pasquali-Campanile: †ith. + ia.dim.^, an inverted form of the first two lines. *At least not explicitly*: Campanile perhaps covered this variant by merely stating in rather vague terms that “noi ci troveremmo innanzi ad *almeno* quattro versi ben distinti [... e] a questi diversi [...] potremmo aggiungerne altri ancora” (Campanile 1963: 187, emphasis mine). Not only is their theory over-predictive, it is underspecified as well.⁴

Despite this, G. Perrotta apud Morelli 1996 pursued a quantitative theory of the Saturnian following the line of Pasquali 1936, proposing that the verse came in long and

³ Ideally, evaluation of any proposal with respect to fit to the data should be carried out based on the entire corpus of Saturnian verses, but this is not always possible. There is indeed a standard corpus of verses, but there is no such thing as a standard reading for every literary or even epigraphic line, and not every investigator states which reading he has adopted in formulating his proposal. So I choose Epigr. Naev. as a diagnostic, since it is a complete poem with uncontroversial line divisions, and it has no crucially divergent manuscript readings.

⁴ See Terracini 1936 and Fraenkel 1937 for favorable reviews of Pasquali 1936. J. Whatmough (1937) and O. Skutsch (1938) were ultimately unconvinced by Pasquali's treatment of the facts and his conclusions. H. Jocelyn (1982) welcomed the 1981 reissue of the 1936 work as useful, though its thesis mistaken.

short varieties, and continuing Leo's intuition that it was an archaic Latin epic meter based on Greek forms. And it is essentially Pasquali-Campanile's description of the Saturnian which is codified by S. Boldrini in his recent handbook of Latin meter (Boldrini 1999: 86–90).

§ 1.4.1.2 Cole 1969

Apparent from Pasquali-Campanile is that line-level alternations of syllable weights are difficult to capture. Consequently, also in response to A. De Groot (1934; see the end of § 1.4.1.4), T. Cole in 1969 examined colon-level alternations and arrived at the formalizations given in table 1.2.

HEPTASYLLABIC	o o	⌊	⌋	⌊	⌋	(⌋)	<i>or</i>	⌋⌋⌋		o o	⌋⌋
HEXASYLLABIC	⌋	⌋	⌋		⌋	(⌋)					
	<i>or</i>	⌋	⌋	(⌋)		⌋	⌋	⌋			
RESOLVABLE VARIANTS	⌋	⌋	⌋	}	⌋		⌋	⌋	⌋		
	⌋	⌋	⌋								

Table 1.2. Cole's Saturnian cola.

Incorporating Korsch's caesurae, Cole found two underlying forms of Saturnian cola: heptasyllabic and hexasyllabic. The first two positions in the heptasyllable /o o/, or the fourth and fifth in its inverted allomorph, can be realized by [- ⌋] or [⌋ -] but not †[⌋ ⌋]. Final position can be suppressed. In the hexasyllable, either final or pre-caesural position can be suppressed. In full heptasyllabic cola, all pre-caesural positions can be resolved but must obey the FRAENKEL-THIELFELDER-SKUTSCH's rule against adjacent resolutions (see § 1.3 above); in hexasyllabic forms without suppressions, only the first position of

the left half-colon can be resolved. Cole further legislates that, based on the extant patterns, only two positions within a colon can be resolved at the same time.

Excluding resolvable variants for the moment, Cole's scheme predicts 192 possible configurations of light and heavy syllables in an acatalectic heptasyllabic colon, 48 in catalectic heptasyllables, 64 in acatalectic hexasyllables, and 64 catalectic ones. The sum of these squared predicts $135,424 = 368^2$ line-level configurations of pure brevia and longa. Incorporating resolutions, acatalectic cola can take 768 forms = $3 \times (192 + 64)$: unresolved + one- + two-resolution cola, which together with 112 non-resolvable catalectic cola, increases the total number to $774,400 = 880^2$ possible dicola, with a surprisal or positional freedom of $1.4 = \frac{\log_2(774,400 \text{ possible instantiations})}{14 \text{ positions}}$. 774,400 possible lines is over five times more over-predictive than Pasquali-Campanile's scheme and more than 20 times the number of possible comic septenarii, and 1.4 exceeds Pasquali-Campanile's surprisal of 1.14 and the iambic senarius' 1.05.

On the empirical level, Naevius' epitaph can again serve as a diagnostic of the fit of Cole's theory to the data (10).

(10) Epigr. Naev. scanned after Cole

	¹ immortalēs mortālēs sī foret fās flēre	--- --- -:- -:-
or	... sī foret fās flēre	... -:- -:- -:- ^
	² flērent dīvae Camēnae Naevium poētā	-:- -:- -:- -:-
	³ itaque postquam est Orchī trādītus thēsaurō	~ -:- -:- -:- -:-
or	itaque postquam est Orchī ...	-:- -:- ...
	⁴ oblītī sunt Rōmae loquier linguā Latīnā	--- -:- ~ -:- -:-
or	oblītī sunt Rōmae ...	--- -:- -:- ^ ...

Cole treats the single cola of the epitaph's final two verses only; he must admit the possibility of alternative scansions for vv.3 (Cole 1969: 24, 29, 31, 33) and .4, the second colon of which he also suspects of being too long (1969: 22, 24, 35, 65n97). He does not discuss the alternative scansion of the second colon in v.1. On deciding among alternatives, he merely states in vague terms that "the preferred syllable groupings are 4|3 and 3|3" (Cole 1969: 46). Cole's scheme at least accounts for the patterns in Naevius' epitaph where Pasquali-Campanile is implicit.⁵

By 1993, in an article on the Saturnian published in an encyclopedia of poetry, Cole had softened his stance: "[e]xplanations which posit the working of two or more different rhythmic principles (quantitative, syllabic, accentual) are, on the whole, more plausible than those which involve a single one" (Cole 1993: 1117).

§ 1.4.1.3 Parsons 1999 apud Mercado

The most recent treatment to be published and to attract scholars' attention is J. Parsons' work from 1999, drawing from his research on Plautus. This was the primary impetus for the research program culminating in the present work, and I offered a favorable critique and exploration of Parsons' theory in Mercado 2003. I give in figure 1.1 a modified representation of Parsons' theory of the Saturnian. Parsons sees the Saturnian line as binary-branching: the line divides into two cola around a central caesura; each colon subdivides into two dipodies around Korsch's caesura; each dipody further subdivides into two feet; and each foot consists of a strong and weak position.

⁵ See the favorable review of Cole 1969 by G. Goold (1970); also G. Townend (1971), though Townend praises Cole's approach more than his conclusions.

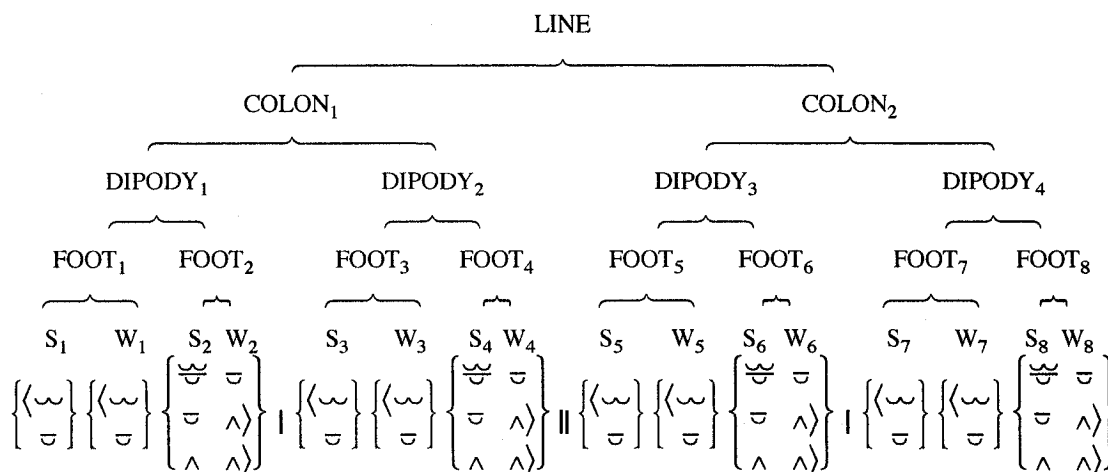


Figure 1.1. Parsons-Mercado's Saturnian.

The quadripartite line thus has 16 positions, each of which can be occupied by one syllable (heavy or light) or two light syllables. The positions in even feet can be suppressed. I add the corollary that the scansion of adjacent non-word-final light syllables as a resolution cannot result in (hyper-) catalexis of a dipody; in the formalism in figure 1.1, “ $\langle \omega \rangle$ ” in an odd foot cannot co-occur with “ \wedge ” in an even foot. Each dipody can thus have 66 possible quantitative configurations (54 acatalectic, 8 catalectic, 4 hypercatalectic). Parsons-Mercado's four-dipody Saturnian then predicts $18,974,736 = 66^4$ possible instantiations, with a positional freedom of $1.51 = \frac{\log_2(18,974,736 \text{ possible instantiations})}{16 \text{ positions}}$. Fatally, almost 19 million possible lines is 506 times greater than the possible 15-position comic septenarii, 129 times the Saturnians predicted by Pasquali-Campanile, and 25 times more than Cole. A surprisal of 1.51 is almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the positional freedom of the iambic senarius. As schematized, Parsons-

Mercado is hardly a humanly appreciable poetic meter.

Because it can capture so many patterns, Naevius' epitaph can be scanned without issue (11), save that deciding among alternatives is arbitrary.

(11) Epigr. Naev. scanned after Parsons-Mercado

	¹	immortālēs mortālēs sī foret fās flēre	----		----	∧		-:∪	-	∧		-:∪	∧	
or		... sī foret fās flēre						...		-:∪	-:		-∪	∧
	²	flērent dīvae Camēnae Naevium poētā												
	³	itaque postquam est Orchī trāditus thēsaurō												
or		itaque postquam est Orchī ...												
	⁴	oblītī sunt Rōmae loquier linguā Latīnā												
or		oblītī sunt Rōmae ...												

What this simple test suggests more strikingly is that the majority of Saturnians cannot fill 16 positions: too long a meter has been proposed.

§ 1.4.1.4 Ceteri

Here can be mentioned in brief several other attempts at a quantitative analysis of the Saturnian. Following the ancients, in a similar vein as Pasquali-Campanile and Parsons, some scholars have proposed schemes for the whole line. For A. Spengel (1866), the Saturnian was an *asynarteton* or two short lines written as one /∪ - ∪ - ∪ - | ∞ | - ∪ - ∪ - ∪ /, with the allomorphs /... - ∪ - ∧ - ∪ #/ and /# ∪ - ∪ - ∧ - ... /; his "Gesetze" begin to arouse suspicion when he states that as a rule any breve can be suppressed. For L. Havet (1880), the Saturnian was an anacrusic trochaic hexapody, a line with an optional additional initial weak position:

$\overline{\cup} \parallel \overset{1}{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overset{2}{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overset{3}{\cup} \mid \overline{\cup} \mid \overset{4}{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overset{5}{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overset{6}{\cup} \cup /$. He required, among other licenses,

 flengthening of short syllables *in ictu*, and even the possibility of realizing $\overline{\cup}$ with $[- \cup]$

 in colon-penultimate feet! F. Allen “incline[d] more to the old view, that this verse is

 quantitizing, with the rhythm $[\overline{\cup} - \cup - \cup - \cup \parallel - \cup - \cup - \cup /]$ (*and divers variations*) than

 to the new” (Allen 1898: 45, emphasis mine). H. Bornecque (1899) concluded that the

 Saturnian was composed of “six pieds, plus une syllabe longue; c’est un septénaire

 iambique catalectique” (Bornecque 1899: 78) with its seven feet divisible into quarter-

 verses: $\overline{\cup} \overset{1}{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overset{2}{\cup} \mid \overline{\cup} \overset{3}{\cup} \cup \parallel \overset{4}{\cup} \cup \overset{5}{\cup} \mid \overline{\cup} \overset{6}{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overset{7}{\cup} \wedge /$. F. Leo (1905) gives

 $\overline{\cup} - \cup \cup \mid (\cup) - \cup \parallel - \cup \cup \mid (\cup) - \cup /$ as the Saturnian’s underlying form, which can surface

 as one of a poorly defined host of variants.⁶ E. Arnold, nevertheless following Leo, gives

 “the typical Saturnian [...] as follows: $[\overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \cup \cup \mid \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \cup \parallel - \cup \cup \mid \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \cup /]$,” though

 “[i]t has to be admitted that some 40 half-verses [...] remain unexplained” (Arnold 1907:

 103)! G. Kloss (1993) formalized the (literary) Saturnian as $\overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} \overline{\cup} - - \mid - \overline{\cup}$

 $\circ - - /$, but he must scan many word-final heavy syllables as light and disregard

 FRAENKEL-THIELFELDER-SKUTSCH’s rule against adjacent resolutions (see § 1.3 above),

 RITSCHL’s against split resolution $[\dagger \cup \cup]$ (Boldrini 1999: 76–77), and HERMANN-

 LACHMANN’s against exposed resolution $[\dagger \cup :]$ (Boldrini 1999: 78).

Others have opted to formalize colon-level alternations like Cole 1969. H.

 Bergfeld (1909) formulated one underlying form for the Saturnian colon based on the

⁶ For a favorable review, see Abbott 1907.

alternation and arrangement of monomoraic, bimoraic, and trimoraic sequences; the colon can surface as one of four variants, and these freely combine into dicolic lines. C. Zander in 1918, continuing work published in 1895, saw four underlying forms: iambic /◡ – ◡ – | ◡ – ◡ –/, iambo-trochaic /◡ – ◡ – | .../ or /– ◡ – ◡ | – ◡ – ◡/, (chor-) iambic-antispastic /◡ ◡ ◡ – | ◡ – – ◡/, and choriambic-iambic /– ◡ ◡ – | ◡ – ◡ –/; these have 14 allomorphs in free variation which can be acephalous, catalectic, or simultaneously acephalous and catalectic. Finally, B. Luiselli (1967) found eight iambic and five trochaic forms with unpredictable initial and final suppressions, and these combined freely into lines.

The inevitable conclusions are that the quantitative patterns are so numerous as to admit wildly differing descriptions, and that no quantitative approach can possibly succeed. Classicists' familiarity with quantitative metrics has led to a fallacy: if Saturnian patterns can be described in quantitative terms, then syllable weight was the salient prosodic feature that governed Saturnian versification. But this would be like describing an ancient piece of ceramic art not by its shape, pigmentation, and decoration, rather by its chemical composition. That there are quantitative patterns cannot be denied, but the patterns are simply too numerous—almost one pattern per extant verse—to support the thesis that the Saturnian meter was based on quantity. I reported in 2003 that the alignments of both syllable weights and prominences to verse positions in Parsons' scheme (though I was operating under erroneous accentuation rules) were statistically

significant. Indeed, De Groot raised the issue already in 1934: if stress is based on quantity in Latin, and the extant Saturnians exhibit both quantitative and accentual patterns, then should not the verse be more likely based on accent (De Groot 1934: 305ff)? De Groot inclined towards an accentual approach, but he did not himself resolve the issue, nor have many subsequent investigators understood or taken it seriously.

§ 1.4.2 The accentualists

The hypothesis that it was not syllable quantity but rather prominence which governed Saturnian versification has been pursued by fewer investigators and has never gained any currency in the field. In the first place, there exists disagreement over the nature of the Latin accent: was it pitch, as in Classical Greek and as the ancient grammarians thought? Or was it stress, which is reflected in the (standard) modern Romance languages? The nature of the Latin accent is ultimately irrelevant: Latin words had syllables prosodically more prominent than others, and it is the arrangement of these that is relevant for accentual meter. However, the dispute over the nature of the accent leads to disagreement about the rules of accentuation: if Classical Greek pitch was mobile and lexically and morphologically determined, the positions of pitch accents in Latin words would be difficult, if not impossible, to pin down. Along with the reduced but still irreducible diversity of accentual patterns found in Saturnian verses, by whatever rules of accentuation a metrist adopts (following Parsons 1999, Mercado 2003 and 2006 [forthcoming] considered initial accentuation as a secondary correlate of quantitative scansion), disagreements over the nature and rules of Latin accentuation have led to no

accepted metrical solution. I single out for critique the two proposals which have been most plausible and/or clearly expounded.

§ 1.4.2.1 Thurneysen 1885

R. Thurneysen, inspired by O. Keller (1883), proposed a quadripartite Saturnian meter with 13 positions, based on the familiar quantity-sensitive rule of Classical Latin (ante-) penultimate accentuation and the extant verses' accentual patterns. Accented syllables [˘] in positions 1, 3, 5 or 6, 8 or 9, and 12 or 13 alternated with unaccented ones [˘] in 2, 4, 6 or 5, 7, 9 or 8, 10, 11, and 13 or 12. Two syllables, quantitatively light, can occur as an accented resolution [˘] in 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12, or unaccented [˘] in 5 and 11. Second position can be suppressed, as can 8 or 11, if positions 9 or 12 are occupied by stressed syllables. I give Thurneysen's scheme in figure 1.2.

$$\sim(\cup)\sim\cup\mid\left\{\begin{array}{l} \smile \\ \sim \end{array}\right\}\cup\left\{\begin{array}{l} \cup \\ \sim \end{array}\right\}\cup\parallel\left\{\begin{array}{l} \cup \\ \sim \end{array}\right\}\cup\mid\left\{\begin{array}{l} (\smile)\sim\cup \\ \cup\cup\sim \end{array}\right\}$$

Figure 1.2. Thurneysen's Saturnian.

Let “~” stand for a resolvable strong position and “∩” a resolvable weak position. This predicts eight possible instantiations of the first quarter-verse, five each of the second and third, and seven of the fourth. Thus stressed and unstressed syllables can be configured 1,400 total possible ways in a Saturnian line, yielding a surprisal or positional freedom of

$$0.8 = \frac{\log_2(1,400 \text{ possible instantiations})}{13 \text{ positions}}$$

Thurneysen's scheme predicts about $\frac{1}{25}$ the number of lines possible for the comic septenarius (about $\frac{1}{100}$ Pasquali-Campanile's

Saturnian, $\frac{1}{500}$ Cole's) and nearly equals the tragic iambic trimeter's positional freedom.

On the theoretical level, Thurneysen's approach and theory appear rather attractive.

Where Thurneysen's theory falls short is with respect to rules of secondary and phrasal accentuation and in how his theory can handle data. His discussion of Naevius' epitaph (Thurneysen 1885: 52) serves as an illustration (12).

(12) Epigr. Naev. scanned after Thurneysen

1	immortālēs mortālēs sī foret fās flēre	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘
2	flērent dīvae Camēnae Náevium poētā	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
3	ítaque póstquam est Órchi<ō> tráditus thēsáurō	˘ ˘:˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

And so after he was handed over to the Orchian hoard

4	lóquier línguā Latínā oblítī sunt Rómae	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘
---	--	--

In the second colon of the first verse, according to Thurneysen's accentuation rules, the conjunction *sī*, among other function words, never receives stress, and he must de-accentuate *fās* to remove the clash with *flēre*. But his treatment of *foret* in v.1 as a stressless function word results in a suspiciously long lapse [|| ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘], which he describes as "regelmässig." In v.3, to prevent hiatus in *-quam est* and to achieve an additional syllable, Thurneysen restores <ō>, justified by the conflicting manuscript readings *Orchī* (codex Buslidianus [the Dutch Renaissance humanist J. Busleiden's]), *Horchō* (codex Vaticanus part I), and *Orchō* (other codices). But he must invert the cola of v.4 purely *metri causa*. Thurneysen must finally concede: "[s]omit zeigt es sich, dass die [...] Regeln des Saturniers durchaus nicht auf alle Verse von einer gewissen

He takes *sī foret fās* as a unified entity for accentuation as *sī forét fās*, likewise *òblití sunt* in v.4 (or in his emended version *oblití sunt*), though it is unclear why not *sī forét fās*. It is also unclear how the second colon forms of the first and last verses with anapests [˘ ˘ ˘] can be derived from underlying dactyls; he states simply that [˘ ˘ ˘] “sometimes” stood for /˘ ˘ ˘/ in A-type lines. Most suspicious is his insupportable restoration of <-n-> in locative *Rómae* in order to achieve a medial amphibrach with *Rómá<n>e(i)* (nom.pl.) in the fourth verse, and he must also delete *linguā* and “restore” *Latín<ē>*; the alternative emendation inverting the cola in v.4, like Thurneysen’s, is egregious. The restorations and deletion grossly violate the text. Similar problems plague Lindsay’s treatment of all other Saturnians in his corpus, with the details of his accentuation rules and the derivation of variants from A- and B-type lines never set out.⁷ By 1922, Lindsay had effectively recanted.

§ 1.4.2.3 Ceteri

A few other accentualist accounts can be mentioned here, which have failed to command substantial attention, let alone consensus, for these have been unable to capture the data and/or have depended on implausible rules of accentuation. Keller 1883 proposed that the Saturnian consisted of a trochaic-amphibrachic first colon /˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘/ and a second colon that, from most to least frequent, was cretic-amphibrachic or trochaic /˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘/, cephalous or acephalous amphibrachic / (˘) ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘/, or dactylic /˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘/.⁸ In his 1895 dissertation, N. Spiegel defended a theory of Saturnian versification with two

⁷ For an unfavorable review, see Abbott 1896.

⁸ See Karsten 1885 and Humphreys 1886 for unfavorable reviews.

underlying iambic forms /◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡/ and /◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡/, which could surface as one of a host of trochaic and/or suppressed forms. J. Fraser (1908) criticized the quantitativist approach and proposed two underlying forms for the Saturnian half-verse: trochaic-dactylic /◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡/ and iambic /◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡/ (this is fleshed out, along with a critical survey of competing theories, in Fraser 1909). T. Fitzhugh (1910) propounded an unbelievable theory of the Saturnian somehow based on the accentual palimbacchiac /◡ ◡ ◡/, which can be realized by *any* two-, three-, or four-position foot. F. Novotný (1955) pursued De Groot's hunch that the verse was accentual, but his study merely describes the patterns of individual lines from a subset of literary verses. R. Tanner (1961) found accentual patterns in epigraphic Saturnians and other poetry, but his study produced no coherent picture. Most recently, G. Radke (1991) put forth a theory of the meter, which can be formalized as /~ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ~ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡/ or /# ◡ ◡ .../, based on implausible accentuation rules.

Whereas quantitativist accounts have failed mainly on the theoretical and empirical levels, accentualist accounts have suffered from uncertainty and/or implausibility of accentuation rules, e.g. *ápuḍ vōs* Thurneysen, *apúḍ vōs* Lindsay (cf. Leumann 1977: 235ff). This is bound up with disagreement over the nature of the Latin accent. The tendency to align accent to verse position in quantitative meters has also been overestimated, leading to accentuations of single words with clashes, e.g. *vér̄sūtum* Fitzhugh, *virtút̄éi* Radke, simply because they have two adjacent heavy syllables.

§ 1.4.3 **Miscellaneous approaches**

A few scholars, responding to the quantitativist-accentualist impasse, have offered unique solutions, which have all also been unsatisfactory for being unable to capture the attested patterns or for being implausible. After a lengthy survey of previous investigations, W. Koster in 1929 proposed what is essentially an accentual meter /()˘˘˘˘˘˘||˘˘˘˘˘˘˘/, but one not based on the Latin word accent at all, rather on musical beat or abstract rhythm, regardless of syllable weight or prominence. He eschewed all difficulties by positing a musical text-setting irrespective of the actual text. Despite this, G. Erasmi pursued Koster's line of inquiry in a work focusing only on Andronicus in 1979. In 1957, G. Pighi leveled against the quantitativists the scathing charge that "[l]e scansioni proposte dalla teoria quantitativa sono [...] lo scandalo della filologia" (Pighi 1957: 49). Believing that neither quantity nor accent governed Saturnian versification, he himself advocated a theory that Saturnian rhythm was based on word count, which anyway amounted to an unregulated syllable-counting meter. Finally, F. Rastier in 1970 reported and critiqued an unpublished attempt by F. de Saussure at a solution connected with his work on anagrams in poetry (see Starobinsky 1971): Saussure in a letter toyed with the idea that the Saturnian was based on the coupling (in lines with an even number of syllables, or tripling in lines with an odd number) of assonating vowels, alliterating consonants, and homoioteleuton or rhyme. But not every verse possesses assonance, alliteration, or homoioteleuton, so these rhetorical devices can have

only been enhancements and not governing metrical principles.

§ 1.5 **Approaches to non-Latin Italic meter**

Researchers have approached non-Latin Italic poetry in ways similar to how the Saturnian has been approached. Because these have been diverse and unsatisfactory, descriptions of non-Latin Italic verse have also varied and failed to convince. Lindsay himself (1893c), in the same year as his papers on the Saturnian, published accentual analyses of two Paelignian Oscan poetic inscriptions, which P. Poccetti (1982) analyzed in quantitative terms after a critical survey of previous accounts of the same texts. Continuing this line of inquiry a year later, Poccetti (1983) proposed a quantitative Saturnian description for some manufacturers' trademarks in Sidicinian Oscan. G. Morelli (1973–1974) saw in two Faliscan inscriptions two short quantitative Saturnians. Similarly, G. Costa (2000) offered a description of a short Umbrian inscription as a short quantitative Saturnian. H. Eichner scans two South Picene inscriptions quantitatively and another accentually, believing that the South Picenes borrowed and composed in Greek meters alongside their native tradition (Eichner 1988–1990a–b and 1993). I myself applied Parsons' quantitative Saturnian theory to all these Italic texts (Mercado 2006 [forthcoming]) where, in the same volume, E. Dupraz (2006 [forthcoming]) advocates for accentual principles. Not unlike Pighi, A. Prosdocimi (1992) believes Umbrian verse to have been based on verbal semantics and the arrangement of words into *dicola*, with or without regard for their lengths. More conservatively, M. Durante (1978), C. Watkins (1995: 126–134, 197–231), and P. Freeman (1998) have focused on syllable-counting and

caesural patterns and on the rhetoric and stylistics of Italic poetic texts.

§ 1.6 Comparative and diachronic approaches

Nor has the fact that the meters of archaic Latin and non-Latin Italic poetry have never been satisfactorily formulated deterred scholars from looking beyond these languages. As was mentioned above, Leo, Pasquali, and after Pasquali E. Fraenkel (1937 and 1951) and Perrotta apud Morelli 1996 have sought Greek sources for the Latin Saturnian. Fraser, Fitzhugh, and Cole, operating under the notion that the Saturnian was a native meter, have looked to Celtic for comparison. K. Bartsch in 1867 explored the affinities between archaic Latin and Germanic verse. W. Beare, advancing a theory that the Saturnian was “partly isosyllabic, partly quantitative-accentual” (Beare 1955: 92), compares it to the meter of *Beowulf*.

§ 1.7 The present work in outline

The failures of quantitativist, accentualist, and miscellaneous solutions for the Latin Saturnian meter, and consequently non-Latin Italic verse, reveal one fact and one suspicion: the diversity of patterns attested by extant verses, be it according to syllable weight or prominence, and the distribution of these among half- and quarter-verses, cannot be captured by purely relational means. The expectation that the realization of one position in one line should be the same as or equivalent to the realization of the same position in another has prejudiced readers from discerning a system of versification that may have allowed more complex variation.

This dissertation then has two aims. The first is to describe the meters that have

been hidden in plain sight in the corpora of archaic Latin, Faliscan, Oscan, Umbrian, and South Picene, as defined above in §§ 1.1–2. In the case of Latin, I will pursue an accentualist line of inquiry; for non-Latin Italic, I will test both quantitative and accentual principles of scansion. Latin occupies the greater part of the work in which I propose a theory of the Saturnian. On the findings for Latin rest proposals concerning non-Latin Italic. Once synchronic descriptions of the different languages' poetic systems are established, as a second and less ambitious aim of the dissertation, I outline a theory of how the individual poetic systems relate to each other, how they each developed, and how they may have developed together.

CHAPTER 2: "An Accentual Theory of the Latin Saturnian" explores the hypothesis that a meter based on known phonological and prosodic facts *can* capture the diverse accentual patterns of the extant Saturnian verses, which simultaneously respects the readings of the texts and takes account of the variation of their patterns. I describe these patterns and set them in a derivational metrical paradigm. Going beyond previous investigations, which have been mired in the details of individual verses and the issues of formulating the meter, I explore patterns of line combination in complete poems and long fragments and aspects of stylistics. I provide APPENDICES at the end of the work to illustrate the discussion in chapter 2 and for subsequent convenience of reference.

CHAPTER 3: "Further Latin Saturnians and Faliscan" is the application of the theory proposed in the foregoing chapter. I examine texts that have been alleged to be wholly or partially Saturnians. Here I begin to explore the remains of non-Latin Italic poetry,

starting with weakly attested Faliscan.

CHAPTER 4: “Sabellian” continues from chapter 3 and examines the poetic remains of Umbrian, South Picene, and Oscan. I discuss in greater detail the various approaches inventoried in § 1.5 above. It will be seen that neither syllable-counting nor quantitative meters can adequately describe the rhythms of non-Latin Italic poetry.

CHAPTER 5: “Towards Italic Historical Metrics,” where I discuss with some more detail certain approaches briefly inventoried in § 1.6 above, closes the work with a modest pursuit of my second aim: to describe diachronically the metrical systems and compositional principles instantiated by Italic poems.

CHAPTER 2

AN ACCENTUAL THEORY OF THE LATIN SATURNIAN

§ 2.0 Introduction: The hypothesis

The problem of the Saturnian meter would not be one of Classical metrics' oldest and greatest alignment and correspondence problems—what was aligned? how?—if the surviving Saturnian verses did not show a multiplicity of prosodic patterns which partially overlap but contradict each other taken together. It is clear from the survey of previous theories, however brief and selective, that a single metrical scheme, at least a simple (simplistic) one, is difficult to achieve which would capture all the overlapping and contradictory patterns while simultaneously respecting the texts as preserved and well-established facts of Latin phonology known from well-understood poetry.

Towards this daunting goal I set out in this chapter in pursuit of the following questions: *(i)* what was the meter? *(ii)* how were Latin words and phrases fit into this meter? *(iii)* can the proposed metrical structure and substructures be verified by compositional principles discernible in longer fragments and complete poems? *(iv)* how tight a fit does the proposed meter have on the data? I take as a given one of the few universally accepted features of the Saturnian: divisibility of lines into half-verses. And, as was stated in the introduction, since the alignments of both quantity and accent are statistically significant (see § 1.4.1.3), but accentual patterns are far fewer and recur in much larger subsets of verses than quantitative ones (De Groot 1934), I pursue the

intuition that Saturnian versification had to have been based on the quantity-sensitive accentuation of Latin. So in response to the first question, I build the meter up based on the patterns of its substructures. I then explore rules of accentuation, the alignment of accented and unaccented syllables in the proposed meter, and various operations that affect the number and alignment of syllables. From these issues I turn my attention to the Saturnian poets' compositional principles and practices with respect to various levels of metrical constituency. I conclude the chapter by subjecting my proposal to various measures and tests against other meters, other theories of the Saturnian, and prose.

§ 2.0.1 Length and general structure of the Saturnian line

The patterns of distribution of syllables and words into cola and the combination of cola according to word and syllable counts in “textually secure” and “license-free” lines give the first indications of the structure of and levels of constituency within the Saturnian line. By “textually secure,” I mean the 110 verses without competing plausible manuscript or editorial readings or alternative colometries (see § 2.0.3 below for further remarks on textual security). By “license-free,” I refer to the 26 lines out of the secure 110 without any elidable sequences or non-word-final adjacent light syllables—one alters syllable count and alignment, the other admits of alignments either together into one position or separately into two—which are the following:

(14) Textually secure and license-free verses

Andr. 10	ibīdemque vir summus adp̄rimus Patroclus
Andr. 12	sancta puer Sātūrnī filia rēgīna
Andr. 15.1	ibī manēns sedētō dōnicum vidēbis
Andr. 15.2	mē carpentō vehentem domum vēnisse

Andr. 18.1	namque nullum peius mācerāt hūmānum
Andr. 18.2	quamde mare saevom vīrēs cui sunt magnae
Naev. 1	novem Iovis concordēs filiae sorōrēs
Naev. 9.2	summī deum rēgis frātre[m] Neptūnum
Naev. 25.3	immolābāt auream victimam pulchram
Naev. 31	ferunt pulchrās crētērrās aureās lepištās
Naev. 32	rēs divās ēdicit praedicit castūs
Naev. 35	scōpās atque verbēnās sagmina sūmpsērunt
Naev. 51.1	sīn illōs dēserant fortissimōs virōs
Naev. 56 ¹	quod) brūtī nec satis (sardāre queunt)
Naev. 59	magnae metūs tumultus pectora possidet
Epigr. Naev. .1	immortālēs mortālēs sī foret fās flēre
Epigr. Naev. .2	flērent divae Camēnae Naevium poētam
Metell. in Naev.	malum dabunt Metellī Naeviō poētae
CIL 7.1	Cornēlius Lūcius Scīpiō Barbātus
CIL 7.3	quoius forma virtūtei pari(s)suma fūit
CIL 7.4	cōnsol cēnsōr aidīlis quei fūit apud vōs
CIL 9.3	Lūciom Scīpiōne(m) filios Barbātī
CIL 10.7	terrā Pūbli prōgnātum Pūbliō Cornēli
CIL 11.3	quoiei vīta dēfēcit nōn honōs honōre(m)
CIL 1531.1	quod rē suā di(f)feidēns asper affleictā
Incertorum 6	summās opēs quī rēgum rēgiās refrēgit

(See § A.0 in Appendix A regarding text citation conventions, and Appendix D for translations.) To the *basic* accentual and word boundary patterns of these should conform those of the remaining 84 secure verses of the corpus, as well as those of any other textually insecure line.

Of the 26 textually secure license-free verses of the surviving corpus, 18 have 13 syllables, five are dodecasyllabic, and three hendecasyllabic. On the level of the half-verse, 20 heptasyllabic first cola alternate with six hexasyllabic, and 19 hexasyllabic second cola alternate with six pentasyllables and one heptasyllable. Of the combinations

¹ On the textual security of Naev. 56, see Appendix C n30.

of cola according to syllable count tallied in table 2.1, by far hepta- + hexasyllable is the most strongly attested combination in the verses of the control group.

	5σ	6σ	7σ	TOTAL
6σ	3	2	1	6
7σ	3	17		20
TOTAL	6	19	1	26

Table 2.1. Distribution of syllables in cola and colon combinations according to syllable count in textually secure license-free verses.

(Let “σ” stand for ‘syllable.’) Under the assumption that one syllable aligns with one verse position, the Saturnian is a bipartite 13-position line divisible into 7σ || 6σ, whence dodecasyllabic 7σ || 5σ and 6σ || 6σ and the hendecasyllabic variant 6σ || 5σ may be derived. It remains to be seen how the minority pattern 6σ || 7σ fits into the versification system.

Korsch was the first to notice the tendency for half-verses to subdivide further into quarters, most frequently before the third syllable from the end of the first colon. Cole (1969: 19) extends “Korsch’s caesura” to before the third syllable from colon-end more generally, as well as before the fourth syllable. Of the 26 verses of the control group collected in (14) above, 20 have heptasyllabic first cola, and in 19 of these word-end occurs before the third syllable from colon-end. 19 lines of the control group have hexasyllabic second cola, and word-end occurs before the third syllable from colon-end in 17 of these (see figure 2.1).

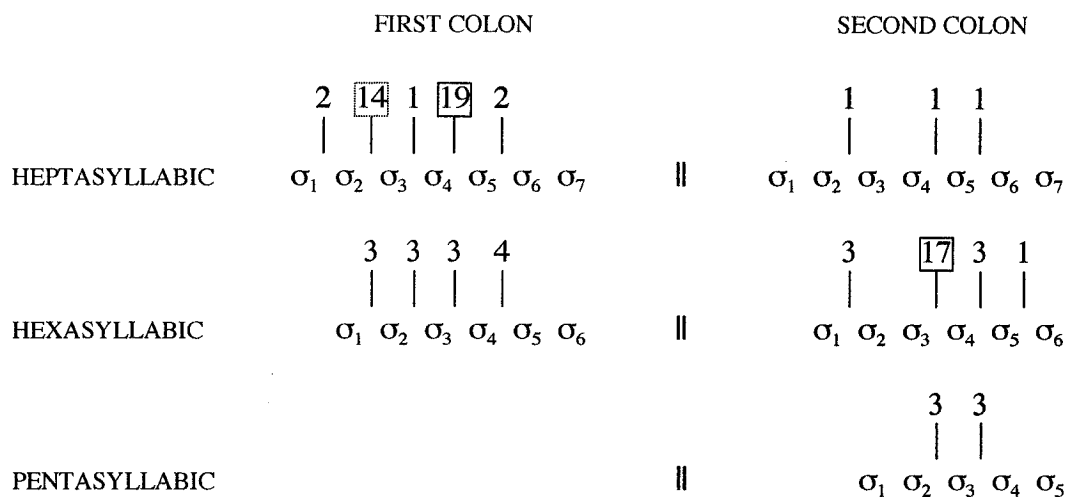


Figure 2.1. Word boundaries in cola of secure license-free verses.

Cole's division at four syllables from colon-end is poorly instantiated by the control group. However, in four hexasyllabic first cola and three hexasyllabic second cola, word-end occurs also before the second syllable from colon-end, and of the six pentasyllabic second cola of the control group, three have word boundary before the third syllable and three before the second syllable from colon-end. I therefore pursue the intuition that the quarter-verse boundaries occur before the third or second syllable from colon-end, momentarily suspending Cole's division. (There is a further tendency for word-end to occur after the second syllable from the beginning of heptasyllabic cola— 14 times in 20 secure and license-free specimens— which suggests a minor break there as well.) So far, the Saturnian line consists of 13 positions distributed into half-verses that further subdivide into quarters either three or two positions from colon-end. Into such a template accented and unaccented syllables were thus aligned, and exactly how is this chapter's

first preoccupation.

§ 2.0.2 Assumptions about Latin quantity and accent

The system of accentuation of Latin words assumed in the present investigation is the well-known quantity-sensitive (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE, which assigns primary word accent on (i) monosyllabic content words, (ii) the penultimate syllable of disyllabic words, (iii) the penultimate syllable in trisyllabic words or longer if it is heavy and (iv) the antepenultimate syllable if it is light (see the concise treatment in Allen 1978: 83–88, based on the more extensive one in Allen 1973; discussed in § 2.3 below are the assignment and metrical treatment of secondary stress, the accentuation of function words, and phrasal accentuation). Furthermore, I assume that the Saturnian poets obeyed the Plautine rule whereby the pre-antepenultimate syllable of words ending in a quantitative proceleusmatic [$\bar{\cup} \cup \cup \bar{\cup} \#$] received primary stress, so [$\cup \cup \cup \bar{\cup} \#$] (Classical Latin [$\bar{\cup} \cup \cup \bar{\cup}$]). It is highly unlikely that the Old Latin system of quantity-indifferent word-initial primary accentuation had persisted into the time of the last Saturnian poets. Since accent systems tend to change slowly (for instance, compare Spanish and Italian, which preserve essentially the Classical Latin pattern), it would have to be assumed that the Old Latin system was replaced by the Plautine one at almost the same time that Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius flourished.

As for syllabification and syllable weight, the Saturnian poets should have also obeyed the rules of Plautine and Ennian Latin (see Gratwick 1993: 48–50, 59–60,

254–256 on Plautine prosody and Skutsch 1985: 55–60 on Ennian): open syllables with short vowels, including such that precede a “mute + liquid” = obstruent + sonorant cluster, are scanned light [˘]; open syllables with long vowels or diphthongs and closed syllables are scanned heavy [–].

§ 2.0.3 Textual security

Now, any investigator should describe the metrical patterns of the texts as we have them, but only with theory in hand can the security of a text really be confirmed. And so I regard as *secure* those verses with a meter-indifferent interpretation that are compatible with the theory I propose and *insecure* those other verses which I read with manuscripts and/or critics not followed by Blänsdorf. The former carry probative value while the latter illustrate application of the theory. As mentioned in the introduction (§ 1.1.3), I provisionally adopt Blänsdorf’s readings of the literary Saturnians, since he adheres to no particular theory of the meter, whereas Morel largely follows Leo. Blänsdorf and Morel disagree over the readings of the following verses non-trivially with respect to syllable count and line division (in Blänsdorf’s numeration; see the *Comparatio Numerorum et Index Locorum*): Andr. 3, 8, 9, 18.3; Naev. 6.1–2, 19, 26.1, 37, 51.2, 55, 60, 62 (not in Morel); App. 2.1. These differences, as well as other textual-critical and metrical notes on individual lines, are registered in the footnotes of Appendices A–D, which illustrate the discussions in §§ 2.1–2.

However, not all of Blänsdorf’s readings will prove compatible with the meter

proposed in this chapter, which will in fact confirm certain of Morel's readings or yet a different editor's. In few cases, I adopt plausible manuscript readings over the standard corrected versions accepted by either Blänsdorf or Morel or both of them, since the justifications for the corrections are unclear or transparently support a particular theory of the meter. All insecure verses are explicitly marked: "codd." for 'codices' marks a fragment as transmitted by manuscripts; Morel or a different editor's name signifies the adoption of that editor's version of the text.

§ 2.1 **Colon-level patterns**

The textually secure license-free verses of the corpus comprising the control group used to construct the working hypothesis makes apparent several overlapping and complementary patterns on the level of the half-verse. The tasks of this section are: (i) to find the accentual and word boundary patterns in cola; (ii) to define the overlapping patterns in order to unite some superficially diverse forms with the fewest underlying representations; (iii) to determine how sets of overlapping patterns are complementary; (iv) to propose a unified representation of the complementary patterns.

§ 2.1.1 **The verse's cadence: The second colon**

I start with the second colon, the Saturnian line's cadence, where also the greatest diversity of patterns occur. The second colon can be hexasyllabic and thus have six positions or be pentasyllabic = five positions (or even be heptasyllabic = seven positions, but I leave such cola aside for the moment). Hexasyllabic second cola can be divided into two trisyllables, either or both of which can consist of a monosyllable + disyllable in any

order, or into a tetrasyllable + disyllable. Pentasyllabic second cola can consist of a disyllable + trisyllable or vice versa. I begin with second cola closed by trisyllables.

§ 2.1.1.1 “|| 3 | 3” cola

The “|| 3 | 3” colon, by far the most strongly attested in the corpus, occurs in 69 textually secure and six insecure verses. In each of the quarter-verses of this colon shape, dactyl [´ ∪ ∪] and amphibrach [∪ ´ ∪] can occur, and three of the four possible combinations of quarter-verse types are found: dactyl + dactyl [|| ´ ∪ ∪ | ´ ∪ ∪] in five secure verses and one insecure, dactyl + amphibrach [|| ´ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ´ ∪] in 51 secure and four insecure, and amphibrach + amphibrach [|| ∪ ´ ∪ | ∪ ´ ∪] in 13 secure and one insecure (see table 2.2; amphibrach + dactyl [∪ ´ ∪ | ´ ∪ ∪] does occur but only as a first colon, which I discuss at the end of this section).

DACTYL + DACTYL	´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	6 (1)
DACTYL + AMPHIBRACH	´ ∪ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪	50 (4)
AMPHIBRACH + DACTYL	* ∪ ´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	0
AMPHIBRACH + AMPHIBRACH	∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪	13 (1)
TOTAL		69 (6)

Table 2.2. Accentual patterns in “|| 3 | 3” cola.

All “|| 3 | 3” cola from complete literary and epigraphic verses are gathered in Appendix A to illustrate these alternations (for the full verses with scansion and translations, see Appendix D). Holodactylic cola [|| ´ ∪ ∪ | ´ ∪ ∪] are gathered in § A.1.1, [|| ´ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ´ ∪] in § A.1.2, and [|| ∪ ´ ∪ | ∪ ´ ∪] in § A.1.3.

Word-end almost always occurs at Korsch’s caesura (62 secure lines, four

insecure); in a few instances, elision has occurred across the quarter-verse boundary (see § 2.4.3), or Korsch’s caesura has been bridged by a long word (see § 2.4.5). Within quarter-verses, word-end also occurs, but far less frequently, elided in positions 8, 10, and 11, and unelided after positions 8, 9, 11, and 12 (taking $7\sigma \parallel 6\sigma$ as the cardinal line and numbering the syllables = positions accordingly): these all involve sequences with monosyllabic preposition + disyllabic object or disyllabic preposition + monosyllabic object. See figure 2.2.

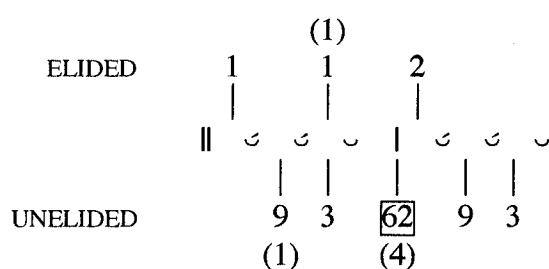


Figure 2.2. Colon-internal word-boundary patterns in “|| 3 | 3” cola.

Simply reducing the alternations of dactyl and amphibrach to $\parallel \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup /$ does not capture the actual accentual patterns. The three-position quarter-verse can instead be represented using a modification of “Hermann’s basis” familiar from quantitative Greco-Latin lyric meters (West 1982: 30), so the four different possible *types* of “|| 3 | 3” colon can be unified as the single *archetype* schematized in figure 2.3.

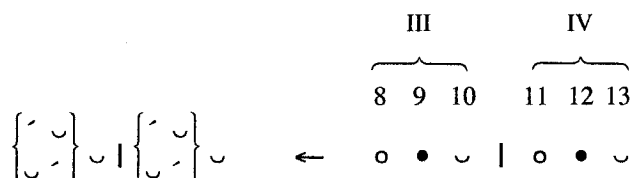


Figure 2.3. Metrical scheme of “|| 3 | 3” cola.

Let “III” stand for the third quarter-verse, comprising positions 8–10, and “IV” for the fourth, comprising 11–13. As was seen in the previous chapter, investigators of the Saturnian, such as Cole (see § 1.4.1.2), Arnold, Luiselli, and Kloss (see § 1.4.1.4), have made use of “Hermann’s basis” /o(...)o/ in attempts to regulate the co-occurrence of light syllables [†v(...)v] in certain positions of the Saturnian. So quantitative /o o/ → [v -, -v, --, †v v] can be adapted to accentual /o •/, where the prominence of one position must be the opposite value of the other. This “dispositional” base can thus be realized by [´ v, v ´] to create dactyls and amphibrachs, but not [†´ ´, †v v], excluding the palimbacchiac [†´ ´ v] and tribrach [†v v v], which are impossible accentuations for single trisyllabic words and clitic groups under the (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE of Latin accentuation. The dispositional base’s domain is the quarter-verse, and the realizations of the basal positions in the third quarter-verse are independent of those in the fourth quarter.

The archetype represented in figure 2.3 is also found as the first colon of a line: [´ v v | ´ v v ||] in one insecure verse (see Appendix A, § A.2.1); [v ´ v | ´ v v ||] (§ A.2.2), unattested as a second colon, opens five secure lines; [*# ´ v v | v ´ v ||] is not found as a first colon, though it is the most commonly occurring second-colon configuration; [v ´ v | v ´ v ||] (§ A.2.3) opens three secure and three insecure lines. (Principles of colon combination are explored in § 2.2.)

§ 2.1.1.2 “|| 2 | 3” cola

Eleven secure and three insecure verses end in dactyl or amphibrach and show trochee in the third quarter-verse (see table 2.3).

TROCHEE + DACTYL	´ ∘ ´ ∘ ∘	1
TROCHEE + AMPHIBRACH	´ ∘ ∘ ´ ∘	10 (3)
	TOTAL	11 (3)

Table 2.3. Accentual patterns in “|| 2 | 3” cola.

For second cola of the type [|| ´ ∘ | ´ ∘ ∘], see Appendix A, § A.3.1; for [|| ´ ∘ | ∘ ´ ∘], § A.3.2. Neither type is found as a first colon. In all but two secure lines with “|| 2 | 3” cola, Korsch’s caesura is observed; two secure verses show elision across the quarter-verse boundary (see § 2.4.3 below); within the fourth quarter of two other secure lines, prepositional phrases with monosyllabic preposition + disyllabic object account for the incidence of word-end after position 11. Thus, the fourth quarter-verse in “|| 2 | 3” cola can be schematized using the dispositional base /| ◦ • ∘ #/ proposed in the foregoing section. This suggests affinity with the “|| 3 | 3” colon.

§ 2.1.1.3 Uniting “|| 3 | 3” and “|| 2 | 3” cola

Other metrists, such as Cole (1969: 43–44), have also derived “|| 2 | 3” from “|| 3 | 3” but by left-aligning the third quarter-verse, uniting all cola with trisyllabic cadence as “|| 3(∧) | 3”:

position 10, which immediately precedes Korsch’s caesura, can be suppressed by catalexis. The disadvantage of such an alignment is that an empty verse position must intervene within cohesive syntactic, thus prosodic, entities, e.g. || *multī* † | *mortālēs* #

(Naev. 6.1). Moreover, while verse-medial suppression is not unknown, such a pause or rest² from medial catalexis usually comes immediately before or after a *main* break, e.g. in the Vedic *virāṭsthānā* /⊃ ⊃ ⊃ ⊃ || ^ - ∪ | - ∪ - ⊃/, a decasyllabic line derived from the hendecasyllabic *triṣṭubh* /⊃ - ⊃ - || ∪ ∪ ⊃ | - ∪ - ⊃/ (Arnold 1905: 13–14). Left-aligning “|| 2 | 3” cola puts the (abstract) pause before a *minor* break. In light of this, the “|| 3 | 3” and “|| 2 | 3” colon types can be united instead by *right*-alignment. This recalls Thurneysen’s /|| (∪) ~ ∪ | / (see figure 1.2), and Erasmi 1979: 143–144 arrives at a similar conclusion but by different steps. The trochee in the third quarter-verse is thus derived by suppression of /o/ immediately following the *central* caesura (note, too, how a quantitative trochee follows post-caesural suppression in the Vedic *virāṭsthānā*). In other words, cola with a three-position cadence have an acephalous derivative, which can be schematized as in figure 2.4.

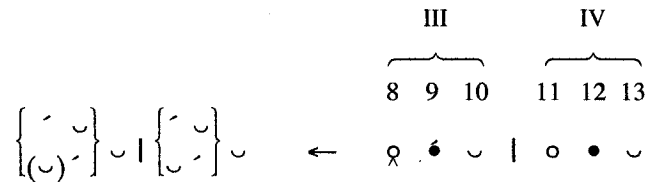


Figure 2.4. Metrical representation of “|| (^) 3 | 3” cola.

Let /⊃/ stand for the suppressible position in the dispositional base of the third quarter-verse. If this basal position is suppressed, the remaining basal position /•/ must be filled by an accented syllable. So, as the underlying cephalous quarter-verse /|| o • ∪|/ produces dactyl and amphibrach [|| ^ ∪ ∪|, || ∪ ^ ∪|] but not palimbacchiac or tribrach [†|| ^ ^ ∪|,

² I use “⊃,” the musical symbol for the quarter-rest in transcriptions to correspond with the metrical siglum for suppression “^” in scansion, but I make no claim about how the metrical suppression was performed.

†|| ∪ ∪ ∪ |], the suppressed derivative /|| ∧ ∙ ∪ | / gives rise to trochee [|| ∧ ∙ ∪ |] but not pyrrhic [†|| ∧ ∪ ∪ |].

§ 2.1.1.4 “|| 4 | 2” cola

In place of “|| 3 | 3,” 14 secure verses and one insecure have second cola in the shape of “|| 4 | 2.” Of these, seven secure lines show trochee + trochee + trochee (see Appendix A, § A.4.1), and seven secure verses and one insecure have iamb + pyrrhic + trochee (§ A.4.2). See table 2.4 for the tally.

TROCHEE + TROCHEE + TROCHEE	∙ ∙ ∙ ∙ ∙	7
IAMB + PYRRHIC + TROCHEE	∪ ∙ ∪ ∪ ∙ ∙	7 (1)
	TOTAL	14 (1)

Table 2.4. Accentual patterns in “|| 4 | 2” cola.

The characterization “|| 4 | 2,” which is reminiscent of Lindsay’s B-type /|| ∪ ∙ ∪ (∪) ∙ ∪ #/ (see figure 1.3), is based on the incidence of word-end after position 11 in ten secure lines and one insecure. The quarter-verse boundary thus situated, it is bridged by a long word in four secure verses (see § 2.4.5 below). Word boundaries are otherwise distributed around the colon without notable pattern: word-end is elided in positions 8 (one secure line), 9 (one secure), 12 (one secure), and 13 (one secure); unelided word boundary occurs after positions 8 (one secure) and 9 (three secure).

Extending the dipositional base employed to represent the accentual patterns in “|| 3 | 3” cola, the “tripositional base” /○ • ○ / can capture the alternation of trochee + trochee with iamb + pyrrhic in the third quarter. “|| 4 | 2” cola can thus be schematized as

in figure 2.5.

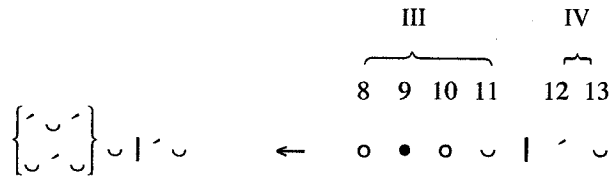


Figure 2.5. Metrical representation of “|| 4 | 2” cola.

/o •/ must be realized by opposite prominences [˘ ˘, ˘ ˘, †˘ ˘, †˘ ˘] and /o ... o/ the same [˘ ... ˘, ˘ ... ˘, † ... ˘, † ... ˘], so /o • o/ → [˘ ˘ ˘, ˘ ˘ ˘].

Just as “3 | 3” types, those of “4 | 2” are also found as first cola in seven secure lines and one insecure (see Appendix A, § A.5). All are holotrochaic [˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ||]. However, the word boundary patterns in such half-verses suggest for the archetype also composition *κατὰ πόδα* ‘by foot,’ as well as affinity with “4 | 3 ||” first-colon types (see § 2.1.2.1 below): all have word-end after the first trochee (elided word-end is found in the middle of the second trochee in only three secure specimens), and four secure verses and one insecure have word-end after the second trochee; with the quarter-verse boundary before the third trochee, it is bridged in three secure lines.

§ 2.1.1.5 “|| 3 | 2” cola

Corresponding prima facie to “|| 2 | 3” second cola, eleven secure and four insecure verses show second cola with the syllable distribution “|| 3 | 2.” All end in a trochee, preceded by an amphibrach in four secure lines (see Appendix A, § A.6.1) and by a dactyl in seven secure and four insecure verses (§ A.6.2). See table 2.5 for the tally.

AMPHIBRACH + TROCHEE	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	4
DACTYL + TROCHEE	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡	7 (4)
	TOTAL	11 (4)

Table 2.5. Accentual patterns in “|| 3 | 2” cola.

Word-end occurs before the cadential trochee in ten secure and two insecure lines. Situating the quarter-verse boundary before the closing trochee, the caesura is bridged in one secure and two insecure lines. In one other secure verse, an additional word boundary occurs after the first position of an amphibrach, which consists of monosyllabic conjunction + disyllabic adjective. No elided word boundaries are found.

The alternation of dactyl and amphibrach before the trochee can be captured by the dispositional base /◡ • ◡/, so the colon type can be represented tentatively by /|| ◡ • ◡ | ◡ ◡/. This is unattested as a first colon.

§ 2.1.1.6 **Uniting “|| 4 | 2” and “|| 3 | 2” cola**

The accentual patterns of “|| 3 | 3” and “|| 2 | 3” cola can be unified by a single scheme /|| ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ • ◡/, which makes use of the dispositional base in each of the quarters. Right-aligning the two colon shapes localized suppression to colon-initial position, the position immediately following the line’s central break. The accentual patterns of “|| 4 | 2” cola can be represented as /|| ◡ • ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡/ using the tripositional base. Now, rather than derive “|| 3 | 2” cola from “|| 3 | 3” by catalexis or final suppression, the final trochee of “|| 3 | 2” can be aligned with the final trochee of “|| 4 | 2,” once more isolating suppression to colon-initial position. “|| 3 | 2” is thus the acephalous derivative of “|| 4 | 2,” and the

trochaic-cadenced colon types can be represented as in figure 2.6.

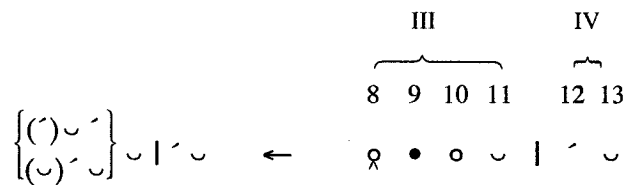


Figure 2.6. Metrical representation of “ $(\wedge)^4 | 2$ ” cola.

Holotrochaic “ $\parallel 4 | 2$ ” gives amphibrach + trochee after acephaly, and iamb + pyrrhic + trochee gives dactyl + trochee.

§ 2.1.1.7 Uniting “ $(\wedge)^3 | 3$ ” and “ $(\wedge)^4 | 2$ ” cola

“ $\parallel 3 | 3$ ” and “ $\parallel 4 | 2$ ” colon types thus occupy positions 8–13 of the line and comprise the second half-verse, and their acephalous derivatives both suppress colon-initial position 8. What then is the relationship between the two archetypes? Alternating with each other in the same context, the two shapes have in common the features of suppressible colon-initial position, basal positions in 8–9, and the unexceptioned absence of accent from position 13. A rule can unify the two archetypes in a derivational relationship: $/\grave{\alpha} \bullet \breve | \circ \bullet \breve /$ (more strongly attested) gives $/\grave{\alpha} \bullet \circ \breve | \bullet \breve /$ by *anacalasis* or inversion of $/\breve | \circ /$ in “ $\parallel 3 | 3$ ” to $/\circ \breve | /$ in “ $\parallel 4 | 2$ ”; separated from its partner and stranded after the postponed caesura, $/\bullet \breve /$ must be realized by $[| \acute{\breve}]$. (The reverse derivation is also possible but is less straightforward: $/\grave{\alpha} \bullet \circ \breve | \acute{\breve} / \Rightarrow / \grave{\alpha} \bullet \breve | \circ \acute{\breve} /$ but requires the additional conversion of $/\circ \acute{\breve} /$ to $/\circ \bullet \breve /$.) The overlapping and complementary similarities of these archetypes, one with three-position cadence and the other with two-

position cadence, can thus be exploited to formulate a unified scheme for the second colon (see figure 2.7).

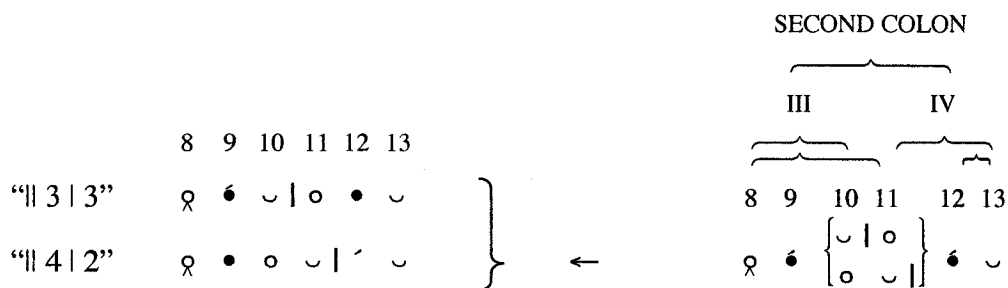


Figure 2.7. Metrical scheme of the second colon.

Suppressible basal position 8 + basal position 9 /∅ •/ occur in both archetypes and can be collapsed, as can weak position 13 /∪/. Positions 10–11 and the caesura are configured differently in each colon archetype, so the variation can be reflected by giving both forms within curly brackets “{ }.” Let /•/ be realized by ['] in position 9 if preceded by suppression in position 8 and followed by /∪/ in position 10; let /•/ → ['] in position 12 likewise if preceded by the caesura. /∧ • o ∪/ can be realized as /o • ∪/. The scheme thus captures all the accentual patterns of the second-colon variants [|| ' ∪ ∪ | ' ∪ ∪, *|| ∪ ' ∪ | ' ∪ ∪, || ' ∪ ∪ | ∪ ' ∪, || ∪ ' ∪ | ∪ ' ∪, || ' ∪ ∪ | ' ∪, || ∪ ' ∪ ∪ | ' ∪] and their suppressed derivatives [|| ^ ' ∪ | ' ∪ ∪, || ^ ' ∪ | ∪ ' ∪, || ^ ∪ ' ∪ | ' ∪, || ^ ∪ ∪ | ' ∪]. The benefit of this scheme is that the Saturnian line now has a consistent cadence: dactylic or trochaic, be the trochee part of an amphibrach or on its own.

§ 2.1.2 The first colon

In contrast to second cola, first cola almost always have seven syllables = positions and most frequently consist of two disyllables + a trisyllable. The reverse arrangement of words occurs in a minority of verses, and in yet fewer lines disyllables surround the trisyllable. I begin with the majority pattern with three-position cadence.

§ 2.1.2.1 “4 | 3 ||” cola

By far the most common form of first colon is the “4 | 3 ||” form, represented by 86 secure and seven insecure verses of the corpus (see Appendix B, § B.1). As in second cola with trisyllabic cadences, dactyl and amphibrach can close “4 | 3 ||,” with 13 secure and two insecure specimens of the former and 73 secure and five insecure of the latter. Similar to second cola with disyllabic cadences, trochee + trochee and iamb + pyrrhic can open the first colon. 77 secure and seven insecure lines begin with trochee + trochee, and nine secure verses with iamb + pyrrhic. The corpus preserves all four combinations of trochee + trochee and iamb + pyrrhic with dactyl and amphibrach. See table 2.6 for the tally.

TROCHEE + TROCHEE	+ DACTYL	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	11 (2)
IAMB + PYRRHIC		˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	2
TROCHEE + TROCHEE	+ AMPHIBRACH	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	66 (5)
IAMB + PYRRHIC		˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	7
TOTAL			86 (7)

Table 2.6. Accentual patterns in “4 | 3 ||” cola.

For the eleven secure and two insecure verses with trochee + trochee + dactyl, see

Appendix B, § B.1.1; the two secure verses opened by iamb + pyrrhic + dactyl can be found in § B.1.2. Gathered in § B.1.3 are the 66 secure and five insecure verses that begin with trochee + trochee + amphibrach, and the seven secure corresponding variant lines with initial iamb + pyrrhic appear in § B.1.4.

Elided word-end occurs in positions 1 (one secure line), 2 (six secure), 3 (three secure), 4 (three secure), 5 (eight secure), 6 (one secure), and 7 (three secure). Unelided word boundary occurs after positions 1 (twelve secure verses, one insecure), 2 (63 secure, seven insecure), at Korsch's caesura (77 secure, seven insecure), 5 (17 secure), and 6 (one secure). See figure 2.8.

ELIDED	1	6	3	3	8	1	3	
	∪	∪	∪	∪		∪	∪	∪
UNELIDED	12	63			77	17	1	
	(1)	(7)			(7)			

Figure 2.8. Word-boundary patterns in “4 | 3 ||” cola.

In light of these word-boundary patterns, “4 | 3 ||” is somewhat less accurate than “2 2 | 3 ||” as a characterization for the structure of the first colon according to its syllable distribution. It was noticed that in first cola of the shape “4 | 2,” discussed in § 2.1.1.4 above, word-end strongly tends to divide the trochees of the odd quarter-verse, suggesting composition *κατὰ πόδα* (this was not observable in second cola of the shape “4 | 2”). In any case, reference to the level of structure between verse positions and the quarter-verse was not necessary for the formalization of second-colon accentual and

caesural patterns, and foot constituency remains (for the moment) unnecessary in schematizing first-colon patterns.

The alternation of dactyl and amphibrach in the even quarter-verse of the first colon can once more be captured by the dipositional base /o • u/. To capture the alternation of trochee + trochee and iamb + pyrrhic in the odd quarter, the dipositional base can be augmented to /• o • u/, where let /• ... •/ be realized by equivalent prominences [˘ ... ˘, ˇ ... ˇ] and /• o/ by opposite prominences [˘ ˇ, ˇ ˘]. (At first glance, this differs only visually from /o • o u/ used for anaclastic “4 | 2” cola, but the different shadings black “•” vs. white “o” make more explicit the distinction between the relationship of “4 | 2” to “3 | 3” and the relationship of “4 | 3” with the other variant first-colon forms explored shortly.) First cola of the shape “4 | 3 ||” can thus be represented as in figure 2.9.

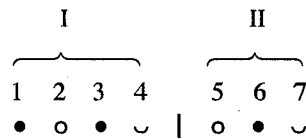


Figure 2.9. Metrical representation of “4 | 3 ||” cola.

Let “I” stand for the first quarter-verse and “II” for the second. The archetype also appears as the second colon of two secure verses and one insecure (see Appendix B, § B.2).

§ 2.1.2.2 “5 | 2 ||” cola

Analogous to “4 | 2” second-colon types, the corpus preserves two secure lines and one insecure that open with “5 | 2 ||” (see Appendix B, § B.3). One secure verse and another

insecure have first cola consisting of trochee + dactyl + trochee (§ B.3.1), and one secure line opens with trochee + amphibrach + trochee (§ B.3.2). Of these three lines, word-end occurs after the initial trochee in two, and in all three word boundary divides the colon-final trochee from the medial dactyl or amphibrach. The accentual patterns of “5 | 2” cola can be represented tentatively by /´ ∪ ◦ • ∪ | ´ ∪/.

Now, in order to unite the weakly attested types predicted by this “5 | 2” archetype with “4 | 3,” reference to foot constituency becomes necessary. As “3 | 3” and “4 | 2” can be unified in a derivational relationship by anaclasis, so can “4 | 3” and “5 | 2.” Mentioned in the foregoing section was that “4 | 3” tended strongly towards subdivision into “2 2 | 3,” whence “5 | 2” = “2 3 | 2” can thus be derived by inverting positions 3 + 4 and the even quarter-verse, so /´ ∪ ◦ • ∪ | ´ ∪/. In the one insecure line, word-end does not coincide with the boundary after the initial trochee, but the foot boundary need not be indicated in the scheme, nor any special bridging rule be formulated for it, since the same foot boundary within the odd quarter of “4 | 3” cola is not observed with equal near-inviolability as Korsch’s caesura either.

In the case of “3 | 3” cola, once the basal positions of the even quarter-verse are separated from each other by anaclasis to produce “4 | 2,” the stranded /| • ∪ #/ must be realized by [| ´ ∪ #], and the derived // ◦ • ◦/ functions as a tripositional base that must be realized by [[| ´ ∪ ´, || ∪ ´ ∪]. By contrast, in the case of “4 | 3” cola, now medial /◦ • ∪ |/ remains contiguous and still predicts [´ ∪ ∪, ∪ ´ ∪] in the derivative “5 | 2” types,

and, once the basal positions of the odd quarter become disjunct, the stranded /l • ∪ ll/ must likewise surface as [l' ∪ ll]. However, the data, though admittedly limited, suggest that the realization of initial /# • o/, only by [#' ∪], remains dependent on its separated member: if /# • o • ∪ ll/ → [#' ∪' ∪ l, # ∪' ∪ ∪ l] and /l • ∪ ll/ → [l' ∪ ll] necessarily, then /# • o/ → [#' ∪] also. (One might prefer the representation /• o • ∪ | o • ∪/ ⇒ /• o o • ∪ |' ∪/ and define the realization of /• o o • / → [∪' ∪' ∪, ∪' ∪ ∪', ∪' ∪ ∪', † ∪' ∪]. However, this is not only unwieldy but also redundant in light of cola of the shape “3 | 4.”)

In addition to the two secure lines and one insecure that open with the “5 | 2” colon archetype, one other insecure verse has “5 | 2” as second colon (see Appendix B, § B.4), just as secon-colon types can appear as first cola and “4 | 3” as a second half-verse.

§ 2.1.2.3 “3 | 4 ll” cola

Slightly more strongly attested than “5 | 2” first-colon types but still much less common than “4 | 3,” Saturnian first cola can take the shape of “3 | 4 ll” (see Appendix B, § B.5). Here, Cole’s division of the half-verse at four positions from colon-end becomes relevant and necessary. An opening dactyl is followed by trochee + trochee in four secure and two insecure verses (§ B.5.1) and by iamb + pyrrhic in another secure line (§ B.5.2). An amphibrach followed by trochee + trochee opens two secure lines and one insecure, and initial amphibrach is succeeded by iamb + pyrrhic in one insecure verse (§ B.5.4). See table 2.7 for the tally.

DACTYL +	TROCHEE + TROCHEE	´ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘	4 (2)
	IAMB + PYRRHIC	´ ˘ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘	1
AMPHIBRACH +	TROCHEE + TROCHEE	˘ ´ ˘ ´ ˘ ˘	2 (1)
	IAMB + PYRRHIC	˘ ´ ˘ ˘ ´ ˘	(1)
TOTAL			7 (4)

Table 2.7. Accentual patterns in “3 | 4 ||” cola.

Word-end occurs unelided after third position in all these verses. Otherwise, elided word boundary occurs in fourth position (one secure), fifth (three secure, two insecure), and sixth (one secure); unelided word boundary also occurs after fourth position (one secure, one insecure), fifth (one secure, one insecure), and sixth (one insecure).

“3 | 4” cola are thus another anaclastic form of “4 | 3.” Whereas positions 3 + 4 and the even quarter-verse are inverted to derive “5 | 2” cola from “4 | 3,” inversion of the odd and even quarters derive “3 | 4,” the accentual and word boundary patterns of which are easily captured by the representation / ˘ • ˘ | • ˘ • ˘ /. And just as “4 | 3” and “5 | 2” can occur as second cola, so can “3 | 4,” represented by three secure lines and one insecure (see Appendix B, § B.6).

§ 2.1.2.4 Uniting “4 | 3 ||,” “5 | 2 ||,” and “3 | 4 ||” cola

The unification of the second-colon archetypes // ˘ • ˘ | ˘ • ˘ , // ˘ ´ ˘ | ˘ • ˘ , // ˘ • ˘ ˘ | ´ ˘ , // ˘ • ˘ ˘ | ´ ˘ / into one rich but economical representation was relatively simple, since the accentual and word boundary patterns in second cola were largely overlapping and the correspondences columnar. By contrast, the accentual and word boundary patterns in first cola, while quite easy to describe within each archetype and to

relate across the three variant forms, are not in columnar correspondence, so unification by one scheme is rather difficult (see figure 2.10).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
“4 3 ”	•	o	•	∪		o	•
“5 2 ”	∪	∪	o	•	∪		∪
“3 4 ”	o	•	∪		•	o	•

Figure 2.10. Metrical representations of first-colon archetypes.

Only /∪/ in position 7 is common to all three archetypes. It therefore suffices to formalize the first colon using the metrical representation of the “4 | 3 ||” archetype as in figure 2.11, instead labeling the constituents and using arrows to indicate the possible inversions to derive “5 | 2 ||” and “3 | 4 ||.”

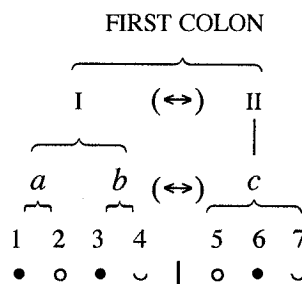


Figure 2.11. Metrical scheme of the first colon.

Let “*a*” stand for the first foot, comprised of positions 1 + 2, “*b*” for the second foot = positions 3 + 4, and “*c*” the third = 5 + 6 + 7. Foot *b* and foot *c* are invertible, as indicated by the two-headed arrow in parenthesis “(↔).” The first and second quarter-verses, represented by “I” and “II” respectively, can also be inverted. Derivation of cola by anacalasis can occur on only one level of constituency at a time, so “4 | 3”

/•••∪|••∪/ ⇒ “5 | 2” /∪•••∪|∪∪/ by inversion on the podic level, and “4 | 3” ⇒ “3 | 4” /•••∪|•••∪/ by quarter-verse inversion. (As a descriptive expedient, as well as for theoretical distinction, I will hereafter limit the term *anacalasis* to refer to the rearrangement of position 10 + caesura + position 11 in second-colon forms and *inversion* to refer to the rearrangement of whole feet in first-colon forms.)

§ 2.2 Line-level patterns

It might suffice to capture line-level metrical patterns by the generalization that colon types combined freely, so Cole 1969 and several others (see §§ 1.4.1.4 and 1.4.2.3). However, not all colon combinations are attested, and the unattested combinations might be systematically excluded. The verses fall into three broad groups according to colon combination patterns: (i) seven-position first-colon archetypes “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” or “3 | 4” + second-colon archetypes with three-position cadence “3 | 3” or “2 | 3”; (ii) seven-position first-colon archetypes + second-colon archetypes with two-position cadence “4 | 2” or “3 | 2”; (iii) six-position first-colon = cephalous second-colon archetypes “3 | 3” or “4 | 2” + “3 | 3,” “2 | 3,” “4 | 2,” or “3 | 2.” The corpus does not with any security or certainty preserve the combination of “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” or “3 | 4” as first colon with the same as second, nor of acephalous “2 | 3” or “3 | 2” as first.

§ 2.2.1 “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” and “3 | 4” + “(^)3 | 3” and inverted derivatives

Of the 69 secure and six insecure verses closed by “3 | 3” /•••∪|•••∪/, 61 secure and four insecure lines open with “4 | 3” /•••∪|•••∪/ (see Appendix C, § C.1), two secure

with “5|2” /´ ∪ ∘ ∘ ∪ |´ ∪ / (§ C.2), and five secure and one insecure with “3|4” /∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∘ ∪ / (§ C.3). A few lines realize the reverse order: one secure and one insecure of “3|3 || 4|3” /∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ || ∘ ∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ / (§ C.4), one insecure of “3|3 || 5|2” /∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ ||´ ∪ ∘ ∘ ∪ |´ ∪ / (§ C.5), and one secure of “3|3 || 3|4” /∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ || ∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∘ ∪ / (§ C.6).

The “4|3 || 3|3” archetype /∘ ∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ || ∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ / predicts 16 types, the product of the two possible first quarter-verses [#´ ∪´ ∪ |, # ∪´ ∪ ∪ |] multiplied by the two possible second quarters [|´ ∪ ∪ ||, | ∪´ ∪ ||], multiplied by the two possible third quarters and again by the two possible fourth quarters. Of these, the corpus attests nine types (15):

(15) /∘ ∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ || ∘ ∘ ∪ | ∘ ∘ ∪ / →

´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	1 verse	§ C.1.1	*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	
´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	4 (1)	§ C.1.2	´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	1 § C.1.3
*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪			*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	
´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	5	§ C.1.4	*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	
´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	1	§ C.1.5	*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	
´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	36 (2)	§ C.1.6	´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	3 § C.1.7
*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪			*´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	
´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	9 (1)	§ C.1.8	´ ∪´ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪ ´ ∪ ∪	1 § C.1.9

On the basis of the 56 secure and four insecure verses with opening trochee + trochee, the two unattested types [*´ ∪´ ∪ |´ ∪ ∪ || ∪´ ∪ |´ ∪ ∪] and [*´ ∪´ ∪ | ∪´ ∪ || ∪´ ∪ |´ ∪ ∪] comprise an accidental gap, as do the five missing “4|3 || 3|3” types with opening iamb + pyrrhic on the basis of the five secure verses with this very first quarter type.

Of the eight possible types that can realize the “5|2||3|3” archetype

/˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ /, only two are attested, each by one secure verse (16):

(16) /˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ / →

*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	
*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	1 verse § C.2
*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	1 § C.2

No plausible manuscript readings are available to cast any doubt on the text of Andr. 17, and the line’s scansion as [˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘] requires only one resolution but elision, whereas scansion of the line as [˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘] requires two resolutions and prosodic hiatus (see §§ 2.4.1 on resolution, 2.4.3 on elision, and 2.4.4 on hiatus). I have preferred the scansion with fewer licenses. Scansion of Naev. 37.3 as [˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘] helps point to a “5|2||3|3” archetype. But the large accidental gap of “5|2||3|3” types are due to the generally weak attestation of “5|2” cola (see § 2.1.2.2 above).

Finally, of the 16 types also predicted by the “3|4||3|3” archetype

/˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ /, the corpus preserves specimens of four (17).

(17) /˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ / →

*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	1 § C.3.2
*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	
*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	
*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	(1) § C.3.3
*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	*˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘	

u u | u u || u u | u u 1 § C.3.4 *u u | u u || u u | u u

Again, the large accidental gap is due to the overall weak attestation of “3 | 4” cola (see § 2.1.2.3 above).

Most poorly represented are the inverted derivatives of the three line archetypes just inventoried: only two secure and two insecure instantiations of the combined 40 predicted types are found (18).

(18) Lines with inverted cola

(a) /o • u | o • u || • o • u | o • u/ →

*' u u ' u u ' u u ' u u	*' u u ' u u u u u u	
*' u u u u ' u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u	
*' u u u u ' u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u	
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u	
*' u u u u ' u u u u	u u u u u u u u (1)	§ C.4.2
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u	
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u	
u u u u u u u u 1 verse § C.4.1	*' u u u u u u u u	

(b) /o • u | o • u || ' u o • u | ' u / →

*' u u ' u u ' u u u u	*' u u u u ' u u u u
*' u u u u ' u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
*' u u u u ' u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
u u u u u u u u (1 verse) § C.5	*' u u u u u u u u

(c) /o • u | o • u || o • u | • o • u/ →

*' u u ' u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u
*' u u u u u u u u	*' u u u u u u u u

$\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}||\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$ 1 verse § C.6 $*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}||\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$
 $*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}||\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$ $*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}||\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}|\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$

Nine secure and two insecure verses instantiate the “4 | 3 || 2 | 3” archetype with acephalous second colon (19). Four of the eight possible accentual configurations are attested. One verse opens with trochee + trochee + dactyl and closes with trochee + dactyl (see Appendix C, § C.7.1). The rest close in trochee + amphibrach, preceded by iamb + pyrrhic + dactyl in one secure line (§ C.7.2), trochee + trochee + amphibrach in six secure and two insecure (§ C.7.3), and iamb + pyrrhic + amphibrach in one secure (§ C.7.4).

(19) /•○○••|○○••||^'••|○○••/ →

$\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	1 (1)	§ C.7.1	$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	
$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$			$\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	1 § C.7.2
$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$			$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	
$\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	6 (1)	§ C.7.3	$\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	1 § C.7.4

None of the 110 secure and 17 insecure lines of the corpus instantiate the “5 | 2 || 2 | 3” archetype (20):

(20) /'○○••|'••||^'••|○○••/ →

$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$
$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$	$*\acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u} \wedge'\acute{u}\acute{u} \acute{u}\acute{u}\acute{u}$

But the existence of an insecure “5 | 2 || 3 | 2” verse (§ C.13) argues indirectly for “5 | 2 || 2 | 3.”

Lastly, only one insecure verse (21) has inverted first and second quarters and acephalous second colon (§ C.8), corresponding to the unsuppressed “3 | 4 || 3 | 3”

archetype.

(21) /o•u|•o•u||^'u|o•u/ →

*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u	*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u
*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u	*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u
*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u	*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u
'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u (1 verse) § C.8	*'u 'u'u ^'u 'u'u

These combination patterns can be schematized as in figure 2.12 and described as follows: “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” and “3 | 4” can stand as first cola to lines closed by “3 | 3” and “2 | 3,” and cephalous cola can be inverted to give “3 | 3” + “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” and “3 | 4.”

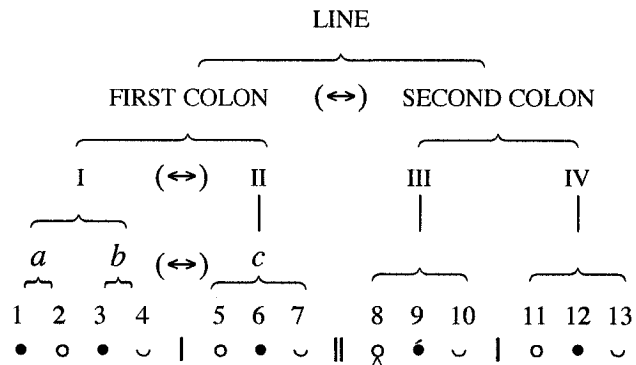


Figure 2.12. Scheme of the Saturnian line with three-position second-colon cadence.

Of the 100 types possible from this scheme, 79 secure and ten insecure verses of the surviving Saturnian corpus instantiate 24.

§ 2.2.2 “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” and “3 | 4” + “(^)4 | 2” and inverted derivatives

Much less strongly attested than lines with “3 | 3” cola are those with “4 | 2.” Ten secure verses represent the “4 | 3 || 4 | 2” archetype /•o•u|o•u||o•o•u|'u/ (22): one secure verse is wholly trochaic-dactylic (see Appendix C, § C.9.1); of the other five

secure lines with holotrochaic second cola, four open with trochee + trochee + amphibrach (§ C.9.2) and one with iamb + pyrrhic + amphibrach (§ C.9.3); two secure verses have trochaic-dactylic first colon and second colon consisting of iamb + pyrrhic + trochee (§ C.9.4), which also closes two secure lines opened by trochee + trochee + amphibrach (§ C.9.5). The remaining three types predicted by this archetype are unattested.

(22) /••••|••••||••••|´•/ →

´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	1 verse	§ C.9.1	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	
´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	4	§ C.9.2	´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	1 § C.9.3
´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	2	§ C.9.4	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	
´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	2	§ C.9.5	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	

The interchangeability of “3 | 3” and “4 | 2” in the second half-verse on the one hand and the alternation of “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” and “3 | 4” in the first half-verse on the other imply that “5 | 2” and “3 | 4” can stand in the place of “4 | 3” as the first colon of verses with “4 | 2” as the second. However, the corpus preserves no representative of the combined eight types possible from /´••••|´••••||••••|´•/ (23) and /••••|••••||••••|´•/ (24).

(23) /´••••|´••••||••••|´•/ →

*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•
*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•

(24) /••••|••••||••••|´•/ →

*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•
*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•	*´•••• ´•••• ´•••• ´•

*'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u

*'u u | u u || u u | 'u
 *'u u | u u || u u | 'u

Only three secure verses and one insecure represent the inverted archetypes: one secure (§ C.10) from the “4 | 2 || 4 | 3” archetype /o • o u | ' u || • o • u | o • u/ (25a), and two secure verses and one insecure (§§ C.11.1–2) represent “4 | 2 || 3 | 4” /o • o u | ' u || o • u | • o • u/ (25c); the four types possible from “4 | 2 || 5 | 2” /o • o u | ' u || ' u o • u | ' u/ (25b) comprise another large accidental gap.

(25) Lines with inverted cola

(a) /o • o u | ' u || • o • u | o • u/ →

*'u u | 'u u || 'u u | 'u u
 'u u | 'u u || 'u u | 'u u 1 § C.10
 *'u u | 'u u || 'u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || 'u u | 'u u

*'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u

(b) /o • o u | ' u || ' u o • u | ' u/ →

*'u u | 'u u || 'u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || 'u u | 'u u

*'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u

(c) /o • o u | ' u || o • u | • o • u/ →

'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u 1 verse § C.11.1
 'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u 1 (1) § C.11.2
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u

*'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u
 *'u u | 'u u || u u | 'u u

By contrast, the three archetypes with acephalous second colon /Λ • o u | ' u/ (26)–(28) find representation in the corpus, just as lines with “2 | 3” from “3 | 3.” One secure verse consists of trochaic-dactylic first colon followed by dactyl + trochee

(§ C.12.1). Cadencing in dactyl + trochee, four secure verses and one insecure open with trochaic-amphibrachic first colon (§ C.12.2) and one secure with iamb + pyrrhic + amphibrach (§ C.12.3).

(26) /••••|••••||^••••|'••/ →

*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••		*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	
'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••		*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	
'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	1 verse § C.12.1	*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	
'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	4 (1) § C.12.2	'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	1 § C.12.3

One insecure line (§ C.13) instantiates one of the four types possible from the “5 | 2 || 3 | 2” archetype (27).

(27) /'••••|'••••||^••••|'••/ →

*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••		*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••
'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	(1 verse) § C.13	*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••

Finally, partially filling out the “3 | 4 || 3 | 2” metrical paradigm (28), one secure line (§ C.14.1) is composed of amphibrachic-trochaic first colon followed by amphibrach + trochee. Another secure line and two insecure consist of dactylic-trochaic first colon and dactyl + trochee (§ C.14.2).

(28) /••••|••••||^••••|'••/ →

*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••		*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••
'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	1 verse § C.14.1	*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••
'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••	1 (2) § C.14.2	*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••
*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••		*'•••• '•••• ^•••• '••

The accentual and word boundary distribution patterns in 21 secure and five

insecure verses, which instantiate the 14 types just inventoried, thus suggest the archetypal representation of Saturnians with “4 | 2” and “3 | 2” cola given as figure 2.13.

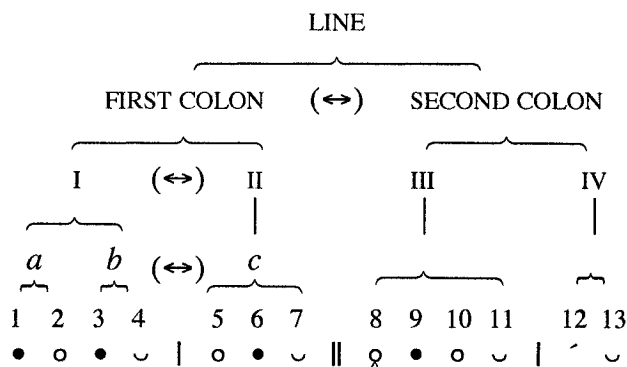


Figure 2.13. Scheme of the Saturnian line with two-position second-colon cadence.

§ 2.2.3 “4 | 2 ||(^)3 | 3” and “3 | 3 ||(^)3 | 3,” “3 | 3 ||(^)4 | 2” and “4 | 2 ||(^)4 | 2”

The third and last group of Saturnian lines according to colon combination patterns comprise ten secure and two insecure verses which consist of two second-colon forms. This whole subset of lines then represent the most vastly gapped archetypes of the corpus. The scansions of such verses are distinguished from inverted types and are signaled by the initial double-bar “||” used until now to represent the central caesura. The fact that three of the secure verses come from epigraphic poems precludes emendation of corresponding literary verses to conform with more strongly attested “4 | 3,” “5 | 2,” and “3 | 4.” Nor can “3 | 3” and “4 | 2” be derived straightforwardly from seven-position first-colon forms by acephaly.

One insecure verse (see Appendix C, § C.15) can be scanned as amphibrach +

amphibrach + dactyl + amphibrach, one of sixteen possible from the “3 | 3 || 3 | 3” archetype (29).

(29) // o • u | o • u || o • u | o • u / →

* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u (1 verse) § C.15	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u

One secure verse (§ C.16) consists of trochee + trochee + trochee in the first colon and dactyl + amphibrach in the second. Seven of the eight types possible from the archetype // o • o u | ´ u || o • u | o • u / implied by the lone verse are unattested (30).

(30) // o • o u | ´ u || o • u | o • u / →

* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u 1 verse § C.16	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u
* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u ´u´u

Trochee + trochee + trochee combines with trochee + amphibrach in two secure verses (§ C.17), representing the “4 | 2 || 2 | 3” archetype (31).

(31) // o • o u | ´ u || ^ ´ u | o • u / →

* ´u´u ´u´u ^´u ´u´u	* ´u´u ´u´u ^´u ´u´u
´u´u ´u´u ^´u ´u´u 2 verses § C.17	* ´u´u ´u´u ^´u ´u´u

The corresponding “3 | 3 || 2 | 3” archetype (32) finds no representative (though one

corrupt literary verse, Andr. 22, can be scanned as dactyl + amphibrach + trochee + amphibrach).

(32) // o • u | o • u || ^ ' u | o • u / →

* u ' u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u	* ' u u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u
* u ' u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u	* ' u u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u
* u ' u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u	* ' u u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u
* u ' u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u	* ' u u ' u u ^ ' u ' u u

The reverse order “3 | 3 || 4 | 2” is found in three secure verses of the corpus (§ C.18.2) and one insecure (§ C.18.1). These instantiate two of the eight types possible from the archetype (33).

(33) // o • u | o • u || o • o u | ' u / →

* u ' u ' u u ' u u ' u u	' u u ' u u ' u u ' u u (1) § C.18.1
* u ' u ' u u ' u u ' u u	* ' u u ' u u ' u u ' u u
u ' u ' u u u ' u ' u u 3 verses § C.18.2	* ' u u ' u u u ' u ' u u
* u ' u ' u u u ' u ' u u	* ' u u ' u u u ' u ' u u

One secure verse (§ C.19) represents the “4 | 2 || 4 | 2” archetype (34), instantiating a holotrochaic type.

(34) // o • o u | ' u || o • o u | ' u / →

u ' u ' u u u ' u ' u u 1 verse § C.19	* u ' u ' u u u ' u ' u u
* u ' u ' u u u ' u ' u u	* u ' u ' u u u ' u ' u u

In three secure verses, amphibrach + trochee as second colon occurs with amphibrach + trochee as first colon in one (§ C.20.1) and amphibrach + amphibrach in two (§ C.20.2). These types imply a “3 | 3 || 3 | 2” archetype, of which six types are

unattested (35).

(35) /|| o • u | o • u || ^ • o u | ' u / →

u' u ' u u ^ u' u ' u	1 verse	§ C.20.1	* ' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u
u' u ' u u ^ u' u ' u	2	§ C.20.2	* ' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u
* u' u ' u u ^ u' u ' u			* ' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u
* u' u ' u u ^ u' u ' u			* ' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u

Finally, corresponding to weakly attested “4|2||4|2” and suggested by “3|3||3|2,” the four types possible from a “4|2||3|2” archetype are unattested (36).

(36) /|| o • o u | ' u || ^ • o u | ' u / →

* ' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u	* u' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u
* ' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u	* u' u u ' u u ^ u' u ' u

In sum, the cephalous second-colon forms /o • u | o • u/ and /o • o u | ' u/ can occur as first half-verses before the same forms, as well as their acephalous derivatives /^ u' u | o • u/ and /^ • o u | ' u/.

§ 2.2.4 The proposed Saturnian meter

We have seen that the diverse accentual and word boundary alignment patterns in second cola can be united into four archetypes, which can be further unified in one scheme: “3|3” /o • u | o • u/ and “4|2” /o • o u | ' u/ are related by anaclasis, with respective acephalous variants “2|3” /^ u' u | o • u/ and “3|2” /^ • o u | ' u/. Likewise, the feet of the first-colon archetype “4|3” /• o • u | o • u/ can be inverted to make “5|2” /' u o • u | ' u/ and “3|4” /o • u | o • o u/. Two sets of derivational rules govern each half-verse: anaclasis and acephaly in the second, inversion in the first. Cardinal and

derivative first half-verse forms combine freely with cardinal and derivative second half-verse forms. The Saturnian line can thus be schematized as in figure 2.14.

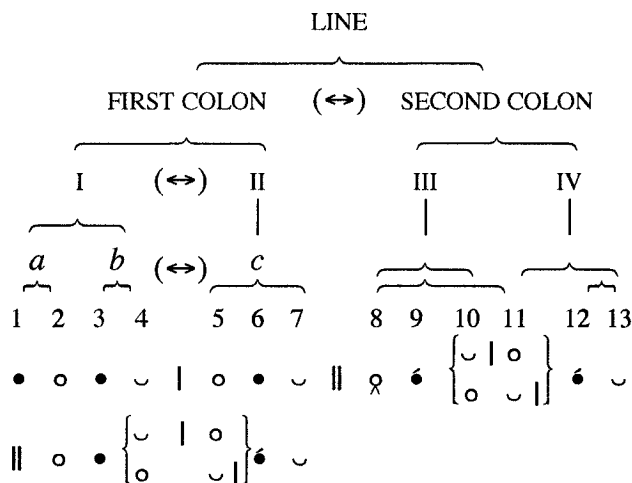


Figure 2.14. Scheme of the Saturnian line.

In addition, two line-level derivational rules can operate upon the combination of cola: cephalous first and cephalous second half-verses can be inverted, and a cephalous second-colon form can stand as the first colon. This latter configuration can be described as “second-colon reduplication.” The scheme in figure 2.14 thus predicts 25 archetypal colon combinations with 216 possible types and captures the 46 unique accentual and word boundary patterns of 110 textually secure and 17 insecure Saturnian verses. In the sections that immediately follow, I discuss the details of Latin accentuation brought out by the proposed scansion and the licenses that affect syllable count and alignment. I postpone evaluation of the proposed meter to the end (§ 2.7).

§ 2.3 Rules of accentuation and scansion

Textually secure Saturnian lines hold 615 total words (tokens, not types), and insecure verses 89. Discussed in this section are the rules of accentuation that govern these words and the rules of scansion their placement in cola. Here I consider only the strongly attested colon archetypes “4 | 3” /• ◦ • ◡ | ◦ • ◡/, “(^)3 | 3” /◡ • ◡ | ◦ • ◡/, and “(^)4 | 2” /◡ • ◦ ◡ | ◡ ◡/, regardless of whether they occur as the first or second half-verse. This removes only twelve secure and seven insecure first cola with inversion. I also put aside words which have been lengthened by the suffixation of an enclitic or shortened by elision and synizesis. So the generalizations below are based on roughly 70% of the total words in secure and 60% in insecure cola. Appended at the end of § 2.3.1 is figure 2.15 to illustrate the discussion.

§ 2.3.1 Content words

Accentually trochaic disyllabic content words—common and proper nouns and adjectives and verbs—occur 160 times (tokens, not types) unaffected by licenses in secure verses of the corpus, 20 in insecure lines. The great majority of these (117 secure and 14 insecure) are found in binary feet: 42 secure and five insecure in the first foot of a dipody /• ◦(• ◡), ◦ •(◦ ◡)/; 52 secure and seven insecure in the second foot of a dipody /((• ◦)• ◡, (◦ •)◦ ◡/; 23 secure and two insecure in a trochaic monopody /◡ ◡/. In ternary feet, only 43 secure and six insecure accentually trochaic disyllables are found: 40 secure and five insecure as part of an amphibrach /((◦)• ◡/, and only three secure and one

insecure as part of a dactyl /o •(v)/. Two secure instances of non-phrase-final quantitatively pyrrhic words [v v] are scanned as stress-bearing resolutions [~]: one in the first foot of a dipody /•(o)/, and the other as part of an amphibrach /(o)•(v)/ (see § 2.4.1 below on resolution). The stressed syllable of a disyllabic content word must therefore fill a basal position: /•(o), o(•), ´(v)/ in binary feet—recall that [l´v] ← /l•v/—and /q(•), •(v)/ in ternary feet.

Trisyllabic content words comprise another major type, with 176 secure and 19 insecure instances license-free in the strongly attested colon types of the corpus. Accentual amphibrachs (108 secure, 12 insecure) outnumber dactyls (68 secure, seven insecure). As a whole, trisyllables are in nearly complementary distribution with disyllables: only eight secure and two insecure dactyls, and ten secure amphibrachs constitute part of a dipody /(•)o •v, (o)• o v/, whereas 60 secure and five insecure dactyls and 98 secure and twelve insecure amphibrachs fill ternary feet /o •v/. Accentually dactylic words that are quantitatively anapestic/tribrachic [v v v] are also treated as resolved accentual trochees [~ v] and are placed three times in secure verses in the first foot of a dipody /• o(•v)/, once secure in the second foot /(• o)• v/, and once secure and in another insecure instance in a monopody /´ v/. Trisyllables must then fulfill the same requirements as those of disyllables: the word's accented syllable must occupy a basal position in any foot type, be it binary or ternary.

Tetrasyllables (38 secure and six insecure) with respect to their primary stresses

behave the same as shorter content words: their main stress must occupy a basal position. Tetrasyllables need not and do not occur exclusively in binary feet: six secure tetrasyllables with penultimate stress are placed in binary feet /•◦•◡, ◦•◦◡/, one secure fills /◡|◦•◡/, and two secure span /◦◡|´◡/, as opposed to nine secure and one insecure in ternary feet /◦•◡/ by resolution. Likewise, tetrasyllables with antepenultimate stress, numbering 19 secure and six insecure instances, are placed twelve times (once insecure) in binary feet; two secure and two insecure instances in /◡|◦•◡/; five secure and three insecure in ternary /◦•◡/ by resolution. One secure and another insecure instance of a quantitative proceleusmatic tetrasyllable [◡◡◡◡], by the Plautine rule initially = pre-antepenultimately stressed, fill ternary /◦•◡/ as resolved accentual dactyls [◡◡◡]. (I explore secondary stress momentarily; see §§ 2.4.3 on elision for cases of /◡|◦•◡/ and 2.4.5 on caesural bridging for /◦◡|´◡/.)

Finally, pentasyllabic content words occur four times secure and twice insecure, and one secure verse's second colon is composed of the corpus' lone hexasyllabic word. The last three syllables of the two pentasyllables with antepenultimate accent occupy ternary /◦•◡/, and the final two syllables of the remaining two secure and two insecure pentasyllables, as well as those of the solitary hexasyllable, occupy binary /•◡, ´◡/. Because of the location and requirements of /◡|/ within cola, the syllables of these long polysyllabic words which bear primary stress are being aligned in basal positions of even quarter-verses, with one exception. The exceptional pentasyllable, with penultimate stress

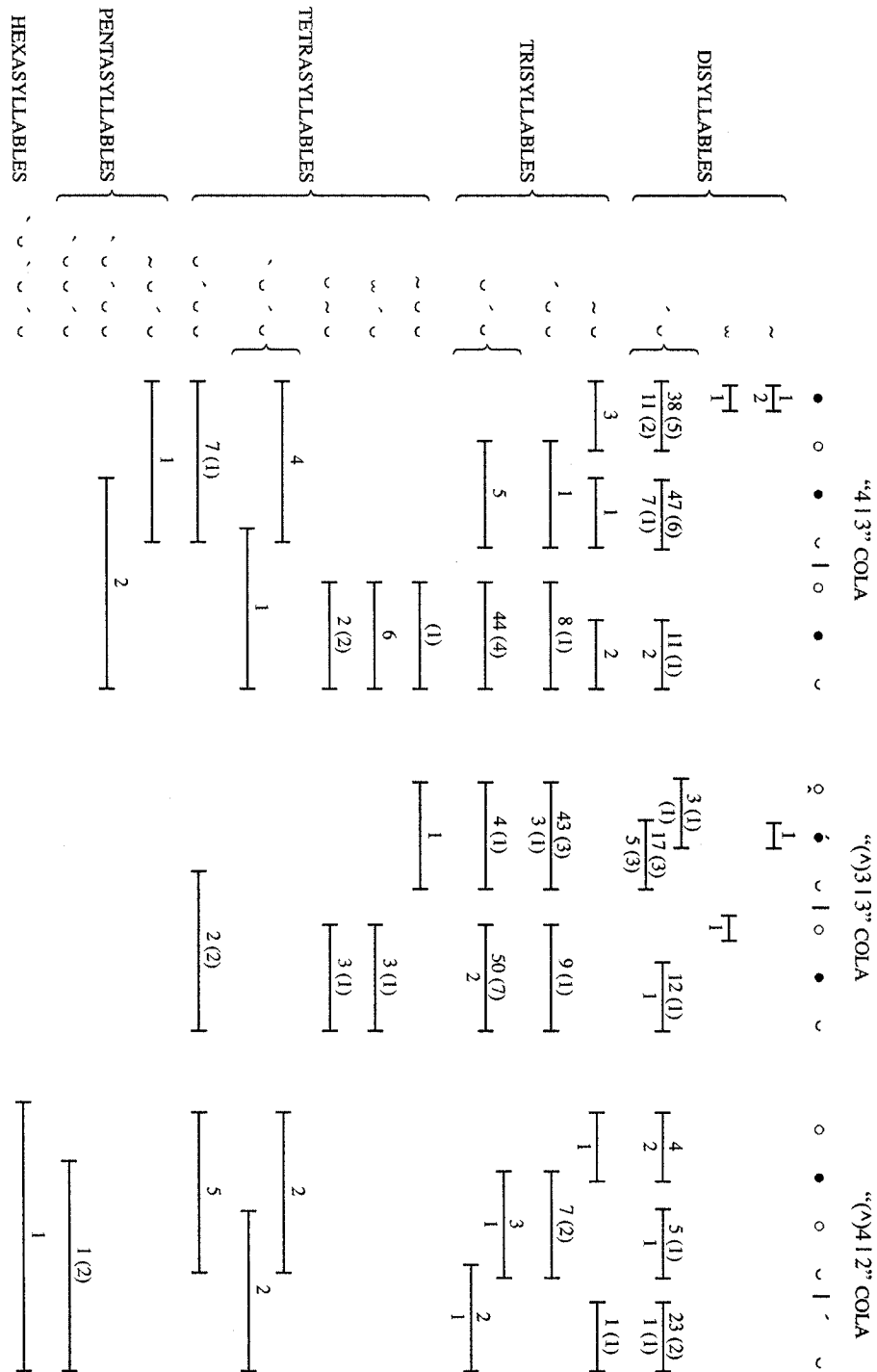


Figure 2.15. Placement of accentual word types in "4|3," "(^)3|3," and "(^)4|2" cola.

preceded by a quantitative tribrach [$\cup \cup \cup$], spans binary / $\bullet \circ \bullet \cup$ / by the treatment of its pretonic syllables as a left-resolved quantitative trochee [$\sim \cup$]. Before turning to the treatment of monosyllabic content words (see § 2.3.1.2), I discuss the secondary accentuation of tetrasyllabic and longer words in § 2.3.1.1 first.

The preceding description is illustrated in figure 2.15 (on the foregoing page), where “|—|” denotes a word by its length and placement in a colon; the number of content words are indicated by the count appearing above the line, e.g. under the “4 | 3” COLA’ column and in the “ $\cup \cup$ ” row, “|—¹—|” represents one accentually dactylic trisyllabic content word [$\cup \cup \cup$] that occupies positions 2–3 /(\bullet) $\circ \bullet \cup$ / in secure “4 | 3” cola; the number of function words, discussed in § 2.3.2 below, are indicated by the count appearing below the line, e.g. under the “ $(\wedge)3 | 3$ ” COLA’ column and in the “ \sim ” row, “|—₁—|” represents one disyllabic function word being treated as a non-ictic resolution in the fourth position of secure “ $(\wedge)3 | 3$ ” cola. Numbers in parenthesis indicate the counts of content or function words occurring in insecure lines.

§ 2.3.1.1 Secondary stress

In fifteen secure and two insecure verses, secondary stress becomes relevant for versification: syllables that bear secondary stress are being placed in the same basal positions that host primary-stressed syllables. The representative examples collected in (37) involve words in which the syllables preceding the main accent are quantitative trochees [$-\cup$] (one left-resolved [$\sim \cup$]) (37a), dactyls [$-\cup \cup$] or cretics [$-\cup -$] (37b),

iambics [˘ –] (37c), and pyrrhics [˘ ˘] (37d). Allen arrives at the following formulation for the assessment of secondary stress (Allen 1973: 190): within a word, if two syllables occur between *Anlaut* and the primary stress, the antepretonic (= initial) syllable receives secondary stress, e.g. *règiõnibus*, *màlefícium* (presumably *maléficiu*m by the Plautine rule), Plautine *adsímiliter* = Classical *àdsimíliter*, *sùspicábar*, *vìnõsíssima*, so (37a), (37c), and (37d). If more than two syllables occur between *Anlaut* and the primary stress, secondary stress is placed on the antepretonic heavy (implied by Allen but not exemplified: presumably, e.g. *dèdicàtiõnibus*, with two non-primary stresses), or pre-antepretonic light syllable, e.g. *mìsericórdia*, so (37b). The Saturnian patterns confirm Allen's rules, and the solitary accentually (and quantitatively) holotrochaic hexasyllable in Naev. 3.2 (37a) suggests that non-primary stress assignment was iterative.

(37) Secondary stress in polysyllabic content words (representative examples)

(a) ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE	Naev. 25.3 ³	# <u>im</u> molábāt áuream	# ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Epigr. Naev. .1 ⁴	# <u>im</u> mortálēs mortálēs	# ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 46	# <u>Sicili</u> énsēs pacíscit	# ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	CIL 9.6	# dédet <u>T</u> empes- ¹ tátebus	# ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	CIL 9.3	# <u>Lúci</u> om <u>Scipi</u> õne(m)	# ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	CIL 1202.2	<u>r</u> estitístei séedēs #	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
	Naev. 9.1	déum <u>ad</u> lo- ¹ cútus #	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
	Naev. 3.2	<u>ex</u> pedi- ¹ ònem #	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #

(b) ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE	Andr. 34.3	† <u>in</u> seri- ¹ núnTUR #	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
--------	------------	---	---------------

³ Also CIL 11.2.

⁴ Also Incertorum 5.

INSECURE Andr. 28.2 Havet⁵ || ð̄ anc(u)lā-¹ bátur # || ʌ ˌ ʊ ʊ ˈ ˌ ʊ #

(c) ˌ ˌ ˌ

SECURE Andr. 13 || fīliam | C̄alypsōnem # || ˈ ˌ ʊ ʊ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ʊ #

(d) ˌ ˌ ˌ

SECURE Naev. 48 # ònerāri-¹ ae_onústae || # ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 CIL 11.1 # mágna(m) s̄api-¹ éntiam || # ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 Andr. 16 || r̄eligāre | struppīs # || ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ #
 Naev. 50.2 || súōs p̄ōpu-¹ lāris # || ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ #

Thus, just as syllables bearing primary stress in polysyllabic content words, secondary-stressed syllables must occur in basal positions and count as ictic.

However, if the two pretonic syllables are light, the secondary stress seems often to “disappear” in the scansion (38). In all these, the two light syllables are being scanned as resolutions, on which see § 2.4.1 below.

(38) ˌ ˌ (representative examples)

SECURE Naev. 9.1⁶ # sénex frētus | pietātei || # ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 CIL 10.4⁷ # qūbu^s sei_in lóngā | licuí(s)et || # ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 Naev. 37.3 # úrit populātur | vāstat || # ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 App. 2.2⁸ # inimicus | síes comméntus || # ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 Incertorum 3 || religiōsus | nē fūās # || ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ #
 Naev. 42⁹ || cónterit | legiōnēs # || ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ #
 CIL 1202.3 || dórmīās | sine qūrā # || ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ #

INSECURE Naev. 23 codd. # mágnam dómum | decorémque || # ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||
 Naev. 16 Scaliger || quíanam | genuísti # || ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ #

⁵ Also Naev. 26.2 Mariotti.

⁶ Also Naev. 52, Naev. 54.

⁷ Also CIL 10.5; CIL 1202.1.

⁸ Also Incertorum 3.

⁹ Also Naev. 61; Tab. Glab.

These patterns suggest that the meter, while founded on the binary opposition of strong vs. weak, must accommodate and variably treat syllables with a three-way distinction of phonological prominence: stressless vs. secondary- vs. primary-stressed. The Saturnian's sensitivity to these prominences was contextual, i.e. the prominences of syllables *relative* to each other are treated with respect to their adjacency in the verse. This was implicit in the formulation of the metrical archetypes in § 2.1. So, *phonological* [˘] in one position vs. [ˊ] in the next, [˘] vs. [ˊ], as well as [ˊ] vs. [ˊ], are all *metrically* [˘ ˊ] ← /• o, o •/, and [ˊ] or [ˊ] in one position vs. [˘] in the next, and even [ˊ] vs. [ˊ], are all, as far as the meter is concerned, [ˊ ˘] ← /• o, o •, • ˘, o ˘, ˊ ˘/.¹⁰ As an illustration, if we represent the prominences of Naev. 37.3, which has a non-ictic secondary-stressed syllable, in the richer theoretical-phonological formalism of the “grid” (pioneered by M. Halle and J.-R. Vergnaud in 1987 and now current) as follows:

ARCHETYPE	/ˊ ˘ o • ˘ ˊ ˘	o • ˘ o • ˘ /
TYPE	[ˊ ˘ : ˘ ˊ ˘ ˊ ˘	ˊ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˊ ˘]
	x	x
	x	x
PHONOLOGY	xx x x x x	x xx x x x
(39) Naev. 37.3	ūrit p̄p̄ulātur vastat rem hostium concinnat	

¹⁰ More familiar Greco-Latin quantitative metrics is more complex in this regard: syllables with the *binary* phonological durational distinction [-] vs. [˘], which are almost always *not* assigned by rule (Latin /dā/ → [dā] ‘give-imperative’ is an exception), are fit into meters with a *three-way* opposition /-/ vs. /-/ vs. /˘/ and the overlapping equivalences [˘] = [˘] and [-] = [˘]. So strong /-/ → [-] vs. weak /˘/ → [˘] in quantitative dactylic verse, where heavy syllables can occupy both principes and bicipitia, but in iambo-trochaic verse weak /˘/ → [˘] vs. strong /-/ → [-], where both heavy syllables and resolutions can occur in ancipitia and longa. The essential point of similarity here is the *contextually relative* oppositions [˘] vs. [-] on the one hand and [˘] vs. [˘] on the other, so /- / → [˘ -, ˘ ˘], though also [- -], but [+˘ ˘].

The refinements I propose to the rules of secondary accentuation in Latin as formulated by Allen and the metrical treatment of secondary-stressed syllables in Saturnians go beyond what other accentualists have proposed. Lindsay (1893a: 167–169; 1893b: 305), who largely follows Thurneysen (1885: 28ff), conflated phonological accentuation and scansion, and they seem to have subordinated prosody to meter: regardless of where primary stress was assigned, any verse-initial tetrasyllabic word bore initial ictic secondary stress, and the secondary stress(es) of pentasyllabic words and longer made ictus anywhere in the line.

§ 2.3.1.2 Monosyllabic content words

With respect to the relationship between phonological accentuation and metrical scansion, monosyllabic content words provide an interesting case. Monosyllabic content words occur in eight secure and two insecure verses: elided after the central caesura in a secure Naevian line (42a); ictic (42b) and initial in a secure inscriptional verse and an insecure Naevian line, and non-ictic (42c) in seven secure literary and epigraphic verses. Most simply put, the phonological stress of a monosyllabic content word “makes ictus” or is treated as [´] by the meter in a basal position /•, ◦/ when it occurs before phonological [˘, ˇ] and metrical [˘]. Before phonological [´] in a polysyllable, necessarily in /•, ◦, ´/ thus metrically [´], and when the monosyllable itself occupies /˘/, the monosyllable is treated as [˘].

(42) Monosyllabic content words

(a) Elided

SECURE

Naev. 37.3

|| rem hóstium | concínnat #

|| ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ #

(b) Ictic

SECURE

CIL 10.2

mórs perfécit | t̄a ut éssent ||

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ||

INSECURE

Naev. 26.2 Mariotti

rēx Amúlius | dívīs ||

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ||

(c) Non-ictic

SECURE

CIL 1202.3

béne rem gérās | et váleās ||

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ||

CIL 1531.1

quód rē súā | di(f)féidēns ||

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ||

Andr. 10

ibídemque | vir súmmus ||

˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ||

Andr. 30

|| cor fríxit | prae pavóre #

|| ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ #

Naev. 32

rēs dívās | ēdícit ||

˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ||

CIL 7.2

|| fórtis vir | sápiēnsque #

|| ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ #

Epigr. Naev. .1

|| sī fóret | fās flére #

|| ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ #

Thus the meter tolerates (i) clash of phonological accents, which are treated as equivalent to a metrical contour, only when one is borne by a monosyllabic content word—recall secondary stress discussed in the foregoing section, which is allowed to form a “falling clash” or “rising clash” with primary stress—and (ii) mismatch of phonological prominence to metrical position in the case of a monosyllable. (Non-ictic *rem* (CIL 1202.3) and *rē* (CIL 1531.1) admit of alternative as well as require additional explanation, for which see § 2.3.3 below on phrasal accentuation.) However, while the

data is limited, I nonetheless suspect that the mismatch by the placement of a stress-bearing monosyllable in /~/ is dispreferred in colon-final position, i.e. the cadence.¹¹ So I adopt Naev. 26.1 Merula–2 Mariotti with # *rēx Amūlius | dīvīs* || in v.2 on the model of Andr. 34.3 and with the added benefit that Naev. 26.2 need not be emended by restoring *dīvīs<que>*, as opposed to the common colometry with *rēx / Amūlius* across lines enshrined in Blänsdorf’s edition. The exemption of monosyllables from restrictions on clash and mismatch does not extend to polysyllables: as seen in § 2.3.1 above, the stressed syllables of polysyllabic words must invariably scan into basal positions, and, discussed in § 2.4.4 below in connection with hiatus, syllables of equally strong or weak prominence from two polysyllabic words in sequence cannot be metrically adjacent. Put another way, monosyllables enjoy a greater degree of metrical freedom because polysyllables cannot.

The behavior of monosyllabic content words in other accentual meters has been similarly described, at least by linguistic-metrical studies. For instance, in Finnish iambic-anapestic verse, a monosyllabic content word bearing phonological accent can occur by itself in a strong or weak position, but it cannot co-occur with another syllable in a resolution (*/ˈ/* → [†ˈː, †ˈː], */ˌ/* → [†ˈː, †ˈː]) or, to use a Greco-Latin metrical term, in biceps (*/ˌˌ/* → [†ˈː, †ˈː]) (Hanson & Kiparsky 1996: 309, 313; their study focuses on 20th-century Finnish lyric and ballad poetry).

¹¹ D. Steriade (p. c.) informs me that stress-bearing monosyllabic content words are barred from participating in cadential accentual patterns in Romanian poetry.

Likewise, in English verse, the only stressed syllable permitted to occur in a weak position is a monosyllabic word except after an intonation break (Kiparsky 1975: 583; he investigates W. Shakespeare's sonnets and G. Manley Hopkins' sprung verse). In the proem of J. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, an Early Modern English epic in "blank verse" or non-rhyming iambic pentameter (43), one can find non-ictic monosyllabic content words among the more abundant ictic ones.

(43) Non-ictic monosyllabic content words in Early Modern English iambic verse:
J. Milton, *Paradise Lost* 1.1–16

- | | | |
|---------------|--|----------------------------------|
| | Of mán's first d̄isobéd̄iēnce, ánd the frúit | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | of thát forbídden trée whose mórtal táste | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | brought déath into the wórld, and áll our wóe, | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | with lóss of Éden, tíll one gréater Mán | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| 5 | restóre us, ánd regáin the blíssful séat. | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| (a) | <u>Sing</u> , Héav ^o nly Múse, that ón the sécret tóp | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | of Óreb, ór of Sínai, dídst inspíre | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| (b) | that shépherd whó <u>first</u> táught the chósén séed | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | in thé begíning hów the héav ^o ns and éarth | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| (c) | ¹⁰ <u>rose</u> óut of Cháos: ór, if Síon híll | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | delíght thee móre, and Silóa's bróok that flówed | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| (d) | <u>fast</u> bý the óracle of Gód, I thénce | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | invóke thy áid to mý advént ^u rous sóng, | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| | that wíth no míddle flíght inténds to sóar | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| ¹⁵ | abóve th' Aónián móunt, while ít pursúes | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |
| (e) | <u>things</u> ùnattépted yét in próse or rhýme. | ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː |

The phonological accentuation of *Sing Heav^only Muse* (verb + noun phrase, v.6) is [ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː], that of *rose out of Chaos* [ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː] (verb + prepositional phrase, v.10), and of *things unattempted* [ˌɔː̃ːːːːːː] (noun + participle, v.16). These line-initial phonologically spondaic sequences are metrically iambic, so (43a), (43c), and (43e). In phonologically

palimbacchiac *who first taught* [˘:˘˘] (relative + adverb + verb) in v.8 (43b), the relative is ictic but the adverb is not; in dactylic *fast by the oracle* [˘:˘:˘˘˘] (adverb + prepositional phrase) in v.12 (43e), the adverb does not make ictus but the preposition does (as does the trisyllabic noun's final syllable; see § 2.3.2 below on the treatment of monosyllabic function words).¹²

§ 2.3.2 Function words

Function words constitute a larger category of Latin word comprised of pronouns¹³, forms of 'to be, become,' conjunctions, temporal/local adverbs, and particles (cf. § 1.4.2.1 on Thurneysen's treatment of function words). Admittedly, the affiliation of a word to this category or to content words is not completely clear-cut, but the distinction itself, broadly conceived, can and will be useful (typologically, one salient difference between the two categories is that function words are permitted to be quantitatively light). Moreover, while polysyllabic function words are treated essentially identically as content words in accentuation and scansion (see figure 2.15 above), the distinction is necessary to explain behavior of the former that differs from that of the latter.

Disyllabic function words are found free of license and enclitic suffix 34 times in secure cola and eight in insecure cola of the shapes "4 | 3," "(^)3 | 3," and "(^)2 | 3." Of these, 30 secure and all eight insecure instances are scanned as [˘˘]: 13 secure and two insecure in the first binary foot of a dipody /• ◦(• ◡), ◦ •(◦ ◡)/, eight secure and one

¹² The license of scanning a phonological-accentual trochee as a metrical iamb illustrated by the examples from Milton is traditionally termed *inversion*, which Hanson and Kiparsky regard as a misnomer (1996: 298n18).

¹³ Devine & Stephens posit "strong" vs. "weak" pronouns according to their pragmatic status; weak pronouns may not have been phonologically independent (Devine & Stephens 2006: 277ff).

insecure in the second $/(\bullet \circ)\bullet \cup$, $(\circ \bullet)\circ \cup$ /, and one secure and another insecure in a trochaic monopody $/\acute{\cup}$ /. Accentually trochaic disyllabic function words also occur in ternary feet: once insecure in $/\circ \bullet(\cup)$ /, eight secure and three insecure in $/(\circ)\bullet \cup$ /. There are two instances of $[\sim]$: an attributive possessive adjective in $/\bullet(\circ \bullet \cup)$ / and a preposition in $/\circ(\bullet \cup)$ / (see § 2.3.3 below on phrasal accentuation). “4 | 3,” “ (\wedge) 3 | 3,” and “ (\wedge) 2 | 3” cola preserve eight secure instances and one insecure of trisyllabic function words. Of these, four secure and one insecure are dactylic and four are amphibrachic. The dactyls occur in ternary $/\circ \bullet \cup$ /, except for one secure treated as a resolved trochee $[\sim \cup]$ in $/\circ \bullet(\circ \cup)$ /. Two amphibrachic function words fill ternary $/\circ \bullet \cup$ / in secure cola, while one takes up most of a binary dipody $/(\circ)\bullet \circ \cup$ / in a secure colon and another fills $/\cup | \acute{\cup}$ /. (Tetrasyllabic and longer function words are not found, though these are possible, e.g. *quālisicumque* ‘of whatever kind, any whatever.’) In essence, these are the very alignment patterns exhibited by polysyllabic content words of the corresponding shapes.

In Saturnians, one notable metrical behavior distinguishes content words from function words: function words are allowed to elide, resulting in accentual clash. This can only mean that function word accent, while also assigned by the (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE, must have been of weaker prominence. One crucial example is *CIL* 10.4 (44):

So also in modern Finnish iambic-anapestic lyric and ballad, where monosyllabic function words are not barred from being part of a resolution or uncontracted biceps (Hanson & Kiparsky 1996: 321–325²⁴). In the proem of Milton's *Paradise Lost* quoted in (43) above, the same function words occur now in ictu, now in arsi: the article *thé* (v.9) ~ *th'* (.15) ~ *the* (.1, .3, .5, .6, .8, .9, .12); the conjunctions *ánd* (.1, .5) ~ *and* (.3, .11), *òr* (.7, .10) ~ *or* (.16); the preposition *wìth* (.14) ~ *with* (.4); the possessive adjectives *mý* vs. *thy* (.13); the relative pronominal forms *whó* (.8) vs. *whose* (.2); etc.

§ 2.3.3 Phrasal accentuation

So far, the formulation of the meter and the rules of scansion have referred only to accent on the level of the word, but certain cases show that reference must also be made to the accentuation of a phonological-syntactic constituent above the word on the phrasal level. (For more on the relevance of accentuation at higher levels of phonological-syntactic constituency, see § 2.6.4 below.)

It is clear from inscriptions that preposition + object were treated as a unified entity prosodically: compare ⟨·INGREMIV/⟩ (*CIL* 10 epigraphic line 7 = v.6) without word-dividing punctuation between the preposition and object, and ⟨·APVRFINEM·⟩ (*CIL* 5 I.3, Lake Fucino, 4th century BC) = *apud finem* 'at the boundary' without interpunct and with sandhi of /-d/ reflected by the orthography. Metrical evidence from Plautus and Terence also point towards the accentuation of preposition + object as a unity, so F. Schoell already in 1876 (Allen 1978: 88). This is confirmed in Saturnians. Monosyllabic

²⁴ All examples of non-ictic monosyllabic function words explicitly discussed by Hanson & Kiparsky are in resolutions, but, on more careful inspection, verses adduced to illustrate others of their observations and claims contain monosyllabic function words in unresolved weak positions.

prepositions before initially stressed objects are always non-ictic, e.g. *ad nāvīs* (Andr. 34.2), *cum stúprō* (Naev. 50.2), *in Pýlum* (Andr. 9), etc., all phonologically and metrically [˘(:)´ ˘]. (*In expeditiōnem* (Naev. 3.2), phonologically [˘(:)˘ ˘ ˘´ ˘], should be more accurately represented in scansion as [˘^{||}˘ ˘ ˘[|]´ ˘], with bridged caesurae.) A monosyllabic preposition makes ictus once, in *práe pavóre* (Andr. 30), metrically [´:˘´ ˘] for phonological [˘(:)˘´ ˘]. The same generalization holds for disyllabic prepositions, so *apud nýmpham* (Andr. 13) [´ ˘(:)´:] and *sine qúrā* [˘(:)´´ ˘]. Finally, the proposed meter supports the accentuation *apúd mē*. The first colon of Andr. 20.1 L. Mueller (the verse is insecure with respect to its second colon) furnishes the crucial example: *nexēbant multa inter sē* must phonologically and metrically be [˘´ ˘ | ´:˘´:˘], with *inter sē* as a unitary word accented regularly by the (ANTE-)PENULTIMATE RULE. On firmer ground, compare *apúd vōs* (CIL 7.4). (See § 2.6.3 below for more examples.)

A second instance involving accentuation and the phrase is the exceptional case of CIL 1531.1 (49), opened by monosyllabic function word + monosyllabic content word + disyllabic function word, which is difficult to describe exclusively in terms of word-level accent. Phonologically [´:´´´ ˘], *quod rē suā* must scan as [´:˘´´ ˘] ← /• ◦ • ˘/. Here, the possessive pronoun in predicative position receives emphatic stress = strong prominence and scans as a trochee in /• ˘/ (compare Modern Spanish attributive *su* ~ predicative *suyo* and Modern Italian attributive *il suō* ~ predicative *súo*). As expected, the clash in *rē suā*

is treated as [˘:˘ ˘] ← / (•) ◦ • ˘ / by the meter. But this is contradicted by *quòd rḗ*, with phonological rising clash, metrically [˘:˘] ← / • ◦ /. The scansion of *rḗ suā́* thus reveals a case of phrasally conditioned stress loss (see Hayes 1995: 36–37 and 371, who points to reports of phrasal destressing in French and Italian).

$$\begin{array}{rcc}
 & & / \bullet \quad \circ \quad \bullet \backslash \\
 & & [\text{˘} : \text{˘} : \text{˘} \backslash] \\
 & & \quad \quad \quad \emptyset \times \\
 & \begin{array}{c} \underline{x} \times \\ \times \times \times \\ \times \times \times \times \end{array} & \Rightarrow & \begin{array}{c} \times \times \times \\ \times \times \times \times \end{array} \\
 (49) \quad CIL 1531.1 & \text{quod } r\bar{e} \text{ su}\bar{a} & & \text{quod } r\bar{e} \text{ su}\bar{a}
 \end{array}$$

The word-level phonological clash in *rḗ suā́* that the meter allows is repaired by the phonology by weakening the noun's accent in order to achieve a contour within the noun phrase. Consequently, *quòd* makes ictus as predicted.²⁵ Such an analysis has wider application. *Meg púera* (Andr. 3) from (45) above can be *mèg púera* with phonological rising clash or *meg púera* with destressed attributive possessive. But, first discussed in § 2.3.1.2, the verb phrase *bene rem gerās*, with a three-position clash [˘:˘:˘ ˘] scanned as [˘:˘:˘ ˘] ← / • ◦ • ˘ /, is better analyzed with weakening of the monosyllable's prominence, creating a shallow falling-rising contour in *béne rēm gērās*. *CIL 1202.2* provides a crucial example where the attributive possessive in the noun phrase *mèās séedēs* must be destressed in order for the preposition that precedes it to be accented and scanned as *apùd* and not *àpud*. So, with the further weakening of the already weakly prominent attributive possessive, the (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE assigns secondary

²⁵ *Quod* in text-initial position might also be bearing strong clause- or sentence-level intonation. Initial *quod* is well attested in formal prose, e.g. in *CIL 586* (159 BC, from the Roman senate to the people of Tibur).

stress in *apud meās sēdēs* straightforwardly. Interestingly, the accentuation of the prepositional phrase is preserved after its scrambling: | *quom apud meās* || *rēstitīstei* | *sēdēs* # [ḷ́(:)lḷ́ | ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘]. In all these cases, the destressing serves to decrease phonological clash within minor syntactic phrases that contain a naturally monosyllabic word or a disyllable made to fill a single position by license.

§ 2.3.4 Apparent reaccentuation

The phrasally conditioned destressing just discussed raises a final point pertaining to accentuation, and that regards the apparent reaccentuation of words affected by the suffixation of an enclitic, which is then lost. In nine secure verses, the enclitic conjunction *-que* elides with a following word's vowel. The loss of the conjunction's vowel, tantamount to the loss of the word-final syllable, appears to trigger a reaccentuation based on the new word shape. In (50a) are collected all examples where elided *-que* results in apparent retrogression of the accent, and in (50b) where the conjunction was appended to a proclitic, the proclitic reverts to its stressless state.

(50) Apparent reversion to pre-suffixed accentuation

(a) Stress "shift"

Naev. 8.2	/magníque Atlántēs/	→ [ʒ mágnī- que Atlántēs]
Naev. 10	/bellíque inértēs/	→ [ʒ béllī- que inértēs]
Naev. 50.1	/sēsēque éi/	→ [# sēsēque éi]
Naev. 52	/plēríque ómnēs/	→ [# plēríque ómnēs]
CIL 7.6	/òpsidésque abdóucit/	→ [ópsidēs- que abdóucit #]
CIL 9.5	/Alèriámque úrbe(m)/	→ [Aléria(m)- que úrbe(m) #]

(b) Stress “loss”

Andr. 19 /cúmque éō/ → [| cumque_éō ||]
CIL 10.3 /glória átque ingénium/ → [|| glória_at- | que_ingénium #]

Retrogression of the accent was proposed by T. Bentley already in 1726. However, Lindsay dismisses this description (Lindsay 1922: 34), and rightly, since elision is ordered after accentuation and should *not* trigger reaccentuation. It is more likely that assignment of primary stress in a word *precedes* affixation of a clitic and secondary stress in the early Republic, which Allen (1973: 159) implies. In other words, *-que* and other enclitic conjunctions may have triggered *weak* accentuation of the syllable they attach to. So: /mágnī + -que + Atlántēs/ → *mágnīque Atlántēs* → [mágnīque Atlántēs] [|| ^´ ∘^l ∘ #] (Naev. 8.2), where the falling phonological clash [´`] makes a metrical contour [´ ∘], and /Al ériam + -que + úrbem/ → *Al ériàmque + úrbem* → [Al ériàmque úrbem] [|| ∘ ∘ ∘^l ∘ #] (CIL 9.5), where the rising clash [´^l] is scanned [∘^l]. After Plautus, the ordering of primary accentuation and clitic affixation switches.

The same description can account for the accentuation of *íllīc* (Naev. 6.3) and its occurrence in the same metrical context as accentually trochaic disyllabic content words, namely [|| ^´ ∘ | ◦ • ∘ #] (see Appendix A, § A.3.2). The standard analysis for demonstratives in *-c(e)* is that the deictic suffix pulls the accent rightward and subsequent apocope leaves the stress in place (e.g., Allen 1978: 87). So *íllī* ‘that-locative’ + *-ce* → *illíce* > *illíc*, but the early Classical accentuation may have been *íllīce* > *íllīc*, with falling phonological clash scanned trochaically.

There are in fact only two instances of reaccentuation with stress loss (distinct from phrasal destressing). However, these involve the actual loss of the stress-bearing syllable by the operation of one or more licenses, to which I now turn.

§ 2.4 “Licenses”

Cole stated that “there is no evidence to indicate how closely Saturnian practice with regard to synizesis, elision, and hiatus approximated that of later poetry” (Cole 1969: 20). He goes on to specify that corpus-internal tendencies for him take precedence over those in other well-understood Latin poetry in deciding among alternative scansions, i.e. whether a process applied or not. This is the general approach that investigators of the Saturnian take. But, while itself valid, pursuit of the approach has led metrists to posit corpus-internally inconsistent, contradictory, and ad hoc scansions for the sake of their proposed meters. Because the Latin of Andronicus and Naevius is essentially that of Plautus and Ennius, and, regardless of their chosen meters, what is natural for Plautus and Ennius should also be so Andronicus and Naevius, I take the minority approach here and *expect* synizesis, elision, and hiatus to apply in Saturnians as in quantitative poetry, and the proposed meter has followed from, not preceded, this expectation. Kloss (1993: 90ff) and Parsons (1999) were sensitive to Plautine metrical practices, which their quantitativist conclusions for Saturnian versification nonetheless ultimately contradict. It remains to describe the conditions of the operation or inoperation of these and a couple of other licenses.

§ 2.4.1 Resolution

In 27 secure and seven insecure lines of the corpus, sequences of two adjacent light syllables must be accommodated into single verse positions. In all cases, the resolutions are internal to single words or clitic groups, observing RITSCHL's rule prohibiting split resolution or resolution across independent words [$\dagger\ddot{\ast}$]. The first syllable of the resolution bears ictic stress [\sim] in 19 secure and six insecure lines (51). In eight other secure lines and one insecure, the weakly stressed first syllable of the resolution is non-ictic [\sim] (52).

Taking the one-resolution lines and undoing the inversions and anaclases, accent-bearing resolutions can be localized to certain underlying positions of the line: /o/ → [\sim] in position 1 (51a), position 3 (51b), position 6 (51d), position 9 (51f), and position 12 (51h); /o/ → [\sim] in position 5 (51c), position 8 (51e), and position 11 (51g).

(51) Lines with one ictic resolution

(a) (Underlying) Position 1

SECURE	Naev. 46	# Sīciliēnsēs pacīscit	# ~ ~ ' ~ ~ ' ~
	Naev. 68	# āpud empōri- ' um in cāmpō	# ~: ~ ' ~ ~: ~
	CIL 7.6	# sūbigit ómne(m) Loucāna(m)	# ~ ~: ~ ~ ~ ' ~
	CIL 10.1	# quei āpice(m) īnsigne Diālis	# ~: ~ ' ~ ~ ' ~
	CIL 1531.3	# dēcumā fáctā po(1)lúctā	# ~ ~: ~ ~ ~ ' ~
	Andr. 17	# sīmul ac lácrimās dē ōre	# ~: ~: ~ ~ ~: ~
	Epigr. Naev. .3	# itaque póstquam est Órchī	# ~ ~: ~ ~ ~: ~
	Epigr. Naev. .4	lóquier línguā Latínā #	~ ~: ~ ~ ~ ' ~ #

(b) Position 3

SECURE	Incertorum 7	# mágnum númerum triúmphāt	# ' ~: ~ ~ ~ ' ~
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(c) Position 5

INSECURE Naev. 23 codd. # mágnam dómum | décoremque || # ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||
App. 2.1 Fleckeisen
|| obliscere | míseriās # || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #

(d) Position 6

SECURE Andr. 23 # quándō díēs | advéniet || # ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||
Incertorum 5 # òccursátrix | artíficum || # ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||
CIL 10.6 # quāre lúbēns | tē in grémiu(m) || # ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ||
INSECURE Andr. 9 Guenther # <áut> in Pýlum | dēveniēns || # ˘ : ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||
Naev. 8.3 codd. # Rúncus átque | Purpúreus || # ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||

(e) Position 8

SECURE Naev. 5.2 || cápítibus | opértis # || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
Andr. 30 # ígitur dēmum U- ˘ líxi || # ˘ ˘ : ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||

(f) Position 9

SECURE CIL 11.6 || quei mínu^s sit | mandátus # || ˘ : ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #

(g) Position 11

SECURE CIL 7.2 || fórtis vir | sápiēnsque # || ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #

(h) Position 12

SECURE Naev. 39.1 || áuspícat | auspícium # || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
CIL 10.3 || glória at- ˘ que ingénium # || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
App. 1.2 || ferócia | párijat # || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
INSECURE Naev. 24.1 codd. || ínclutus | arquítenēns || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ #
Naev. 55 Morel # átque príus | párijat || # ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||

Non-ictic resolutions [˘] occur only in underlying positions 1 /•/ (52a), 5 /o/ (52b) and 11 /o/ (52c).

(52) Lines with one non-ictic resolution

(a) (Underlying) Position 1

SECURE Andr. 3 # meā pūera | quid vérbī_uex || # ~: ~ ~ | ~: ~ ~ ||

(b) Position 5

SECURE Naev. 9.1 # sénex frētus | pietátei || # ~: ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ||
CIL 1202.1 # hó(c)c est fáctum | monuméntum || # ~: ~: ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ||
Naev. 37.3 # úrit populáthur | vástat || # ~: ~: ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ ||
App. 2.2 # inimícus | sí_ues comméntus || # ~ ~ ~ | ~: ~ ~ ~ ||

(b) Position 11

SECURE Naev. 42 || cónterit | legiōnēs # || ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ #
Naev. 61 || pópulum | pepulísti # || ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ #
Tab. Glab. || máximās | legiōnēs # || ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ #
INSECURE Naev. 16 Scaliger || quíanam | genuísti # || ~ ~ ~ | ~ ~ ~ #

Five more verses, all textually secure, require two positions to be resolved (53a)–(b), and one inscriptional verse shows three resolutions (53c), where the same positions are resolved as in one-resolution lines: /•/ → [~] in positions 1, 3, 6, and 12; /o/ → [~] in positions 5, 9, and 11.

(53) Lines with more than one resolution

(a) One-resolution first colon + one-resolution second colon

Naev. 52 plérique_uóm_unēs | subigúntur || sub ún_um | iūdícium
Incertorum 3 religéntem | esse_oporétet || religiósus | nē fúās

(b) Two-resolution first colon

Naev. 54 símul áli_us | áli_unde || rúmi)tant | intér <se>

iambis / $\overline{\text{u}} \text{ u}$ /. Roughly contemporaneous (quantitative) poetry that allows resolution, e.g. the comic iambic senarius, also allows multiple applications of the license, but in this regard the accentual Saturnian may differ from quantitative Plautine verse. There may be restrictions on the number of resolutions that can occur in a single colon or line. Resolution and acephaly cannot operate in the same colon, nor can resolution apply in 12-position lines. And, under the principle that one verse position takes one syllable, especially in elevated verse, I am inclined to limit resolution to three operations within a 13-position line, though the data in (53a)–(53c) above are admittedly too sparse to permit firm legislation.

§ 2.4.2 Synizesis

In seven Saturnian verses (all textually secure), seven words must be scanned with *synizesis*, which has been touched on above in § 2.3.3. This is the same process in Latin quantitative verse whereby a word-internal short non-low vowel coalesces with the immediately following vowel of any quality in a heavy syllable (see Boldrini 1999: 50–52, as well as any other handbook of Latin metrics). The two vowels usually in hiatus are thus scanned in one verse position. Instances of synizesis in Saturnians have been marked in transcriptions with $\text{-}\dot{\text{i}}\text{-}$ from /-i-/ and $\text{-}\dot{\text{u}}\text{-}$ from /-u-/; sequences of -eV- so treated have been marked by a supralinear tie-bar. Synizesis applies in five forms of the possessive adjective or genitive of pronouns, one of an adjective, and another of a proper name (54).

(54) Synizesis

(a) $-iV- \rightarrow -iV-$

Naev. 25.2	# <u>s</u> ácr <u>a</u> in <u>m</u> éns <u>a</u> Pen <u>á</u> t <u>i</u> um	# <u>˙</u> ˙:˙ ˙ ˙˙ ˙
Incertorum 3	<u>r</u> eligi <u>ó</u> sus n <u>ē</u> f <u>ú</u> as #	<u>˙</u> ˙ ˙ ˙˙˙ ˙ #

(b) $-eV- \rightarrow -eV-$

Naev. 6.1	# <u>ē</u> ōrum <u>s</u> éctam sequ <u>ú</u> ntur	# <u>˙</u> ˙:˙ ˙ ˙˙ ˙
Naev. 21	# iámque <u>ē</u> ius <u>m</u> éntem fort <u>ú</u> na	# <u>˙</u> ˙:˙ ˙ ˙˙ ˙
CIL 1202.2	# hóspe(s) <u>g</u> rátum est quom <u>á</u> pud <u>m</u> e <u>ā</u> s	# <u>˙</u> ˙:˙ ˙:˙:˙ ˙:˙:˙

(c) $-uV- \rightarrow -uV-$

CIL 10.2	# m <u>ó</u> s <u>p</u> erfécit <u>t</u> ua <u>u</u> t éssent	# <u>˙</u> ˙:˙ ˙ ˙:˙:˙ ˙
Andr. 3	<u>t</u> u <u>ō</u> <u>ó</u> re <u>s</u> úpr <u>a</u> f <u>ú</u> git #	<u>˙</u> ˙:˙ ˙:˙:˙ ˙˙ ˙ #

For $-ti-$ (Naev. 25.2) (54a), cf. *grātia relātast* # in an epigraphic hexameter (CIL VI 26192), and in an Ennian hexameter *Servilius* [⁵ — ⁶] (286Sk) (one of three instances in the *Annales* (Skutsch 1985: 59)). Comparable to $-gi-$ (Incertorum 3) (54a) Lucretius writes *sēmine orjundī* # (2.991), where note the syllabification $-ri-$. Synizesis in possessive adjectives and genitive forms of pronouns as those in (54b)–(54c) is common in early Latin poetry, and forms with the coalescence occur alongside those without. Compare # *ut mēae gnātae ad* [#¹:˙:˙²˙-] (Pl. *Poen.* 1276, tr.sept.); *mīeis mōribus* [˙:˙⁴ ˙] (CIL 15.1, da.hex. of elegiac couplet). In Saturnians, compare # *símul duóna e¹ ōrum* || (Andr. 34.2) and || *súōs pòpu-¹ lāris* # (Naev. 50.2) without synizesis.

§ 2.4.3 (Prod-) Elision

In Latin quantitative verse, the coalescence of the vowel in a word-final open syllable with the following word's onsetless syllable is an extremely common process, and absence of *elision* or *synaloephe* is more marked and must be motivated (see § 2.4.4 below on *hiatus*). The sequences involved are final short vowel /- \check{V} /, long vowel /- \bar{V} /, diphthong /- $V\check{V}$ /, as well as short vowel + *-m*, before any vowel or diphthong, including syllables with *h-* as onset. These syllables straddling a word boundary are scanned in one verse position. A related process is that of *prodelision* or *aphaeresis*, whereby *e-* in *es* 'you-sg. are' and *est* 'is' is lost after a word-final vowel, *-Vm*, and also *-Vs*. While Ennius, as opposed to later epicists, avoided (prod-) elidable sequences altogether in his *Annales*—104 total instances of (prod-) elision or once every five lines, very rarely twice in the same line, and three applications only once (Skutsch 1985: 52)—coalescence of open + onsetless syllable across word boundary was normal (freely admitted by Ennius about three in every two verses in his other poetry (Skutsch 1985: 52), in the comedy of Plautus (Gratwick 1993: 153), etc.).

One (prod-) elidable sequence occurs in each of the 53 textually secure and five insecure Saturnians. These are (prod-) elided in 30 textually secure and three insecure verses. Two elidable sequences occur in ten secure and two insecure lines, which are (prod-) elided in six secure and two insecure verses. Only one secure Saturnian has three (prod-) elidable sequences, which remain in hiatus. The majority of cases of elision and

prodelision are found within quarter-verses (55), so Parsons (1999: 126).

First cola show the most instances of quarter-verse-internal elision, especially in four-position quarter-verses: eleven secure + two insecure of elided final short vowel before onsetless syllable (55a) (one in hiatus (60a)), nine secure + one insecure of elided final long vowel before onsetless syllable (55c) (two in hiatus (60c)), and four secure + one insecure of elided final *-Vm* before onsetless syllable (55g) (two in hiatus (60g)).

(55) (Prod-) Elided sequences within quarter-verses of the first colon

(a)	- \check{V} V-	SECURE	Naev. 21	# iámque _̣ eĩus méntem	
			Naev. 22	# príma _̣ incédit	
			Naev. 25.2	# sácra _̣ in ménsā	
			Naev. 50.1	# sēsēque _̣ éi	
			Naev. 52	# pléríque _̣ ómnēs	
			Naev. 8.1	sígna _̣ expréssa	
			Naev. 19	<vása _̣ ex áurō	
			Incertorum 3	ésse _̣ opórtet	
			CIL 10.2	t̄a _̣ ut éssent	
			Andr. 19	cumque _̣ éō	
			Naev. 50.2	redíre _̣ ad	
			INSECURE	Andr. 20.1 L. Mueller	múlta _̣ inté _̣ sē
				Andr. 4 codd.	# neque _̣ énim
			(b)	- \check{V} hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>
(c)	- \check{V} V-	SECURE	CIL 10.1	# quei _̣ ápicem _̣ insígne	
			Naev. 20.1	# blándē _̣ et dóctē	
			CIL 10.4	# quĩbus sī _̣ in lóngā	
			CIL 1531.5	# sémol tē _̣ órant	
			App. 2.2	sí _̣ es comméntus	
			CIL 10.6	tē _̣ in grémíu(m)	
			Andr. 3	quid vérbi _̣ ex	
			Naev. 3.2	ex- ¹ érciti _̣ in	
			Andr. 17	dē _̣ óre	
			INSECURE	Andr. 4 codd.	tē _̣ oblítus

- (e) $-V\bar{V}_\cup V-$ *no occurrences*
- (f) $-V\bar{V} hV-$ *no occurrences*
- (g) $-Vm_\cup V-$ *one in hiatus (60g)*
- (h) $-Vm_\cup hV-$ SECURE Naev. 37.3 || rem_{cup} hóstium |

However, under the principle that one verse position should contain one syllable, several lines admit elision across the quarter-verse boundary to avoid recourse to hiatus, resolution, or both. In this respect, especially in light of Gratwick's statement regarding elision across verse-internal boundaries and even speaker change in Plautus' *Menaechmi*²⁶, I part ways with Parsons who must admit elision only internally within quarter-verses in order to fill as many positions of his 16-position Saturnian line as possible. In five secure literary verses (57), a word-final syllable elides with the initial of a trisyllabic word or longer, pulling the latter "leftward" one position.

(57) "Leftward" elision across Korsch's caesura

SECURE	Naev. 3.2	# cónsul pártē _{cup} ex- ¹ ércitū _{cup} in
	Naev. 5.3	# fléntēs ámbae _{cup} a- ¹ beúntēs
	Andr. 13	# ápu _{cup} d ným _{cup} pham _{cup} At- ¹ lántis
	Andr. 30	# ígitur dēmum _{cup} U- ¹ líxī
	Andr. 34.2	# símul duóna _{cup} e- ¹ órum

In nine other secure literary and epigraphic lines (58), a disyllabic word or longer elides "rightward" across Korsch's caesura.

(58) "Rightward" elision across Korsch's caesura

SECURE	Andr. 14	# útrum génu- ¹ a _{cup} amplóctēns
	Andr. 34.3	# múlta áli- ¹ a _{cup} in ísdem

²⁶ "[E]xceptions are relatively few, none quite above suspicion" (Gratwick 1993: 253).

Naev. 6.2	# mŭltĭ āli- ¹ ī ũ Trŏiā
Naev. 48	# ònerāri- ¹ ae ũ onústae
Naev. 68	# āpud empŏri- ¹ um ũ in cāmpŏ
Naev. 8.2	ſ mágni- ¹ que ũ Atlántēs #
Naev. 10	ſ bélli- ¹ que ũ inértēs #
CIL 7.6	ópsidēs- ¹ que ũ abdúcit #
CIL 9.5	Alĕria(m)- ¹ que ũ ŭrbe(m) #

Finally, Korsch's caesura in one secure verse is bridged by *atque* (59); the preceding word elides with the conjunction "leftward," which itself elides "rightward" with the following word.²⁷

(59) "Bidirectional" elision across quarter-verses

SECURE CIL 10.3 || glŏria at-¹ que ũ ingénium #

§ 2.4.4 Hiatus

The same sequences that are commonly (prod-) elided quarter-verse-internally are sometimes left to stand in hiatus. In one secure verse, a final short vowel remains in hiatus (60a), as opposed to being elided in eleven secure and three insecure verses (55a). In two other secure lines (60c), final long vowels stand in *prosodic hiatus*, i.e. they shorten, before onsetless syllables, whereas in eleven other secure lines and one insecure the sequence is elided ((55c), (56c)). Only one instance of final long vowel before *hV*- occurs in the corpus, and the sequence is not elided (60d). In four secure verses (60g), *-Vm* before *(h)V-* is not realized as an elided nasalized vowel */-Ṽ(h)V-/*, as in four other secure lines and one insecure ((55g), (56h)), but rather with a type of prosodic hiatus that can be described as *liaison /-V.m[#](h)V-/*, whereby the coda nasal is syllabified with the following syllable. Finally, prodelision does not apply in one secure verse (60i) but does

²⁷ Cf. the rarity of unelided *atque* in all Classical Latin quantitative poetry (Skutsch 1985: 63).

so in three other secure lines ((55g), (56a)): *victus est* in *CIL* 11.4 is an interesting case of hiatus for expected *victus_est*, where in v.2 of the same elogium expected *aetāte* must be read *ae(vi)tāte* (see § 2.5.2 below).

(60) Hiatus within quarter-verses

(a)	- \check{V} V-	SECURE	Andr. 34.3	# <i>múlta áli-</i>
(b)	- \check{V} hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(c)	- \check{V} V-	SECURE	Naev. 6.2 Naev. 62	# <i>múltĩ áli-</i> # <i>cum tú ar-</i>
(d)	- \check{V} hV-	SECURE	<i>CIL</i> 1531.2	<i>vótō hōc</i>
(e)	- $\check{V}\check{V}$ V-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(f)	- $\check{V}\check{V}$ hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(g)	-Vm V-	SECURE	Andr. 11 Naev. 25.1 Naev. 6.3 Naev. 9.1	# <i>pártim érrant</i> # <i>póstquam ávem</i> <i>cum áurō</i> <i>déum àdlo-</i>
(h)	-Vm hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(i)	-us es-	SECURE	<i>CIL</i> 11.4	<i>víctus est</i>

Gratwick observes similarly variable treatment of (prod-) elidable sequences in Plautus' *Menaechmi*: the elidable syllable often stands in hiatus as the first or second syllable in a resolved longum or as the breve in the anceps of an iamb (Gratwick 1993: 254, noting also the frequent hiatus at morpheme boundary in compounds). Instances of quarter-verse-internal prosodic hiatus in Saturnians preserve an underlying syllable in a weak

verse position /o/ or /u/, so Naev. 62, *CIL* 1531.2, and Naev. 6.3 (60), which is similar to the Plautine practice. Compare also isolated instances in early hexameter (all in uncontracted bicapitula): *militum octō* # (Enn. *Ann.* 330Sk); # *dum quidem unus* (Enn. *Ann.* 514Sk); # *at contrā quae amāra* at (Lucr. 2.404); # *sed dum abest* (Lucr. 3.1082). But, in Saturnians, a constraint motivates prosodic hiatus in addition: elision cannot result in a level clash of polysyllables' accents, so the hiatus in Andr. 34.3 (60a), Naev. 6.2 (60c), Andr. 11, Naev. 25.1, and Naev. 9.1 (60g).

Again like Plautus, who allowed—but did not require—hiatus at verse-internal metrical boundaries, the Saturnian poets permitted hiatus at the quarter-verse boundaries. In fact, elision frequent quarter-verse-internally and infrequent across Korsch's caesurae is in near-complementary distribution with hiatus infrequent quarter-verse-internally and frequent at caesurae. The same sequences that more often elide quarter-verse internally stand in hiatus around the central caesura (61).

(61) Hiatus at the central caesura

(a)	- \check{V} V-	SECURE	Andr. 1	Camēna ínsece
(b)	- \check{V} hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(c)	- \check{V} V-	SECURE	Andr. 6 Andr. 7 Naev. 6.3 <i>CIL</i> 11.5	po(l)lúbrō áureō nārrátō ómnia cum áurō † íllíc (vīgíntī) ís lóceis
(d)	- \check{V} hV-	SECURE	Naev. 68	-um _̄ in cámpō hóstium
(e)	- $\check{V}\check{V}$ V-	<i>no occurrences</i>		

(f)	-V̄V hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(g)	-Vm V-	SECURE	Andr. 34.3 Naev. 15 Naev. 25.2 Naev. 44 Naev. 45 CIL 7.6 CIL 9.5	-a_in ísdem ð ñseri- suprémmum óptumum Penátium órdine décimum_ánnum ð ílicō ventúrum ð óbviám Loucána(m) ópsidēs- Córscia(m) Aléria(m)-
(h)	-Vm hV-	SECURE	Naev. 18	in méntem hóminum

The “pauses” from second-colon acephaly in Naev. 6.3 (61c), Andr. 34.3, Naev. 44, and Naev. 45 (61g) further license the hiatus. The one instance in the corpus of unelided final short vowel at the central caesura of Andr. 1 (61a), as well the hiatus in Andr. 6, Andr. 7 (61c), Naev. 15, Naev. 25.2, CIL 7.6 (61g), and Naev. 18 (61h), can also be accounted for by the prohibition on level clash that would result from elision across the central break.

Less often than at the half-verse boundary, elidable sequences stand in hiatus at Korsch’s caesurae (62): in the first colon in six secure verses, as opposed to elision in seven secure and two insecure verses ((57), (58), (59)), and in the second colon in four secure and two insecure lines, whereas elision applies in five secure verses ((57), (58), (59)).

(62) Hiatus at Korsch’s caesurae

(a)	-V̄ V-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(b)	-V̄ hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(c)	-V̄ V-	SECURE	Andr. 24 Andr. 6 Naev. 25.1	# tópper cíť ad áedīs áureō eclútrō # in témplō Anchísa #

		INSECURE	Andr. 9 Guenther	aut f̄b̄i omméntāns #
(d)	-V̄ hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(e)	-V̄V̄ V-	<i>no occurrences</i>		
(f)	-V̄V̄ hV-	SECURE	Naev. 10	# silvicolae hóminēs
(g)	-Vm V-	SECURE	Naev. 25.1 Epigr. Naev. .3	# póstquam ávem aspéxit # ítaque póstquam est Órchī
			Incertorum 3 CIL 9.2	# religéntem ésse_ópórtet # d̄yonóro(m) óptumo(m)
			Andr. 14	vírginem órāret #
			Naev. 15	óptumum appéllat #
		INSECURE	Naev. 37.2 codd.	ínsulam intégram #
(h)	-Vm hV-	<i>no occurrences</i>		

Clash avoidance can also be motivating the hiatus in Incertorum 3 and *CIL* 9.2 (62g).

§ 2.4.5 Caesural bridge

In addition to verses in which Korsch's caesurae do not block elision, word-ends do not coincide with quarter-verse boundaries in several other lines. This fact, in addition to the apparent exceptions to Korsch's caesurae as previously understood, has led investigators to disregard quarter-verse constituency, e.g. Pasquali-Campanile. In two textually secure verses, Korsch's caesura in the first colon is violated (63).

(63) First colon

SECURE	<i>CIL</i> 9.6	# dédet Tèmpes- ¹ tâtebus	# ' : ~ : ~ ~ : ~
	<i>CIL</i> 11.1	# mágna(m) sàpi- ¹ éntiam	# ' : ~ : ~ ~ : ~

In six other secure and three insecure lines, Korsch's caesura in the second colon, be it

three (64a) or two positions (64b)–(64c) from colon end, is not realized by a word boundary.

(64) Second colon

(a) // o • u | o • u #/

SECURE	Naev. 62 <i>CIL</i> 1202.1	# cum tú ar- ¹ quítenēns Máarcō Cai- ¹ cíliō #	# u:~u ¹ ~u ¹ ~u:~u ¹ ~u ¹ #
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INSECURE	Naev. 38.1 Mariotti	símul ā- ¹ trócia	~u:~u ¹ ~u ¹
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(b) // o • o u | ~ u #/

SECURE	Naev. 3.2 Naev. 9.1 Naev. 50.2	èxpediti- ¹ ònem # déum àdlo- ¹ cútus # súōs pòpu- ¹ lárīs #	~u~u ¹ ~u ¹ # ~u:~u ¹ ~u ¹ # ~u:~u ¹ ~u ¹ #
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(c) // ^ • o u | ~ u #/

SECURE	Andr. 34.3	ð ìnseri- ¹ núntur #	^ ~u~u ¹ ~u ¹ #
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INSECURE	Andr. 28.2 Havet Naev. 26.2 Mariotti	ð ànc(u)lā- ¹ bātur # ð grātulā- ¹ bātur #	^ ~u~u ¹ ~u ¹ # ^ ~u~u ¹ ~u ¹ #
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Parsons 1999 first proposed the conditions to account for these data, which I refine here. Under his theory of the Saturnian, penta- and hexasyllabic words can bridge colon-internal breaks; he further observes that the long word's syllable in structurally post-caesural position bears stress, either primary under Plautine/Classical Latin accentuation or secondary in the Old Latin system (Parsons 1999: 130–132). To Parsons' bridging penta- and hexasyllables, e.g. *Tempes-¹ tātēbus* (*CIL* 9.6) and *expediti-¹ ònem* (Naev. 3.2), can be added tetrasyllables the likes of *adlo-¹ cūtus* (Naev. 9.1). His observation

regarding the alignment of the bridging word's primary or secondary stress to structurally post-caesural position can be extended as part of the provisions for the bridge: a tetrasyllabic word or longer can bridge Korsch's caesura as long as the syllable bearing its primary stress occurs in immediately structurally post-caesural position.

With the rules of accentuation confirmed or refined and having specified the operation and inoperation of licenses, I turn my attention next back to the metrical structures.

§ 2.5 **Patterns of line combination**

Investigators of the Saturnian have been preoccupied with formulating the meter and, understandably, have not systematically considered the possibility that patterns might be found on levels of metrical constituency above the line. Havet did first notice distichic composition in epigraphic Saturnians (Havet 1880: 222; Havet 1882: 204), but his observation holds independent of any theory of the meter given punctuation, inscribers' colometries, and syntax. There are otherwise scattered references to poem length, e.g. "the six-line Saturnian structure" in three of the four Scipionic elogia (*CIL* 7, 9, and 11) (Courtney 1995: 225).

With meter formulated, the question arises as to whether the combination of variant (arche-) types within poems was systematic or principled, and one can perhaps discern some tantalizing hints on cursory inspection of the colon and line type inventories in Appendices A–C and of the longer fragments and complete poems in Appendix D. On closer examination, one arrives at two conclusions: there is ultimately no corpus-wide

systematicity of variation of metrical type or even archetype, but certain longer fragments and the complete poems show traces of motivated selections of metrical variants. I explore these issues here, confining my remarks to notable metrical patterns across lines within longer fragments and complete poems (for a more detailed discussion, with references, regarding the aesthetics, syntax, and style in longer fragments and complete poems, see Courtney 1995: 210–212, 214–228 on epigraphic verses and Goldberg 1995: 58–82 on both literary and epigraphic verses; I supplement their observations *grosso modo* in § 2.6 below). I acknowledge that there is an inherent great risk in overanalyzing line type combinations, especially in such fragmentary material, but the co-occurrences—principled or no—do bear pointing out.

§ 2.5.1 Longer fragments

Fourteen literary fragments survive with at least two complete verses. These longer fragments consist of lines from the same archetype or mixed archetypes (a fifteenth fragment is Naev. 47 with two lines but is corrupt; see Appendix D for translations).

The two full lines of Naev. 5 (65) and Naev. 24 (66) instantiate [ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ], the most strongly attested type. Naev. 5.1 may have been in the related type [ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ].

(65) Naev. 5

¹	... ambōrum uxōrēs	... ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ
²	nóctū Tróiad exíbant cápitibus opértis	ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ
³	fléntēs ámbae_a- ¹ beúntēs lácrimīs cum múltis	ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ

(66) Naev. 24 (.1 codd.)

¹	déinde póllēns sagíttis ínclutus arquítēnēns	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
²	sánctus Ióve prōgnátus Pýthius Apóllō	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

Naev. 50 (67) has uniformly responding first-colon types, but the second cola are anaclastic variants of each other.

(67) Naev. 50

¹	sésēque_éi períre mávolunt ibídem	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
²	quám cum stúp̄rō redíre_ad súōs pòpu- lár̄is	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

In the two lines that survive complete in Naev. 37 (68), the second cola are in uniform respension, but the first cola are inverted variants.

(68) Naev. 37 (.1 Thulin; .2 codd.)

¹	... trānsit Mélitam	... ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
<i>or</i>	... trānsit Mélitam	... ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
²	Rōmānus exércitus ínsulam intégram	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
³	úr̄it populátur vástat rem_hóstium concínnat	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

Conversely, in the three extant verses of Naev. 6 (69), the first cola are uniform, but the second cola take acephalous anaclastic forms, with “|| 2 | 3” alternating with “|| 3 | 2.”

(69) Naev. 6

¹	éōrum séctam sequúntur † múl̄ti mortálēs	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ^ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
²	múl̄tī áli- ī_ē Tróia † strénuī víri	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ^ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
³	úbī fóras cum áurō † íll̄ic exí̄bant	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ^ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

The second cola of Naev. 26 (70) are uniformly “|| 3 | 2” while the first cola take different inverted forms.

(70) Naev. 26 (.1 Merula; .2 Mariotti)

¹ mánūsque sūsum ad cáelum & sústulit súās ² réx Amúlius dívīs & grātulā- ¹ bātur	$\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \wedge \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \wedge \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$
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In other long fragments, contiguous lines do not instantiate similar types. The three complete verses that survive in Naev. 25 (71) take mixed forms: the first two in “4 | 3 || 3 | 3,” the third with acephalous anaclastic second colon.

(71) Naev. 25

¹ póstquam ávem aspéxīt in témplō Anchísa ² sácrā in ménsā Penátijum órđine pōnúntur ³ immolábāt áuream & víctimam púlchram	$\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \wedge \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$
---	---

The first line of Andr. 15 (72) represents the common type [$\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} | \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} || \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} | \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$], while the second line has an acephalous second colon.

(72) Andr. 15

¹ íbī mánēns sedētō dónicum vidébis ² mé carpéntō vehéntem & dómum vēnísse	$\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \wedge \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$
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Naev. 8 (73) consists almost entirely of unique cola: the first cola of vv.2–3 instantiate the “4 | 3 ||” archetype, which is reversed in the first colon of v.1, and the second colon of each line represents different archetypes.

(73) Naev. 8 (.3 codd.)

¹ ínerant sígna expréssa quómodo Titānī ² bicórporēs Gigántēs & mágnī- ¹ que Atlántēs ³ Rúncus átque Purpúreus & filíi Térrās	$\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \wedge \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$ $\overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \wedge \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup} \overset{\cdot}{\cup}$
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Lastly, a couplet by Appius Claudius Caecus (74), which may be complete, likewise

consists of different archetypes.

(74) App. 2 (.1 Fleckeisen)

¹ amícum | cum vídēs || oblíscere | míseriās ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡:◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡
² ĩnimícus | síꝛes comméntus || ꝑ nec líbēns | áequē ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡:◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡:◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡

Based on the line-type combinations in the longer literary fragments as we have them, types and archetypes combined freely, at least those with “4|3” and its inverted derivatives “5|2” and “3|4” with “(^)3|3” and “(^)4|2.”

This generalization seems not to hold for the occurrences of archetypes with reduplicated second colon. In fragments of both Andronican and Naevian epic, such lines are found together with the cardinal and derivative lines, but the twelve-position lines appear to be set off from the thirteen-position ones. Andr. 34.2 (75) is temporally and syntactically subordinate to v.3 (v.1 is a long lacuna).

(75) Andr. 34

² símul dꝓónaꝓe-¹ órum || ꝑ pórtant | ad nāvīs || ◡ ◡:◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡:◡ ◡ ◡
³ múlta áli-¹ a ĩn ísdem || ꝑ ĩnseri-¹ núnur ◡ ◡:◡ ◡ ◡:◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

Compare also Naev. 38 Mariotti. Naev. 51.1 (76) is the protasis of v.2, the apodosis.²⁸

²⁸ It can pointed out here that Naev. 51 bears intertextual likeness to certain funerary Saturnians. The fragment refers to a debate in the senate about sending aid to soldiers facing death (referred to in Naev. 50). The choice to compose these verses in similar metrical forms as in epitaphs of illustrious men, while also verbally echoing elogia—

fortissimōs virōs	≈	fortis vir (<i>CIL</i> 7.1)
# magnum stuprum	≠	# magnam sapientiam (<i>CIL</i> 11.1)
populō ... gentīs #	≈	gentēs / †populī (Elog. Cal. .1–2)

—conveys a sense of irony, comparing potential moral death to actual physical death, contrasting dishonor in inaction and honor in action. This is not to say that these particular elogia preceded and inspired Naevius’ composition, rather that Naevius was drawing from common and diachronically persistent funerary motifs.

(76) Naev. 51

1	sīn īllōs dēserant fortīssimōs vīrōs	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
2	māgnum stūprum pōpulō fīerī per gētīs	˘˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘

Naev. 9.2–3 (77) consists of three noun phrases that are all coextensive with cola and in apposition to the direct object in the first verse.

(77) Naev. 9

1	sénex frētus pīetātei déum àdlo- ¹ cūtus	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
2	súmmī déum régis † frátrem Neptúnum	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ^ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
3	rēgnātōrem márum ...	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ...

Naev. 9 possibly also headed a now lost speech. Andr. 18 (78) comes from a speech proper, and the first three cola of the fragment comprise a correlative construction to complement a lost verb of saying.

(78) Andr. 18²⁹

1	námque nūllum pé(i)ius mácerāt hūmānum	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
2	quámde máre saevom vīrēs cúi sunt mágnae	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
3	tópper <...> cōnfríngent inportūnae úndae	˘˘˘˘... ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘

²⁹ In addition, Andr. 18 may be exemplifying aesthetically motivated variation of metrical form. The lines are inspired by Hom. *Od.* 8.138–139:

138	οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γέ τί φημι κακώτερον ἄλλο θαλάσσης	⋮˘˘˘ 2˘˘˘˘ 3˘˘˘˘ 4˘˘˘˘ 5˘˘˘˘ 6˘˘˘˘ –
139	ἄνδρα γε συγχεῖναι, εἰ καὶ μάλα κάρτερος εἶη	1˘˘˘˘ 2˘˘˘˘ – 3˘˘˘˘ – 4˘˘˘˘ 5˘˘˘˘ 6˘˘˘˘ –

*for I say no worse thing than the sea
troubles a man, even if he be very strong*

Andronicus's deployment of holotrochaic cola echoes holodactylic *Od.* 8.138 and the dactylic second hemistich of 139. Comparison with Homeric metrics is not possible if one were to consider only the quantities of Andr. 18:

1	– ˘˘˘˘ – – – ˘˘˘˘ – ˘˘˘˘ – – – –
2	– ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ – – – ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ – ˘˘˘˘ – –
3	– ˘˘˘˘... – – – – – – ˘˘˘˘ – –

To be sure, syntactically subordinate verses or speeches need not be metrically marked, e.g. the doubly subordinate indirect statement within a speech in Andr. 15 and the temporal clause in Naev. 25.1, but all instances of line types with reduplicated second colon appear to be correlated with these two categories (see the discussion of *CIL* 9 (84) below).

§ 2.5.2 Complete poems

By contrast, the complete Saturnian poems show remarkably patterned variation. In the fourth Scipionic elegium, *CIL* 11 (79), the last poem to celebrate the famous Cornelii's departed in Saturnian verse, six lines instantiate three types from the same "4 | 3 || 3 | 3" archetype.

(79) *CIL* 11³⁰

1	mágn(a)m sàpi- ¹ éntiam múltásque virtútēs	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
2	àe(vi)tāte quom párvā pó(s)sidet hoc sáxsum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘
3	quóiei víta dēfēcit nōn hónōs honóre(m)	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
4	ís hīc sítus quei núnquam víctus est virtútei	˘: ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
5	ánnōs gnātus (vígíntī) is lóceis mandátus	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
6	nē quairátis honóre(m) quei mīnu ^s sit mandátus	˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

Like Naev. 5 and 24, this poem is the only complete specimen with total columnar uniformity, at least archetypally. In fact, the poet may have striven for archetypal uniformity not without some force by employing archaic *aevitāte* and suspending prodelision in *victus est*. Compare Courtney's remark on *mandātus ... mandātus*, which

³⁰ See Appendix D, § D.10 for the diplomatic transcription, which shows the coincidence of the inscriber's line-breaks with the central caesurae.

applies equally well here: “the composer may have thought that he was actually being elegant” (Courtney 1995: 228).

By contrast, Publius Scipio’s epitaph, *CIL* 10 (80), shows some complex correspondences in addition to the archetypal columnar uniformity evident in *CIL* 11. The first colon of almost every line takes the same trochaic-amphibrachic shape. Dactyls fill the third quarter-verses of the first three and last three lines, and iamb + pyrrhic that of the central verse. The odd and central lines cadence in amphibrachs, the second and sixth lines in dactyls, and the fourth in a trochee. In other words, Publius Scipio’s elegist selected three types from the “4 | 3 || 3 | 3” archetype, alternated them, and arranged them in triplets around a third type from the “4 | 3 || 4 | 2” archetype.

(80) *CIL* 10³¹

1	quei_ápice(m)_ínsigne Diális fláminis ge(s)sístei	˘˘:˘ ˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
2	mórs perfécit tua_ut éssent ómnia brévia	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
3	hónōs fáma vírtūsque glória_at- ¹ que_ingénium	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
4	quíbu ^s sei_in lóngā licuí(s)et tibe(i)_útier vítā	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
5	fácile fácteis superá(s)sēs glóriam ma(i)_iōrum	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
6	quárē lúbēns tē_in grémiu(m) Scípiō récipit	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘
7	térrā Públī prōgnātum Públiō Cornéli	˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘ ˘˘˘˘

The epitaph of Marcus Caecilius, *CIL* 1202 (81), shows similar variation. The first cola of all three verses consist of trochee + trochee + amphibrach. The opening and closing lines have dactylic third quarter-verses, closed by a dactyl in the former and an amphibrach in the latter. These surround the central verse’s holotrochaic second colon.

³¹ Courtney 1995: 2226 reports Buecheler’s observation on epigraphic grounds that *CIL* 10.1 might be a late addition, but this is difficult to maintain in light of the proposed metrical analysis.

(81) *CIL* 1202³²

- ¹ hó(c)c est fáctum | monuméntum || Máarcō Cai-¹ cíliō ˘:˘:˘ | ˘˘˘ || ˘:˘:˘ | ˘˘˘
² hóspe(s)s grátum est | quom apúd mēās || rēstitístei | séedēs ˘:˘:˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘
³ béne rem gérās | et váleās || dórmiās | sine qúrā ˘:˘:˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘:˘:˘

Compare Naev. 50 with first cola in “4 | 3” but second cola in “3 | 3” and “4 | 2,” and Naev. 6 with first cola in “4 | 3” but second cola alternating between “2 | 3” and “3 | 2.”

The dedicatory inscription of the brothers Vertulii, *CIL* 1531 (82), again exhibits similar conscious variation. The poem opens and closes with the same type [˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘], surrounding three lines representing two different types from the same “4 | 3 || 3 | 3” archetype.

(82) *CIL* 1531³³

- ¹ quód rē súā | di(f)féidēns || † ásper | affléictā ˘:˘:˘ | ˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘
² párēns tímēns | heic vóvit || vótō hōc | solútō ˘:˘:˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘
³ décumā fáctā | po(l)lóuctā || léibereis | lubéntēs ˘:˘:˘ | ˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘
⁴ dónu(m) dánunt | Hércolei || máxsumē | méretō ˘:˘:˘ | ˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘
⁵ sémol tē ōrant | sē vótī || † crébrō | condémnēs ˘:˘:˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘

The trochaic-holodactylic form of *CIL* 1531.4, which loosely responds to vv.2–3, can be due to the formulaic status of GIFT-acc. + GIVE/GAVE, strongly attested in other dedicatory inscriptions. Hercules is a particularly popular dedicatee. Compare other inscriptions with HERCULES-dat. + GIFT-acc. + GIVE/GAVE (+ WILLINGLY + RIGHTLY): *Hercole(i) dōnu(m) / [d]ederō* (*CIL* 61), *[H]ercle(i) dederō / [d]ōno(m)* (*CIL* 2659), *Hercole(i) dōno(m) / dat*

³² See Appendix D, § D.11, for the diplomatic transcription, which shows the complete coincidence of even epigraphic line-breaks and verse-ends and of odd epigraphic line-breaks and colon-ends in vv.1 and .3 (Courtney 1995: 215, but denying that the name is intra metrum).

³³ See Appendix D, § D.12, for the diplomatic transcription, which shows the coincidence of spaces with verse-ends, as opposed to the use of word-dividing interpuncts verse-internally (Courtney 1995: 212).

lub(ēn)s / mer(i)tō (*CIL* 62) (see Euler 1982). Consequently, in a similar way as the poet of *CIL* 11 with *ae(vi)tāte* and *victus est*, the poet of *CIL* 1531 may be reaching for archetypal uniformity in adapting a common prosaic formula to verse. The form *danunt*, which occurs elsewhere in early Latin, is explained variously (Leumann 1977: 514; see Livingston 2004: 13–16 for a recent discussion), but Vine’s suggestion that it was an artificial poetic form, a sort of metrical lengthening of *dant* [–] → *danŋt* [∪ –] finds support here (Vine 1993: 203).

A different sort of variation appears to be operating in Scipio Barbatus’s epitaph, *CIL* 7 (83). Syntax and meter permit the six lines of the poem to be grouped into couplets.³⁴ The first couplet consists of two different types from the “4 | 3 || 3 | 3” archetype, which is also instantiated by the fourth and sixth lines. Demarcating the couplet boundaries, the third and fifth verses each take different forms.

(83) *CIL* 7³⁵

1	Cornēlius Lūcius Scīpiō Barbātus	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
2	Gnāivōd pātre prōgnātus fórtis vir sápiēnsque	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
3	quóius fóрма virtūtei parí(s)suma fūit	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
4	cónsol cēnsōr aidīlis quei fūit apúd vōs	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
5	Taurásia(m) Cisáuna(m) † Sámnio(m) cēpit	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ^ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
6	súbigit ómne(m) Loucāna(m) ópsidēs- ¹ que abdóucit	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

³⁴ Goldberg divides the poem into two triplets (Goldberg 1995: 63).

³⁵ Note in the diplomatic transcription given in Appendix D, § D.7, the occurrences of ⟨—⟩ to mark verse-ends in vv.2–4 but of ordinary word-dividing ⟨·⟩ the ends of vv.1 and .5 (Courtney 1995: 225, after Vine also entertaining the possibility that the name that occupies v.1 is extra metrum).

Finally (see § 2.7.4 below on Epigr. Naev.), the elogium for Scipio Barbatus's son, *CIL* 9 (84), shows the greatest formal variation and complexity.³⁶ On the basis of syntax, the poem can be analyzed as two-and-a-half + three-and-a-half lines. The praenomen and cognomen that take up the first two quarters of the third line, being appositive to *honc oino(m) ... viro(m)* in vv.1–2, properly belong in sense with the first two lines; *fīlios Barbātī* is in anticipatory apposition to *hic* in the third line, which is verse-medial and colon-initial like the patronymic formula.³⁷

(84) *CIL* 9³⁸

1	honc óino(m) plóirume(i) cō(n)séntiont R[ó]mae	∪: ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
2	duonóro(m) óptumo(m) † fūf(s)se víro(m)	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ^ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
3	Lúciom Scìpióne(m) fīlios Barbātī	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
4	cōnsol cēnsōr aidīlis hic fūēt a[púd] vōs	∪ ∪: ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪: ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪: ∪
5	hec cēpit Córscica(m) Aléria(m)- que úrbe(m)	∪ ∪: ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪: ∪ ∪
6	dédet Tēmpes- † tátebus † áide(m) méretō	∪ ∪: ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ^ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

According to metrical form, the six lines can be grouped into three couplets, and additional relationships between syntax and meter can be pointed out. Three of the four cola of the first couplet contain an indirect statement triggered by *cō(n)séntiont* in v.1, which can explain the choice of line types with reduplicated second colon. Compare Andr. 18.1, Andr. 34.2, Naev. 9.2, and Naev. 51.1. The verses of the second couplet represent related archetypes “3 | 4 || 3 | 3” + “4 | 3 || 3 | 3.” Compare Naev. 26 and 37.2–3

³⁶ Courtney (1995: 222) points out the irregularities.

³⁷ Goldberg entertains the possibility that *fīlios* is an error for *fīlio(m)* (Goldberg 1995: 62–63 after Ernout and van Sickle, who first proposed the distichic colometry), making *CIL* 9.3 a long appositive in the accusative, but I see no reason to doubt the stone.

³⁸ In *CIL* 9, verses are coterminous with epigraphic lines (see the diplomatic transcription in § D.8).

with first cola from inverted archetypes but second cola from the same archetype. Opening the final couplet, the fifth line responds tightly to the first line of the poem. Closing the poem, several formal similarities shared by the final line's cola and those of the preceding verses can be pointed out, but the verse's form can simply be due to the formulaic nature of GIVE/GAVE + DEITY + OBJECT + RIGHTLY and its accommodation (cf. *CIL* 1531.4).

§ 2.6 Rhetoric, stylistics, and meter

The penultimate task of this chapter is to consider rhetoric and stylistics with respect to the proposed meter. Under this rubric, I discuss in sketch some aspects of phonology and syntax, the meter's sensitivity to them and their exploitation for aesthetic effect. The meter does not require such exploitation, which in fact is largely independent of any theory of the Saturnian. Rather certain details of the proposal find support in observations that can be made regarding sound play, BEHAGHEL'S LAW of Increasing members, the disposition of phrases within lines as indicated by the placement of phrasal and clausal proclitics, phrasal accentuation or intonation, and the alignment patterns of syntactic : metrical constituents within and across lines. (In this section, I refer to the quarter-verse in a general sense, regardless of positional configuration or realization and without reference to archetypal combination. So, "first quarter-verse" means any and all quarters in "# 5 |," "# 4 |," or "# 3 |," "second quarter-verse" any and all in "| 2 ||," "| 3 ||" or "| 4 ||," etc.)

§ 2.6.1 **Phonological ornament**

It was clear from Rastier's (1970) evaluation of Saussure's unpublished alliterative theory of Saturnian versification that alliteration did not govern but rather enhanced Saturnian composition. Here I consider only verse-internal alliteration and pass over in silence complex patterns of alliteration across lines, as in *CIL* 1531.

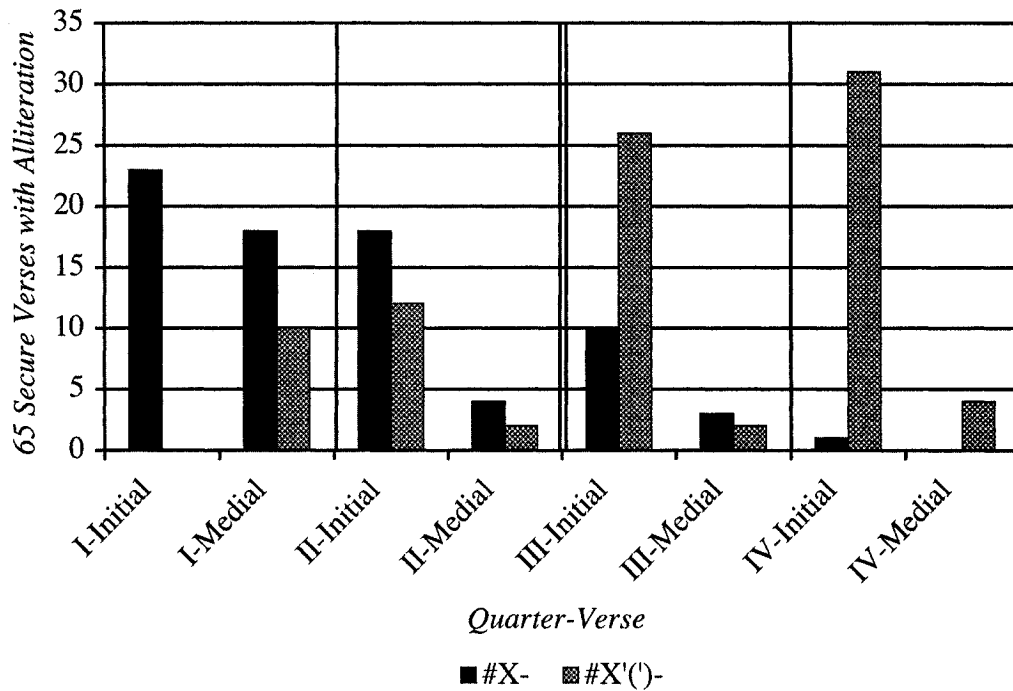


Chart 2.1. Alliteration.

In 65 secure verses, 77 alliterative pairs and triplets occur (tokens, not types), counting only word-initial consonant and vowel alliteration. With respect to position in the line, the first alliterating member is slightly more often located verse-initially (23 times) than first-quarter-medially (18 times) or second-quarter-initially (18 times). The second

and/or third members of the alliterating pair or triplet gravitate towards third-quarter-initial (26 times) and fourth-quarter-initial positions (31 times). See chart 2.1, where let “#X-” stand for the initial segment of the first alliterating member and “#X(’)” for that of the second or third. Representative examples of verse-internal alliteration are gathered in (85).

(85) Distribution of alliterating words (representative examples)

(a) I-initial #X-

<i>CIL</i> 10.5	# fá-cile fá-cteis ...		
Naev. 48	# ð-nerári- ¹	ae-onú-stae ...	
Incertorum 3	# re-ligéntem ...		re-ligiósus ...
Andr. 1	# ví-rum ...		ver-sútum #

(b) I-medial #X-

Naev. 6.1	... sé-ctam	sequ-úntur ...	
<i>CIL</i> 7.6	... ó-mne(m) ...		ó-psidēs- ¹ ...
<i>CIL</i> 7.3	... fó-rma ...		fú-it #

(c) II-initial #X-

Naev. 52	...	sub-igúntur	sub-únum ...
Andr. 34.3	...	¹ -a-in ís-dem	ð-inseri- ¹ núntur
Andr. 15.2	...	vehéntem ...	vén-isse #
Naev. 20.1	...	percóntāt ...	pá-ctō #

(d) II-medial #X-

<i>CIL</i> 11.2	...	pár-vā	pó(s)-sidēt ...
Incertorum 6	...	régum	ré-giās ...

(e) III-initial #X-

Naev. 61	...		pó-pulum	pepul-ísti #
Epigr. Naev. .3	...		trá-ditus	thēs-áurō #
<i>CIL</i> 1531.1	...		ð-ásper	affl-éictā #

(f) III-medial #X-

CIL 11.3 ... hónōs | honōre(m) #

(g) IV-initial #X-

Andr. 30 ... | práe pavóre #

This distribution suggests that alliteration tends strongly to be used to highlight the foot boundaries in the first quarter, Korsch's caesurae, and the central break, at the same time drawing attention to the cohesion of the line's half-verses more than that of quarter-verses within cola (Watkins' *concatenative alliteration*).

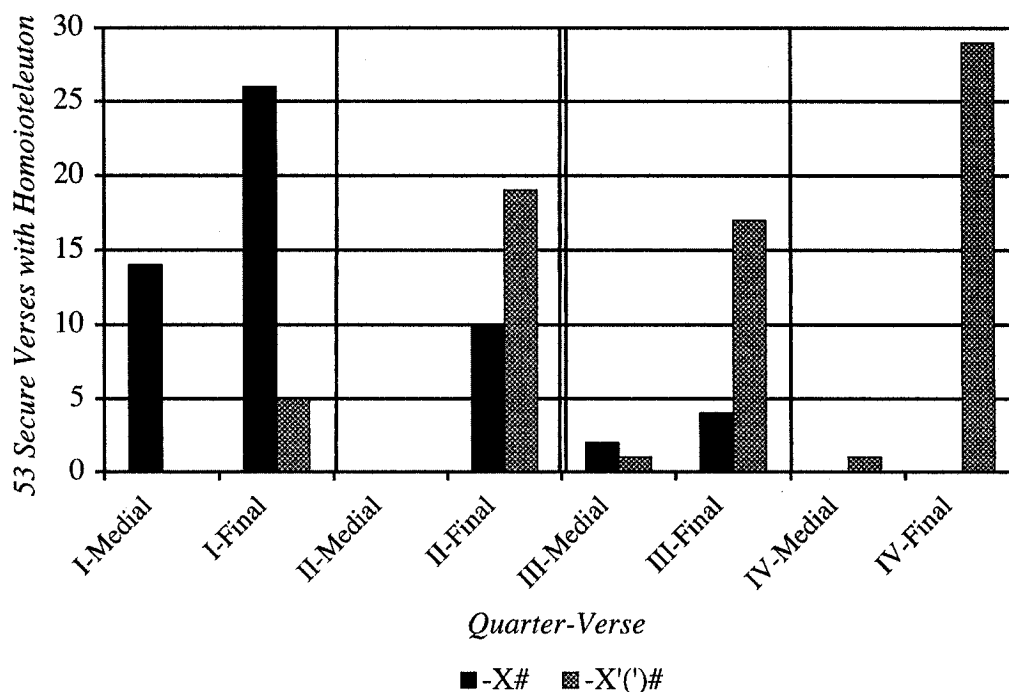


Chart 2.2. Homoioteleuton.

Homoioteleuton or end-rhyme, if at all meaningful, appears to be serving a similar

function as alliteration (here again verse-internally and not across lines), this time highlighting the right edges of metrical constituents. 56 pairs or triplets of identical word-final syllables occur in 53 secure lines. Of these, 26 first-quarter-final and ten second-quarter-final syllables rhyme with 19 second-quarter-final, 17 third-quarter-final, and 29 final syllables. See chart 2.2, where let “-X#” stand for the final syllable of the first word in a rhyming pair or triplet and “-X'(!)#” for that of the second or third. Representative examples of verse-internal homoioteleuton are gathered in (86).

(86) Distribution of rhyming words (representative examples)

(a) I-medial -X#

Naev. 51.2	#	mágnum stúprum ...	
Tab. Glab.	#	fúndit ... próstérnit ...	
Incertorum 6	#	súmmās ...	régiās ...
Andr. 1	#	vírum ...	versútum #

(b) I-final -X#

Naev. 31	...	púlchrās crētérās ...	
CIL 11.4	...	sítus	víctus ...
Naev. 46	Sìçiliénsēs		óbsidēs ...
Naev. 9.2	...	déum	Neptúnium #

(c) II-medial -X#

no occurrences

(d) II-final -X#

CIL 10.1	...	Diális fláminis ...	
Naev. 62	...	ar- ¹ quítenēns ...	póllēns ...
Naev. 37.3	...	vástat ...	concínnat #

(e) III-medial -X#

CIL 1202.1

... || Márcō Cai-¹ cíliō #

(f) III-final -X#

CIL 10.2

... || ómnia | brévia #

Like alliteration, homoioteleuton serves as an enhancement that strongly tends to mark the first-quarter-internal foot boundaries, Korsch's caesurae, and the central break, while binding the quarter-verses within the line. If, on the other hand, homoioteleuton is merely the consequence of grammatical agreement and the restrictions of word placement in the line, the process that supports the proposal is really syntactic scrambling, hinted at in § 2.6.4 below, of which rhyme is diagnostic.

§ 2.6.2 BEHAGHEL'S LAW of Increasing Members

Perhaps relatable to phonological ornament is BEHAGHEL'S LAW of Increasing Members, a universal observation concerning the crescendoing lengths of serial syntactic constituents according to syllable count (Behaghel 1909; Habinek 1986: 175ff; Watkins 1995: 24). In early prose, contrary to BEHAGHEL, the tendency in Cato's "appositional style" to place the main thought in the first and longer part of a sentence closed by a shorter phrase has been observed on the level of the line as one of the Saturnian's readily apparent features (Habinek 1986: 180–184; Courtney 1999: 9, with further references, 42). Indeed, the desire to carry out decrescendi on multiple levels of metrical constituency can be motivating the derivation of "4 | 2" cola from balanced "3 | 3" by anacalasis (see § 2.1.1.7 above), as well as of "3 | 2" from "4 | 2" cola by acephaly in order

to balance with first cola ending in “3” (see §§ 2.1.1.5–6 and Appendix A, § A.6).

However, on further scrutiny in light of the proposed meter, Habinek’s comparison of archaic prose and Saturnian poetry can be refined. Looking below the line, it was noticed above that “4 | 3” cola tended strongly towards further subdivision into “2 2 | 3” in observance of BEHAGHEL, which was exploited in formalizing first-colon accentual and word-boundary patterns (see Appendix B for all instances). Several derivative operations and licenses result in cola that conform to BEHAGHEL as well: crescendoing cola in “2 | 3” achieved by acephaly of “3 | 3” (see § 2.1.1.2 and Appendix A, § A.3); inverted “3 | 4” cola (see § 2.1.2.3 and § B.5); nearly all first- and second-colon forms with bridged caesura (see § 2.4.5 on Naev. 9.1, 38.1 Mariotti, 50.2, 62; *CIL* 9.6; *CIL* 11.1; *CIL* 1202.1). A final observation is that, just as Cato and his contemporaries were constructing crescendoing sentences more and more, a minority group of Saturnian lines crescendo from first to second colon, even from first to fourth quarter. Compare verses in “3 | 3 || 4 | 3” and “3 | 3 || 5 | 2” with crescendoing cola (§ 2.2.1–2 and §§ C.4–5), and “3 | 3 || 3 | 4” and “4 | 2 || 3 | 4” with crescendoing feet and quarters (§§ 2.2.1–2, C.6, and C.11). In fact, BEHAGHEL may be motivating the variation.

§ 2.6.3 **Syntactic : metrical constituency**

The placement of function words which signal the left edges of syntactic constituents serves as the clearest indicator of metrical boundaries. I considered prepositional phrases, conjunct clauses, relative clauses, and questions, which can be found in 51 secure verses of the corpus, and I noted the placement of prepositions, conjunctions, and

relative/interrogative pronouns within quarter-verses.

In 51 secure verses, prepositions occur 31 times (tokens, not types): 25 quarter-verse-initially and six -medially. Quarter-verse-initial prepositions most often occur in the second and fourth quarter-verses, with eleven and ten instances respectively (see chart 2.3 appended at the end of the section; representative examples are collected in (87)).

(87) Prepositional phrases : quarter-verses (representative examples)

(a) I-initial

Andr. 13 # ápud nýmphamAt-¹
 Naev. 68 # ápud empori-¹

(b) I-medial

Naev. 50.2 # quám cum stúpro ||
 Naev. 25.2 # sácrain ménsa |

(c) II-initial

Andr. 24 | ad áedis ||
 CIL 11.2 | quom párva ||
 Andr. 17 | dēore ||
 Naev. 6.2 | -i Tróiā ||
 CIL 10.6 | tēin grémiu(m) ||

(d) II-medial

Naev. 50.2 ad || súos pópu-¹ láris #
 Andr. 3 ex || tuore súpra |
 Naev. 3.2 in || èxpedìti-¹ ònem #

(e) III-initial

Naev. 25.1 || in témplo |
 Naev. 52 || sub únum |

(f) III-medial

no occurrences

(g) IV-initial

Andr. 34.2 | ad nāvis #
 CIL 7.4 | apúd vos #
 Naev. 5.3 | cum múltis #
 Naev. 48 | in flústris #
 Naev. 54 | intér (se) #
 Naev. 51.2 | per géntis #
 Andr. 30 | práe pavore #
 Naev. 68 | pro móene #
 CIL 1202.3 | sine qurā #

(h) IV-medial

no occurrences

Prepositional phrases thus tend to correlate with quarter-verses, especially the even ones. The main reason for this distribution is largely because the sequence preposition + object is phonologically equivalent to a unitary content word, and content words bridge colon-medial breaks only on strict conditions, but consider *lācrimīs cum mūltīs* (Naev. 5.3) where the object noun has been preposed instead of the adjective: the configuration and scansion of *mūltīs cum | lācrimīs* (compare familiar *magnā cum laude*) requires that the preposition occur in third-quarter-final position. The notable exceptions in (87d) above, with prepositions cleaved from objects by the central caesura, fulfills similar conditions as those that permit the bridging of Korsch's caesurae: post-caesural position is filled by the initial secondary-stressed syllable of the long object that has pushed its preposition leftward into the first colon.

Conjunctions that connect clauses (minimally a solitary conjugated verb) occur 15 times in 51 secure verses, 14 of which are quarter-verse initial, and eight of these also open the line (see chart 2.3 below and (88)).

(88) Conjunct clauses : quarter-verses

(a) I-initial (representative examples)		(b) I-medial	
Andr. 30	# <i>igitur dēmum</i> U- ¹	<i>CIL</i> 10.4	# <i>quibus sī</i> in lóngā
Epigr. Naev. .3	# <i>itaque póstquam</i>		
Andr. 18.1	# <i>námque nūllum</i>		
Andr. 17	# <i>símul ac lācrimās</i>		
Naev. 51.1	# <i>sīn illos</i>		
Andr. 24	# <i>tópper cītī</i>		
Andr. 14	# <i>útrum génu-</i> ¹		

(c) II-initial (d) II-medial

CIL 1202.3 | et váleās || *no occurrences*
 App. 2.2 | síes comméntus ||
CIL 10.2 | tūa ut éssent ||

(e) III-initial (f) III-medial

Epigr. Naev. .1 || si fóret | *no occurrences*
 Andr. 25 || ut príus |

(g) IV-initial (h) IV-medial

Naev. 46 | ut réddant # *no occurrences*

This distribution suggests that the beginnings of conjunct clauses are aligned with the quarter-verse boundaries, especially with line-beginning and first Korsch's caesura. Cases where clausal conjunctions occur further into a line either follow a short independent or governing clause (*CIL* 1202.3, *CIL* 10.2 (88c); Andr. 25 (88e)) or involve the left-dislocation of lesser constituents (*CIL* 10.4 (88b); App. 2.2 (88c); Epigr. Naev. .1 (88e); Naev. 46 (88g)).

Lastly, relative/interrogative pronouns occur 25 times in 51 secure verses, and 23 of these are left-aligned with quarter-verse boundaries: 14 first-quarter-initially, five second-quarter-initially, initial in the third quarter four times, and once at the beginning of the last quarter (see chart 2.3 below and (89)).

(89) Relative clauses/questions : quarter verses (representative examples)

(a) I-initial (b) I-medial

CIL 10.1 # quei ápice(m) insigne | Epigr. Naev. .3 # itaque póstquam |
CIL 7.3 # quóius fóрма |
CIL 11.3 # quóiei víta |

Naev. 62 # cum tú ar-¹
 Naev. 50.2 # quám cum stúprō |
 CIL 1531.1 # quód rē súā |
 Naev. 6.3 # úbī fóráš |
 Andr. 23 # quándō díēs |
 Naev. 61 # quíanam |

(c) II-initial

(d) II-medial

CIL 11.4 | qui núnquam ||
 CIL 1202.2 | quom apúd meās ||
 Andr. 3 | quid vérbī ex ||

no occurrences

(e) III-initial

(f) III-medial

CIL 7.4 || qui fūēt |
 Andr. 23 || quém prōfāta |
 Naev. 8.1 || quómodo |

Andr. 18.2 || vírēs cú |

(g) IV-initial

(h) IV-medial

Naev. 20.1 | quō páctō #

no occurrences

This distribution parallels that of clausal conjunctions: where the relative/interrogative pronoun occurs further into the line, a short independent or governing clause precedes it (CIL 11.4, CIL 1202.2 (89c); Andr. 23, Naev. 8.1 (89e)) or a lesser constituent has been left-dislocated before the pronoun (CIL 7.4 (89e); Andr. 18.2 (89f); Naev. 20.1 (89g)). In Epigr. Naev. .3 (89b), a trisyllabic clausal conjunction precedes the relative, and a vocative noun phrase precedes the question word in Andr. 3 (89c).

In sum, proclitics strongly tend to occur quarter-verse-initially. Prepositions gravitate towards colon-medial post-caesural position, and clausal conjunctions and relative/interrogative pronouns towards line-beginning or first Korsch's caesura (see

chart 2.3). These tendencies, in addition to the near-inviolability of the caesurae, support quadripartition of the verse.

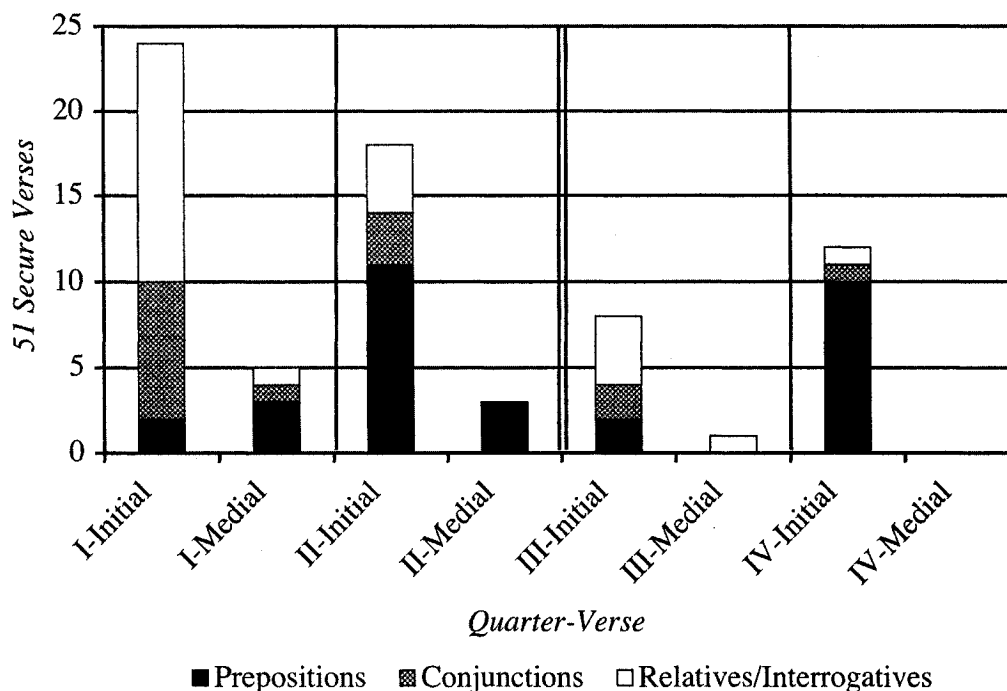


Chart 2.3. Alignment of left phrasal boundaries and verse boundaries.³⁹

§ 2.6.4 Syntactic-phonological : metrical constituency

Now, an interesting pattern seems to emerge from an examination of bipartite substantive phrases. These consist of a head noun or adjective and a modifier (adjective, demonstrative, genitive/dative complement, participle, appositive⁴⁰). This admittedly crude intuition rests on the assumption that syntactic constituents are also prosodic entities and domains of phonological accentuation above the level of the word (this has

³⁹ In this and subsequent charts, I have placed single solid lines to mark Korsch's caesurae and a double solid line at the central break.

⁴⁰ In appositive phrases with common + proper noun, I arbitrarily count the common noun as the head and the name as the modifier. In two-part names, I count the gentilicium or cognomen as the head and the praenomen as the modifier.

been hinted at above in § 2.3.3 on phrasal accentuation; compare also Modern English *thirtéen, mén,* and *thirteen mén*). Although it remains anyone's guess what the nature of phrasal accent was in larger syntactic constituents of Latin and how it was assigned⁴¹, members of Latin phrases surely bore differing prominences. In considering the bipartite substantive phrases, I distinguished the two possible orders head + modifier and modifier + head in case the order might be relevant.

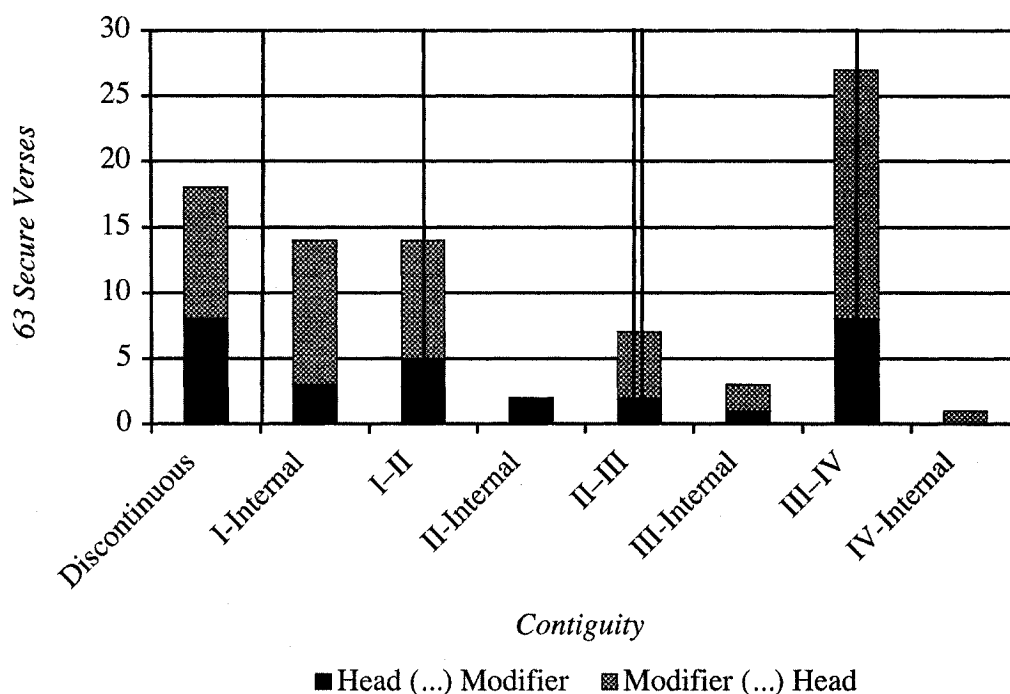


Chart 2.4. Placement of two-member substantive phrases and order of constituents.

⁴¹ In their recent study of word order in Classical Latin literary prose, Devine & Stephens do not make “a serious attempt to work out a coherent theory” of phrasal accentuation and only “tentatively recognize three levels of [binary branching] prosodic structure: the word or clitic group [...] the minor phrase [...] and the intermediate or major phrase,” and on each of these levels the left member bears greater prominence (Devine & Stephens 2006: 29–30). See the interesting discussion of the problem and a recent attempt at a “coherent theory” by Wachter 2004.

In 63 secure verses, 86 head//modifier sequences (tokens, not types) occur: 29 times as head + modifier and 57 in the reverse order. Of these, 18 are discontinuous, 20 are contiguous within quarter-verses, and head and modifier are adjacent in 48 instances around the quarter-verse boundaries. The curious point is that, of these 48 instances, 41 occur around Korsch's caesurae and only seven around the central break (see chart 2.4). Representative examples are gathered in (90).

(90) Heads//modifiers (representative examples)

(a) I-internal

Andr. 3 # meā pūera |
 Naev. 39.1 # vírum práetōr |
 CIL 9.1 # honc óino(m) |

(b) I-II

Andr. 6 # argénteō | po(l)lúbrō ||
 Naev. 3.2 pártem_ex-¹ ércitū_in ||
 CIL 9.3 # Lúciom | Scipiōne(m) ||
 CIL 11.1 # mágna(m) sàpi-¹ éntiam ||

(c) II-internal

Andr. 3 | quid vérbū_ex ||
 Andr. 10 | vir súmmus ||

(d) II-III

Andr. 12 | Sātúrnī || fília |
 Andr. 30 U-¹ líxi || cor
 Naev. 61 | Sātúrnium || pópulum |
 CIL 7.3 | virtútei || parí(s)suma |
 CIL 10.7 | prōgnátum || Públiō |

(e) III-internal

Andr. 3 || tuō_óre
 Naev. 37.3 || rem_hóstium |
 CIL 11.5 || is lóceis |

(f) III-IV

Andr. 19 || fílius | Lātónās #
 Naev. 5.2 || cápíibus | opértīs #
 Naev. 6.2 || † strénuī | vírī #
 Naev. 10 || † béllī-¹ que_inértēs #
 Epigr. Naev. .1 || Náevium | poétam #
 CIL 1202.1 || Máarcō Cai-¹ cíliō #

(g) IV-internal

CIL 11.2 | hoc sáxsum #

The rarity of head//modifier sequences quarter-verse-internally is not particularly meaningful, since most non-initial quarter-verses have only three positions to be filled. Nor is the even distribution of head//modifier sequences first-quarter-internally and around first Korsch's caesura, which can be explained by word lengths: tetrasyllabic phrases occur in binary first quarters, and longer phrases straddle Korsch's caesura. What is striking is the avoidance of locating the same longer head//modifier sequences around the central break. The conclusion that can be drawn from this distribution is that phrasal-accentual continuity across the central caesura is avoided in order to keep the cola discrete. The order of constituents appears to play no part with respect to the meter, but it is notable that modifier + head is the more common order for bipartite substantive phrases in Saturnians.⁴²

The 18 discontinuous head//modifier sequences (91) tend strongly to occur across cola: five first cola contain heads with their modifiers in second cola, and nine first cola contain modifiers with their heads in second cola. Head + modifier sequences are scrambled twice within the first colon and once within the second, and in the reverse order once in the first colon.

⁴² Devine & Stephens state that "there are no immediately obvious rules for the order of nominal arguments and adjuncts relative to the head, at least no rules that are expressible in terms of the familiar syntactic categories" (Devine & Stephens 2006: 314) and conclude that "simply in terms of serial order, the noun phrases [...] offer two options: either the complement precedes the head or it follows the head" (Devine & Stephens 2006: 380).

(91) Discontinuous bipartite substantive phrases (representative examples)

(a) Within cola

<i>CIL</i> 1202.1	# hó(c)c ... monuméntum	
<i>CIL</i> 11.2	# ãe(vi)tãte ... párvã	
Naev. 25.2	# sãcra ... Penãtium	
Andr. 18.2		vírēs ... mágnæ #
Naev. 68		hóstium ... móene #

(b) Across cola

Andr. 1	# vírum ...	versútum #
<i>CIL</i> 10.4	lóngã ...	vítã #
Naev. 1	... concórdēs ...	soróres #
Andr. 24	... áedīs ...	Círcae #
Epigr. Naev. .3	... Órchī ...	thēsáurō #

Taken all together and on the level of the quarter-verse, substantive phrases are distracted into the odd quarters 14 times as opposed to the 22 times that even quarter-verses hold the scrambled members. This distribution serves as an additional indicator of the reality of the quarter-verse as a metrical constituent and of the cadentiality of the even quarters.

In sum, bipartite substantive phrases favor either continuity within cola or are distracted across cola, especially into the even quarter-verses. These observations corroborate not only the long-standing primitive analysis of the Saturnian *κατὰ κῶλον* or in hemistichs (explored in the following section), but also the proposal that the line was quadripartite with cadential even quarters.

§ 2.6.5 Enjambment

It is commonly held that the Saturnian line with its strong tendency to align clause and sentence boundaries with colon- and verse-ends (e.g. Leo, Cole, Habinek, and Blänsdorf)

was quite unsophisticated (e.g. Goldberg 1995: 61ff). This is particularly evident in such efforts at emendation as Leo's *genus* ⟨*ōd*⟩*istī* # (accepted by Morel and Blänsdorf) in order to make Naev. 16 a complete sentence, or Havet's ⟨*mē*⟩ *genuistī* # for manuscripts' *genusistī*, which Scaliger corrects to | *genuistī* # I think rightly. But any strictness in the coextensiveness of clause/sentence with colon/line is a false impression made from the fragmentary nature of the corpus (Dunkel 1996: 210).

§ 2.6.5.1 Enjambment on the level of the line

Following M. Parry's theory of the oral composition of the Homeric epics and his approach, using enjambment or the misalignment of syntactic and metrical boundaries as inversely proportional to the degree of orality, G. Dunkel (1996) made several observations on enjambment and orality in literary Saturnians in Latin, among other poetry and traditions. Dunkel, refining Parry's theory of enjambment, defines five types of sentence : verse alignment (Dunkel 1996: 203–204): (i) unenjambmed: sentence and verse are coterminous; (ii) additively enjambmed: the sentence is complete at verse-end but is continued in the following verse; (iii) clausally enjambmed: not the sentence but a clause ends at verse-end; (iv) necessarily enjambmed: verse-end comes in the middle of a phrase; and (v) violently enjambmed: verse-end cleaves a proclitic from its co-constituents. Dunkel observes the first four categories in the longer literary Saturnian fragments (Dunkel 1996: 210–211), and almost all of his descriptions remain valid. (See Appendix D for the texts.) Andr. 18.1 is additively enjambmed (with v.2 clausally enjambmed), as are Naev. 5.2 (after necessarily enjambmed v.1), Naev. 6.1, Naev. 8.2 (considered necessarily enjambmed by

Dunkel after necessarily enjambed v.1), Naev. 9.1 and .2, Naev. 26.1 Merula, and Naev. 50.1. (The case of Naev. 6.1 is ambiguous: v.2 is standardly interpreted as an expansion of .1, but v.2 could equally easily contrast with .1 and rather belong with .3, making Naev. 6.1 unenjambed and .2 clausally enjambed.) Clausal enjambment occurs also in Naev. 25.1, Naev. 51.1, and Epigr. Naev. .1 and .3. Necessary enjambment is seen also in Andr. 15.1, Naev. 3.1 and .2, Naev. 20.1, Naev. 24.1 and .2, and Naev. 37.2. Dunkel regards Naev. 39.1 as additively enjambed, but the second line of the fragment is one word and does not make definitive description possible; he regards †Naev. 47.1 and .2 as necessarily enjambed, but the fragment is too corrupt to be certain: as is, †Naev. 47.1 with verse-final relative pronoun is violently enjambed. To Dunkel's descriptive inventory can be added clausally enjambed Andr. 34.2.

Before amplifying Dunkel's list with the remaining verses of the corpus, C. Higbie's (1990) theory of enjambment bears consideration. She develops subtypes for (ii) additive and (iii) clausal enjambment: internal and external. She distinguishes between the expansion of a sentence = verse by another clause as internal additive enjambment of the first, and the simple concatenation of another clause the external additive enjambment of the first (Higbie 1990: 32ff). Likewise, internal clausal enjambment describes cases of clause = verse expanded by a second clause/sentence = verse, and external clausal enjambment those of required expansion, such as conditionals and correlative constructions (Higbie 1990: 41ff). Under Higbie's system, Andr. 18.1 is internally additively enjambed (and v.2 externally clausally enjambed), as are Naev. 5.2, Naev. 6.1,

Naev. 8.2, Naev. 26.1 Merula, and Naev. 50.1. External additive enjambment describes Naev. 9.1 and .2 (appositive). External clausal enjambment is seen in Andr. 34.2 (temporal clause), Naev. 25.1 (temporal clause), Naev. 51.1 (conditional), Epigr. Naev. .1 (conditional) and .3 (temporal clause).

Similar clause/sentence : verse alignment patterns are found in the rest of the Saturnian corpus. Violent enjambment is unattested, which adds some suspicion to †Naev. 47.1, though violent enjambment is typologically rare enough that legislation against it in Saturnians from the paucity of data is not possible. In addition to the final verses of complete poems, numerous non-final lines are unenjambmed: App. 2.1; *CIL* 7.5; *CIL* 9.4, .5, and .6; *CIL* 10.5; *CIL* 11.2, .4, and .5; *CIL* 1202.1 and .2; *CIL* 1531.4. Internal additive enjambment is seen in *CIL* 10.2, while external additive enjambment is found in more verses: ‡App. 1.1; *CIL* 7.1, .2, .3, and .4; *CIL* 9.2 and .3. Internal clausal enjambment is unattested, as opposed to several instances of the external sort: *CIL* 10.1 and .4; *CIL* 11.3; *CIL* 1531.1 and .2. Finally, necessary enjambment describes *CIL* 9.1 (so also †Elog. Cal. .1), *CIL* 10.6, and *CIL* 11.1.

§ 2.6.5.2 Enjambment on the level of the colon and quarter-verse

The same types of enjambment can be found on the level of the colon (here I consider only the secure verses). Not surprisingly, almost all first cola consist of words and phrases that cannot stand on their own and are thus in necessary enjambment. Of first cola that are clauses or can be independent, the types of enjambment and their subtypes are also observable. A new clause begins at the central break, making the first colon of

Andr. 18.2 unenjambmed, as well as those of Naev. 37.3 and *CIL* 1531.2. Internal additive enjambment describes the first cola in Andr. 25, Naev. 5.2, Naev. 8.1, Naev. 20.1, *CIL* 11.6, and Incertorum 7. Externally additively enjambmed are the first cola of Andr. 15.1, Naev. 39.1, Incertorum 3, *CIL* 7.6, and *CIL* 1202.3. Internal clausal enjambment is found in the first cola of Andr. 23, while the first colon of Naev. 46 is externally clausally enjambmed, as are those of App. 2.1 Fleckeisen and .2, and *CIL* 1531.3. Finally, a couple of first cola are found in violent enjambment: Naev. 3.2, with preposition before the central break, as well as Naev. 50.2.

In addition, enjambment can also occasionally be discerned in the first quarter-verse. In Andr. 3, the first quarter (vocative noun phrase) is externally clausally enjambmed, as are the first quarters of *CIL* 10.2, *CIL* 1531.5. The first quarter of *CIL* 11.1 is internally additively enjambmed, as are those of *CIL* 1202.2. Lastly, external additive enjambment describes the first quarter of *CIL* 1202.3.

In sum, sentences and clauses strongly tend *not* to be *necessarily* enjambmed at verse-end, much less strongly at first colon-end, and most weakly at first quarter-end. No Saturnian verse shows new sentence- or clause-beginning at second Korsch's caesura. Because the numbers are so small, I follow Dunkel and forbear any claims on the degree of orality in Saturnians. But the clause/sentence : colon/verse alignment patterns he observed are confirmed and are found in the rest of the corpus also at the level of the quarter-verse and colon. So the lack of enjambment here—an observation independent of the theory of the meter but supportive of the proposed colometries—indicates rather the

syntactic discreteness of the metrical constituency of the line, the half-verses, and the first quarter-verse.

§ 2.7 **Conclusion: Summary and evaluation**

To recapitulate: a Saturnian meter can be formulated that is sufficiently constrained while respecting natural Latin prosody and the textual tradition. The verse was thus based on the alternation and flexible but predictable arrangement of stressed and unstressed syllables in a 13-position line consisting of half-verses that further subdivide into quarters. Quadripartition of the line, corroborated by rhetoric and stylistics, is necessary in order to predict and constrain resolution and regulate colon- and line-type derivation. Though verse ictus is mobile, which is diagnosed from the incidence of primary and secondary stress and of resolution, a trochaic/dactylic cadence nevertheless unites cola within and across all extant lines. The diversity of colon types can be united under seven archetypes that cohere in derivational relationships: the three seven-position colon archetypes by inversion of feet, and the four six-position colon archetypes by anaclasis and acephaly. The multiplicity of line types according to the combination of cola can thus be accounted for by the inversion of seven- and six-position cola and the replacement of a seven-position colon with a six-position form. Inversion of feet and cola and second-colon reduplication can serve to demarcate the bounds of major syntactic periods and those of a poem by contrasting structures with surrounding lines.

The proposed scansion that forms the basis of the proposed meter are themselves founded on the well-known (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE of Classical Latin accentuation

and the pre-antepenultimate accentuation of quantitative proceleusmatic words in early Latin. An additional corollary concerning the strength of the prominence assigned in function words is necessary to account for several scansion. In addition to rising clash and falling clash, only monosyllabic words are permitted to clash with polysyllables' stresses of equal prominence; polysyllables must otherwise stand in hiatus. Elision that does not result in clash must apply on a final short vowel in an open syllable; a final long vowel or diphthong or short vowel + *-m* can be elided or allowed to stand in prosodic hiatus, especially at quarter-verse boundaries. By default, one syllable occurs per verse position, but resolution is allowed in a number of positions of 13-position lines, as long as resolution and suppression do not operate within the same colon. Korsch's caesurae can be bridged by elision or by a tetrasyllabic word or longer. Lastly, the longer literary Saturnian fragments and complete epigraphic poems may preserve traces of conscious effort by the poets to select from the diverse inventory of metrical types and arrange them in striking patterns of response within and across lines.

A final task remains before moving on to other Latin and non-Latin Italic poetry, and that is to evaluate the approach and the theory by objective measures.

§ 2.7.1 A test against prose

A test of a proposed Saturnian meter against prose has never been conducted, a desideratum expressed by S. Goldberg (1995: 60). By such a test, he means (i) how natural a proposed meter is and (ii) how often non-poetic Latin is metrical under a proposal. My proposal has already addressed the first purpose: the theory rests on natural

Latin as understood from well-established meters.

As for Goldberg's second purpose, interpreted one way, a proposed meter can find support in *clausulae*, since Latin prose emulates poetic rhythms especially at clausal/sentential cadences. Understood another way, the restrictiveness of a proposal can be measured by the degree to which it admits prose sequences as metrical. It is with this second understanding that I have devised the following test. I "scanned" into "cola" the beginning of Cato's (234–149 BC) agricultural treatise (*De Agri Cultura* praefatio.1–1.7) and the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (CIL 581, 186 BC), the senate decree against Bacchanalia, from after the salutation.⁴³ The scansion can be inspected in Appendix E. I then counted how many of these contiguous "cola" can constitute "verses" without violent enjambment. The 334 words of the beginning of Cato's treatise can be scanned into 106 cola, leaving 51 words in hypometrical or unmetrical sequences. 70 pairs of these quasi-half-verses can constitute 35 sufficiently well-formed Saturnian lines. Similarly, the 295 words of the *Senatus Consultum* proper can be scanned into 89 cola, with 58 intractable words left over. 24 pairs of contiguous cola from the 89 can be analyzed as full Saturnian lines. Taken together, 118 out of 195 Saturnian cola in a small prose corpus can be analyzed as 59 full verses. In other words, (i) the proposed meter admits only 60.5% of archaic Latin prose phrases and sentences as well-formed lines, in contrast to all 110 textually secure Saturnians that survive—note that the pseudo-

⁴³ The match is admittedly imperfect, since the Saturnian verses are mostly discontinuous and come from several different poets. And I confess that I lack the computational knowledge and means to conduct the test on a large enough scale for the statistics to be more reliable. For the present purpose, a little bit of Cato and the conscript fathers must suffice.

Saturnians from these early prose specimens instantiate archetypes weakly attested by the extant verses, e.g. reduplicated-second-colon types, more often than common ones—and (ii) the accentual rhythms that the proposed meter is based on and seeks to describe naturally occur in large groupings in Latin prose. Indeed, “[t]he stylistic gap between official and literary narrative is not so very large” (Goldberg 1995: 79). I conclude that the meter is sufficiently constrained.

§ 2.7.2 **The quantitative vs. accentual approach**

As a further objective measure of the approach’s promise, as well as that of the proposal itself, the co-occurrences of syllabic quantities vs. prominences were subjected to the “ χ^2 test for goodness of fit and independence,” a non-parametric test for statistical significance. The statistical test addresses questions concerning relationships between two independent variables, in the present case light and heavy syllables or weakly stressed and strongly stressed syllables, with two or more dependent variables, here the quantity or prominence of an adjacent syllable, starting from the null hypothesis that *no* relationship exists. Two important questions then confront the investigator: (i) is there a relationship between the quantities or prominences of syllables in adjacent verse positions in the data? (ii) how strong is the relationship in the data?⁴⁴ The result of the test suggests that a relationship indeed exists between adjacent quantities and prominences, but the relationship between syllables by the latter feature is much tighter.

⁴⁴ For basic information on the χ^2 test, see Connor-Linton 2003, whose on-line calculator I used for the tests in this section. More detailed discussion of the linguistic application can be found in Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986: 132ff, and the metrical application in Grotjahn 1979: 90ff.

Given the relative interchangeability of quantities elsewhere in the line in certain quantitative meters (see p.86n10 above), I counted only pure light and heavy syllables, also excluding sequences with suppressions. In the 110 textually secure verses of the corpus, 109 pyrrhic [∪ ∪] sequences are found, 280 iambs [∪ -], 274 trochees [- ∪], and 537 spondees [- -] (see table 2.8).

	+ -	+ ∪	TOTAL
- +	537	274	811
∪ +	280	109	389
TOTAL	817	383	1200

Degrees of freedom: 1
 $\chi^2 = 4.021$
 $p \leq 0.05$

Table 2.8. χ^2 Test of Goodness of Fit: co-occurrences of brevia and longa in adjacent positions (secure verses).

There is thus only a 5% probability that the null hypothesis, namely that the quantities of adjacent syllables have *no* relationship, is true.

Likewise, excluding resolutions and suppressions, I counted the iambic, trochaic, pyrrhic, and spondaic phonological-accentual sequences that occur in the 110 secure verses of the corpus, finding five spondees [´ ´, ` `] (all involve at least one monosyllable), 518 trochees [´ ∪, ` ∪, ´ `], 770 iambs [∪ ´, ∪ `, ` ´], and 274 pyrrhics [∪ ∪] (see table 2.9).

	+ ´	+ ∪	TOTAL
´ +	5	518	523
∪ +	770	274	1044
TOTAL	775	792	1567

Degrees of freedom: 1
 $\chi^2 = 738.741$
 $p \leq 0.001$

Table 2.9. χ^2 Test of Goodness of Fit: co-occurrences of stressed and unstressed syllables in adjacent positions (secure verses).

In contrast to the relationship of adjacent quantities, the chances are only 0.1% that the prominences of adjacent syllables have *no* relationship. These counts are based on the co-occurrences in *my* scansion, so it can be argued that the statistical significance of prominence co-occurrences necessarily favors my theory. In point of fact, it is for this reason that I have removed sequences with resolutions and suppressions from both counts. Moreover, both my accentual and *quantitative* scansion are based on established principles of Latin poetic practice, so few lines would admit of alternative unmarked analysis that, while the actual χ^2 values might change, the probabilities themselves will be unaffected. Thus the conclusion that the poets intentionally arranged syllables according to accentual prominence more than by their quantities holds.

§ 2.7.3 The theory's predictiveness

If the foregoing statistics fail to convince, the actual proposed theory's predictiveness may tip the scale. Catalogued in § 2.2 above were the 216 attested and unattested line types predicted by the metrical scheme proposed in figure 2.14. I suggested in § 2.4.1 that resolution is limited to basal positions of 13-position lines, perhaps maximally three per line. So, the 156 possible 13-position types with one, two, three resolved positions or none number at $624 = 156 \times 4$. The sum of resolvable 13-position lines and the 60 12-position lines is 684.

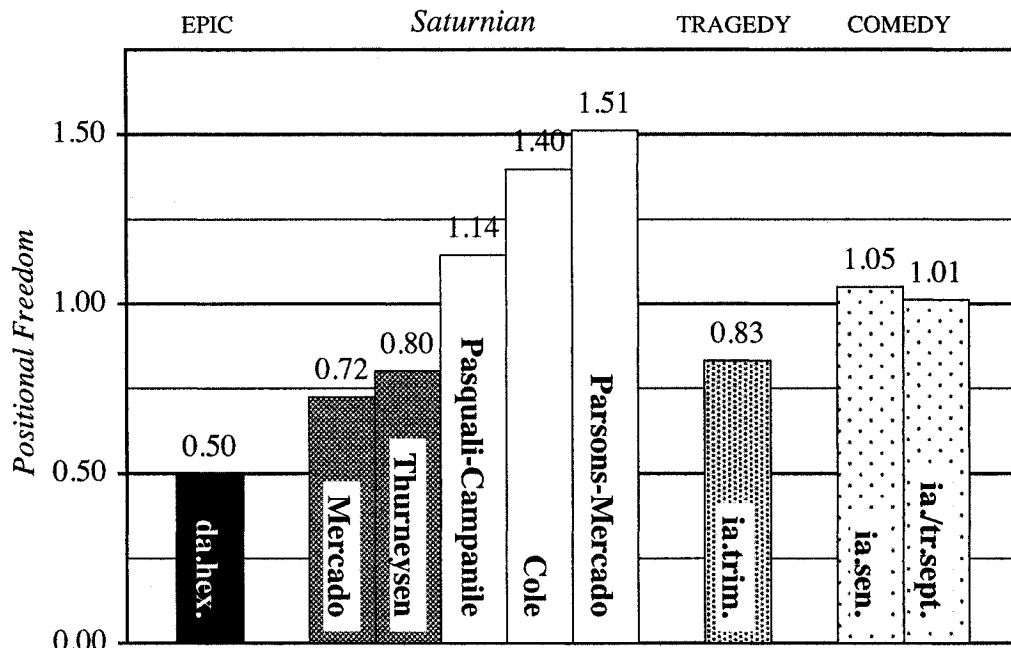
Compared to the raw numbers predicted by well-known Greek and Latin quantitative meters, this sum is over ten times the 64 possible lines in the twelve-position

dactylic hexameter of epic, but $\frac{3}{5}$ the twelve-position tragic iambic trimeter's 1,000, $\frac{1}{10}$ the twelve-position iambic senarius' 6,250, and $\frac{1}{50}$ the 37,500 possible lines of the 15-position iambic/trochaic septenarius of comedy (see § 1.3). Compared to other theories of the Saturnian, the 684 Saturnian lines predicted by the proposed meter is a little under half of Thurneysen 1885's 1,400 possible 13-position Saturnians (see § 1.4.2.1), $\frac{1}{250}$ the 147,500 lines predicted by Pasquali-Campanile's 15-position scheme (see § 1.4.1.1), $\frac{1}{10,000}$ of Cole 1969's 774,400 14-position lines (see § 1.4.1.2), and $\frac{1}{25,000}$ Parsons-Mercado's 18,974,736 possible 16-position Saturnians (see § 1.4.1.3).

As a fairer and more accurate measure of predictiveness, the \log_2 of the proposed theory's 684 possible 12-position and resolvable 13-position lines divided by 13 results in 0.72. This is the proposed meter's positional freedom and is a little under $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the positional freedom of the dactylic hexameter but $\frac{9}{10}$ that of the iambic trimeter and $\frac{7}{10}$ that of the iambic senarius and iambic and trochaic septenarii. The proposed Saturnian meter thus falls within the range of tendencies of formal predictiveness and stylistically appropriate metrical freedom observed in Classical Greek and Latin poetry. Compared to some other theories of the Saturnian, 0.72 is $\frac{9}{10}$ the freedom of Thurneysen 1885, $\frac{3}{5}$ that of Pasquali-Campanile, and half that of Cole 1969 and of Parsons-Mercado (see chart 2.5).

Now, the removal of the limit on the number of resolved positions in a 13-

position line increases the number of total possible instantiations of the Saturnian to 961 (= 426 instantiations of 13-position lines with “3 | 3” and up to five resolutions + 315 of those with “4 | 2” and up to six resolved positions + 160 of those with acephalous second cola and up to three resolutions + 60 possible 12-position lines), and the proposed meter’s positional freedom becomes $0.76 = \frac{\log_2(961 \text{ possible lines})}{13 \text{ positions}}$. But 961 still falls below the total possible comic lines, well below that predicted by other quantitative theories of the Saturnian, and 0.76 is still not as free as even Greco-Latin tragedy.



Basic Quantitative Meters and Theories of the Saturnian

Chart 2.5. Positional freedom of the proposed Saturnian meter vs. that of Greco-Latin quantitative meters of epic, tragedy, and comedy, and other theories of the Saturnian.

§ 2.7.4 Naevius’ epitaph (Epigr. Naev.)

Naturally, the meaningfulness of these figures only serves to support the proposed

meter's fit to the data, so I end this chapter with Naevius' epitaph (92), which I used to illustrate the essential details and shortcomings of select other theories of the Saturnian in § 1.4. The text illustrates several points compactly: ictic secondary stress in v.1, where also occurs accentual clash of monosyllabic and polysyllabic content words; prosodic hiatus and resolution in v.3; rising accentual clash in monosyllabic function word + disyllable in the first and fourth lines; resolution in the fourth.

(92) Epigr. Naev.

1	immortālēs mortālēs sī fóret fās flére	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
2	flérent dívae Caménae Náevium poétam	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
3	ítaque póstquam est Órchī tráditus thēsáurō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
4	oblíti sunt Rómae Ióquier línguā Latínā	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

The four verses of the epitaph fall into two sentences = couplets, which correlate with line type selection. Naevius deploys three types from two related archetypes to demarcate the distichs while unifying the poem. The lines of the first couplet and the third verse instantiate the two most common types of “4 | 3 || 3 | 3.” The closing line in “3 | 3 || 4 | 3” chiastically responds to the preceding three lines. With respect to line type, the first and fourth verses take trochaic-amphibrachic shape and enclose the trochaic-amphibrachic-dactylic medial lines.

In the next chapter, I explore some other pieces of Latin poetry: isolated verses, the Faliscan Cooks' dedication in metrically “aberrant” Saturnians (*CIL* 364), Lucius Mummius' allegedly Saturnian inscription (*CIL* 626), Lucius Aemilius Regillus', other

alleged Saturnians, and other texts that do not admit of satisfactory analysis in quantitative-syllabic terms. I then turn my attention to the poetic remains of Faliscan proper and then those of Sabellian. Some of these have also been analyzed as Saturnians in quantitative terms. I return to the Latin Saturnian as I have described it in a discussion of its development in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 3

FURTHER LATIN SATURNIANS AND FALISCAN

§ 3.0 Preliminary remarks

I turn my attention now from archaic Latin epic and elogium first to sundry Latin verses that resist satisfactory metrical description in quantitative terms but exhibit all the properties of the Saturnian proposed in the foregoing chapter, and then to the relicts of Latin's closest geographic and linguistic neighbor, Faliscan. Two motives underlie the choice to examine these texts here. First, predecessors have discussed them in connection with the Latin Saturnian, so I simply follow their lead and attempt to respond to their claims, but, second, the texts deserve investigation on their own terms, as well as in the light of the previous chapter's findings. Any results from a fresh look may contribute to a more satisfactory account of the early history of Latin and Italic poetry and meter.

§ 3.1 Further Latin Saturnians

To the 110 textually secure and 17 insecure surviving Saturnian verses can be added some others of some controversy but which conform to the canonical verses of epic, elegy, wisdom, and dedication with respect to accentual and word-boundary patterns. All these are clearly verse, independent of their metricality under my Saturnian theory: the four complete isolated literary lines and two partial, each by the testimony of a quoting ancient or late antique writer and/or by discernible rhetorical ornament, a complete six-line inscriptional poem laid out on its tablet as verse and by its stylistics, and a couplet.

Except for this last, a medical/magical charm, all also conform to the canonical Saturnians in theme.

§ 3.1.1 Isolated lines

Of the four complete Saturnian lines¹ that can slightly increase the corpus, the first (93) is by Gnaeus Marcius (?3rd century BC). The line survives thanks to Festus.

(93) Marcius 3

quámvis no-¹ véntium || dúónum nègu-¹ mǎte || ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
deny the news, however good

Leo scanned the verse as an insecure quantitatively iambic Saturnian. In my theory, the third Marcian saying in Blänsdorf's edition can be scanned as a reduplicated second colon type with holodactylic first colon and holotrochaic second (cf. §§ 2.2.3 and C.18). Interestingly, both Korsch's caesurae are bridged (see § 2.4.5). To this can be joined the partial verse preserved by Paul the Deacon (94):

(94) ‡Marcius 2

nē níngulus | medéři || quéat ... ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘: ...
let no one be unable to heal ...

By contrast, the first Marcian fragment in Blänsdorf's edition most likely does not belong in the Saturnian corpus. Isidore quotes the line (95):

¹ Perhaps even one more can join the group for its metrical form:

lálla lálla | lálla || ĩ aut dórmi | aut lácta ˘ ˘: ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘: ˘: ˘ | ˘: ˘ ˘
La la la la la la. Go, either sleep or have milk.

The ancient lullaby quoted in a scholium on Perseus, *Saturae* 3.16 could be scanned as an inverted trochaic-amphibrachic "4 | 2 || 4 | 3," not instantiated by any canonical verse (see § 2.2.2), but I relegate the line here not for this reason but for the content of its first half.

(95) Marcius 1

postrēmus dīcās prīmus táceās	† ^ ~ ~ ~ ~ ^ ~ ~ ~ ~
<i>may you speak last, may you first keep silent</i>	

The line is too short to be a Saturnian. However, since it is complete in sense, it need not and should not be emended as Havet suggested, who read a lacuna either before *postrēmus* or (more preferable to him) after *taceās* (Havet 1880: 399–400). Blänsdorf, with Leo (1905: 31) and A. Klotz apud Blänsdorf 1995: 16, argues convincingly that the line does not qualify as verse in the conventional sense but as a rhythmic proverbial saying with syntactic and lexical parallelism (Blänsdorf 1991: 41; see § 3.1.6 below).

The second additional Saturnian comes in the form of a prayer to the Tiber against drought (96), quoted by Servius in a comment on Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.72.

(96) Incertorum 2

adéstō Tīberīne ꝛ cum túīs úndīs	~ ~ ~ ~ ^ ~ ~ ~ ~
<i>come, Tiber, with your waves</i>	

Leo scans the line into eleven positions with resolution in *Tiberīne* (Leo 1905: 39). But the five words' twelve syllables fall easily into a "3 | 4 || 3 | 2" line. The verse thus instantiates the same type as App. 2.2 and joins another secure Saturnian and two insecure under the / o • ~ | • o • ~ || ^ • o ~ | ~ ~ / archetype (see §§ 2.2.2 and C.14).

Varro preserves the third additional line (97) in an etymological discussion of *casus*. The verse opens a now unknown poet's lost *Carmen Priami* 'Song of Priam.'

(97) Incertorum 4

véterēs Casmēnās cáscam rem vólō prōfāri	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
---	--------------------------------

was chanted by the children of the City and compares it to a Hesiodic line, which the verse clearly translates (cf. Andr. 1 = Hom. *Od.* 1.1). Gellius also describes it as a senarius.

(99) Incertorum 12

malum cōnsilium cōsultōrī pessimum est
 or málum cōn-¹ sílium || cōnsultōrī | péssimum est
bad counsel is worst for the counselor

= Hesiod, *Works and Days* 266

ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλή τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη

But the line can also be scanned accentually as a wholly trochaic-dactylic “3 | 3 || 4 | 3” Saturnian. The type itself is not represented by any canonical Saturnian extant but is predicted to be possible. It would then join Epigr. Naev. .4 and App. 2.1 Fleckeisen under the /o • u | o • u || • o • u | o • u/ archetype (see §§ 2.2.1 and C.4; on the caesural bridge, see § 2.4.5; on prodelision, § 2.4.3). On the one hand, given the verse’s isolation and the positional freedom of the iambic senarius, as well as that of the proposed Saturnian, the strongest supportable claim that can be made is that the axiom admits of the two scansion equally well and is thus ambiguous.² On the other hand, a circumstantial case can be advanced in favor of the Saturnian scansion based on the

² Compare the Naevian senarius that inspired Metell. in Naev.:

fātō Metelli Rōmae fiunt cōsulēs
at Rome the Metelli become consuls by fate

which can be scanned as a “5 | 2 || 2 | 3” Saturnian. But history tells that Naevius’ insult was delivered on stage (Leo 1905: 32; Warmington 1936: xv–xvi, 154–156, with further references).

verse's resemblance to the Hesiodic line in thought, word choice, and word order, and the early equivalence of the Saturnian with the Greek dactylic hexameter.

§ 3.1.2 **CIL 364: Dedication of the Faliscan cooks**

Controversial in a different way, the six verses of the Faliscan cooks' dedicatory poem, *CIL* 364 (100), has always been described as Saturnians. But, as commonly analyzed in quantitative terms, the poem has since F. Buecheler in the late 1890s also been regarded as metrically aberrant in comparison to the canonical literary and epigraphic verses. Such descriptions have so far failed to specify the precise nature of the defects. Cole refers to the lines' irregular colon lengths and word-boundary distribution (Cole 1969: 23–24 and *passim*), so Courtney 1995: 29–30, 206–207. Kruschwitz enumerates the features that make the text verse (inscriber's colometry and rhetorical devices) and does not see any metrical irregularities, nor any foundation for seeing such (Kruschwitz 2002a: 131, 138).

(100) *CIL* 364 (diplomatic transcription and translation)

GONLEGIVM·QVOD EST·ACIPTVM·AETATEI AGED[
OPIPARVM·AD·VIITAM·QVOLVNDAM·FESTOSQ[
QVEI·SOVEIS·AASTYTIËIS · OPIDQVE·VOLGANI
GOND[]ORANT·SAI[]SVME·COMVIVIA·LOIDOSQVE
QVQVEI·HVC·DEDERV[]NPERATORIBVS·SVMMEIS
VTEI·SESED·LVBENT[]NEIOVENT·OPTANTIS

*Which guild has been provided for towards the living of life,
a sumptuous one towards the cultivation of life and festive (days),
who by their devices and Vulcan's aid
adorn most often banquets and games,
the cooks have given this to the supreme commanders
so that willing, well-wishing, they might help them.*

In light of the meter proposed in the previous chapter, the cooks' verses are, with the

exception of the first two lines, fully metrical as Saturnians (101).

(101) *CIL* 364

1	gōnlégium quód est a(c)cíptum aetátei agé(n)d[ai]	$\begin{array}{c} \cup \sim \cup : \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \\ + \end{array}$
2	opíparum_a[d] víitam quolúndam † fēstósque [díēs	$\begin{array}{c} \cup \sim \cup : \cup \cup \sim \cup \wedge \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \\ + \end{array}$
3	quei sóveis a[ast]útieis opídque Volgánī	$\begin{array}{c} \cup : \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \end{array}$
4	gondécorant sai[pí(s)]sumē comvívīa loidósque	$\begin{array}{c} \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \end{array}$
5	qúquei huc dedéru[nt ì]nperātór'bus súmmeis	$\begin{array}{c} \sim \cup : \cup \cup \sim \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \cup \sim \cup \end{array}$
6	útei sésēd lubént[ēs be]ne ióvent optántis	$\begin{array}{c} \sim \cup : \cup \cup \sim \cup \omega : \cup \cup \sim \cup \end{array}$

Given the inscription's approximate late terminus post quem of 150 BC (about 50 years after the deaths of Andronicus and Naevius, 30 years after Plautus' death, and 20 after Ennius'; see the persuasive argument put forth by Wachter 1987: 446–448), the Latin of the cooks' poet likely had (ante-) penultimate accentuation. The crucial word comes at the beginning of epigraphic line 2 = v.2: under the Plautine system, quantitatively proceleusmatic *ópiparum* receives pre-antepenultimate stress, but under the Classical system *opíparum*. This explains the sole metrical irregularity in the text: the first two lines are *anacrusic*, i.e. they each open with an extra unstressed syllable (marked with a sublinear plus sign in the transcription). Beyond the additional first weak position (also marked with sublinear plus sign “+” in the scansion), the first line instantiates the trochaic-amphibrachic type of the “4 | 3 || 3 | 3” archetype (see §§ 2.2.1 and C.1.8; to Classical || *aetáte* compare archaizing # *àe(vi)táte* (*CIL* 11.2)), and the second line joins

verses of related types under the /••••|••••||^••••|^••••/ archetype (see §§ 2.2.2 and C.12). Both lines have resolution in underlying first position (on resolution, see § 2.4.1; on the synizesis in *comvīvia*, see § 2.4.2). The /••••|••••||••••|^••••/ archetype accommodates both the third and fourth verses without issue (see §§ 2.2.1 and C.3.4). *Opīdque* in v.3 for older *ópīdque* shows that the ordering of accentuation and enclisis was switching in or had switched by the Faliscan cooks' (and the Vertulii's) time (cf. § 2.3.4).³ The fifth verse takes a form with inverted cola and as [[^]••••|^••••||[^]••••|^••••] is predicted to be metrical (on hiatus, see § 2.4.4; on monosyllabic function words in /••••/, § 2.3.2), though this very type is not instantiated by any textually secure canonical Saturnian (see §§ 2.2.1 and C.5). Of note here is the syncope in *inperātōrībus*, which finds a parallel in ⟨SENATORBVS⟩ (*CIL* 581, epigraphic line 6), spelled in the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* with syncope. This is normally assumed to be a stone-cutter's *lapsus*, but it might not be an error so much as a colloquial slip.⁴ The final line takes the same form as the first but without anacrusis (to || *bēne*, accented weakly as a function word (see § 2.3.2), compare # *bēne* (*CIL* 1202.3), which may also be carrying weak stress but is making ictus before phrasally distressed *rem*).

Courtney observes “how alternate lines are inset, as if elegiacs were being engraved” (Courtney 1995: 207), and both the syntax and meter can be tied to the

³ For the Scipionic elogia, the similarly approximate late dates between the late 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (see § 1.1.2) refer to the dates of inscription, not necessarily composition.

⁴ Cf. # *capītibus* [[^]••••] (*Enn. Ann.* 512Sk) and ⟨FACILIA⟩ = *facīlia* [[^]••••] in da.hex. (*CIL* 632) (Vine 1993: 213n74; Courtney 1995: 213).

inscription's layout on the bronze tablet that preserves it. The six lines contain one sentence with three clauses that fall into three couplets. Metrically, both lines of the first couplet are anacrustic, the lines of the second couplet instantiate the very same line type, and the lines of the final couplet are inverted forms related to each other.

The theory of the Saturnian meter that I propose now allows us with much more specificity than was possible before to assess the degree to which the metrical patterns of this text conform to and deviate from those of the canonical verses. Confirming earlier intuitions, the composition cannot, to be sure, be regarded as of the same order as the Saturnian of epic and elogium. The Faliscan cooks' poet is indeed obeying the rules with some modification, but this can now be specified as in fact minimal: the inscription differs from the canonical verses only with respect to anacrusis and rules of accentuation. Not only does the text display an undoubtedly higher degree of art, confirming Kruschwitz's evaluation, but it also conforms to standard Saturnian versification more closely than previously thought, going far beyond the quantitative and caesural "regularity" observed by Courtney and others in the last line (Courtney 1995: 206–207).

§ 3.1.3 *CIL* 626: Lucius Mummius' votive inscription

A similarly positive appraisal cannot be made for Lucius Mummius' votive inscription from 144 BC, *CIL* 626 (102), though a negative evaluation can be made also with specificity. Scholars are divided on whether the text is even verse. The main arguments for a prose analysis are the layout and punctuation on the stone, the odd number of cola, and the absence of poetic features exhibited by canonical verses (Courtney 1995:

207–208; Kruschwitz 2002a: 142). The alignment of one syllable per verse position does produce even cola, so:

(102) *CIL* 626

L · MVMMI · L · F · COS · DVCT AVSPICIO · IMPERIO QVE EIVS · ACHAIA · CAPT · CORINTO DELETO · ROMAM · REDIEIT 5 TRIVMPHANS ; OB · HASCE RES ; BENE · GESTAS · QVOD IN · BELLO · VOVERAT HANC · AEDEM · ET · SIGNV HERCVLIS · VICTORIS 10 IMPERATOR · DEDICAT	<i>Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius. consul. With Achaea captured (and) Corinth destroyed by his leadership, auspices and command, returned to Rome in triumph. On account of these deeds well done, which he had vowed in war, the commander dedicates this temple and statue of Hercules Victor.</i>
1 dúct(ũ) aus- ¹ píciō impériō- ¹ que_éius	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
2 Acháã cápt(ã) Corínt(h)ō dēlētō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
3 Rómam rédieit triúmphāns ob hāsce rēs bene géstās	† ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘
4 quód in béllō vóverat hanc áedem et sígnu(m)	˘: ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘
5 Hérculis Victóris imperátor dēdicat	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

Compare | *vóverat* || in .4 to *vóvit* || (*CIL* 1531.2). The occurrence of || *imperátor* | in the last line recalls the Faliscan cooks' || *inperátoribus* | (*CIL* 364.5). But <HASCE> in epigraphic line 5 makes v.3 hypermetrical. This, in addition to the absence of all rhetorical ornament, dooms any poetic interpretation such as Goldberg's (1995: 62, but only on *duct(ũ) ... capt(ã) / Corínt(h)ō ... triúmphāns* as a couplet). The formal phraseology found here is totally consistent with a non-poetic dedicatory text, and runs of pseudo-Saturnians can be found in archaic prose with some ease, as in Cato and the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (Appendix E; see § 2.7.1).

§ 3.1.4 Other alleged verses

A number of (non-lacunose) inscriptional texts join Mummius' as illusory verse. Several lack rhetorical ornament and are thus prosaic: two ersatz verses in *CIL* 561, the Cista Ficoroni (dedication of Dindia Magulnia, late 4th century BC; Kruschwitz 2002a: 27–28 leans towards a poetic interpretation); three pseudo-cola in *CIL* 1203 = 1204 (funeral monument of Marcus Vergilius Eurysaces, late Republic; Kruschwitz 2002a: 184 argues for a prosaic reading); two quasi-verses in Titus Quinctius' inscription quoted at Livy 6.29.9 (pace Kazanskij 1989). One, *CIL* 708 epigraphic lines 4–5 (epitaph of Gaius Sergius Mena, son of Marcus, 90 BC) is a single prosaic sentence of 13 syllables, of which six belong to a name (Kruschwitz 2002a: 172 deems the line too short for poetic or prosaic analysis to be sure). Yet another, *CIL* 1206 (funeral monument of Atistia) with four clauses, shows no regular rhythmic patterns to permit colometry or even rhetorical ornament to motivate scansion. I pass over these in silence.

Perhaps for the same essential reasons that Lucius Mummius' inscription and the others just catalogued cannot be analyzed as Saturnians, Lucius Aemilius Regillus' votive inscription as it has come down to us does not admit of analysis as a Saturnian poem. Caesius Bassus the metrician quotes only the first line of Regillus' inscription as a Saturnian, and it is only on his authority that the rest of the lost inscription's text is suspected of being verse, at least originally. After the first line, the text quoted by Livy (40.52.5–7) is badly preserved, and the sole manuscript that transmitted the Livian passage is now also lost. See the discussion in Goldberg 1995: 77–78, who leans towards

a prosaic interpretation, notwithstanding the presence of rhetorical ornament. Not all of the text in Briscoe's 1991 edition can be scanned as Saturnians (103).

(103) Lucius Aemilius Regillus' votive inscription

.1–2	duéllō mágnō diriméndō régibus subigéndis	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.3–4	†cáput patrándae pácis haec púgna _{ex-} eúnti	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	⊂ L. Aemiliō M. Aemili fīliō† ⊃	
.5–6	auspici- _o impériō †fēlīci- _{tate}	˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	⊂ ductūque eius ⊃	
.7–8	inter Éphesum Sámu(m) Ch(í)umque _{ins-} pectánte	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.9–10	éopse <rēge> An- _{tiochō} exercitū ómnī	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.11	equitatū _{e-} lephántisque	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.12–13	clássis régis Antíochi ánteã invícta	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.14	†fúsa contúsa	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	⊂ fugātaque est ⊃	
.15	íbique _{éō} díē	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.16–17	návēs lóngae cum _{ómnibus} †sócīis captae	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.18–19	(quàdrāgintā dúae) éã púgnã pugnátã	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.20	rēx Antíochus rēgnúmque {...}	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ...
.21–22	eius réi _{er-} gō _{aedem} Láribus pèrmarínīs vóvit	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

For ending a great war, for subjugating kings, for bringing about the principal part of peace, this battle (was granted) to the one who moved out, Lucius Aemilius, son of Marcus Aemilius, by his auspices, command, good fortune, and leadership, with King Antiochus himself looking on between Ephesos, Samos, and Chios with all (his) army, cavalry and elephants. King Antiochus' fleet, previously unconquered, was scattered, crushed, and put to flight; and there on that day, 42 long ships (were) captured with all their allies. That battle having been fought, King Antiochus and (his) kingdom ... Because of this deed, he vowed a temple to the Lares of the Sea.

(I supply <rēge> in colon .9, since the king's name occurs with his title throughout.) As

we have it, the text can be scanned into 22 cola, but only nine pairs of these can constitute well-formed Saturnian lines, with three isolated cola and some hypometrical or unmetrical sequences left over (a fourth colon, .20, precedes a lacuna). The evidence supports Goldberg's suspicion that the inscription may indeed have been prose, though possessed of Saturnian rhythms and rhetoric like other official inscriptions.

§ 3.1.5 **Incertorum 22: A podiatric charm**

Yet a different sort of controversy surrounds two more lines that cohere as a couplet of well-formed Saturnians by my definition. Varro preserves a podiatric charm that has been alleged to be composed of Saturnians. The text, Incertorum 22 in Blänsdorf's edition (104a), consists of four clauses/sentences: (i) SUBJECT + OBJECT + VERB; (ii) VERB + OBJECT [POSSESSIVE + NOUN]; (iii) SUBJECT + OBJECT + VERB; (iv) SUBJECT + ADVERB + VERB + PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE [PREP + POSSESSIVE + NOUN]. Given the length of the last clause/sentence, editors dispose the text into five lines. Metrists have been divided between a five-colon analysis and a two-and-a-half line description, but the former won out (Morel 1963: 31 enshrines Leo 1905: 50–51, 62–63; so also Blänsdorf 1995: 421 but based on observations in Blänsdorf 1991: 42–43 independent of any theory of the Saturnian).

(104) Incertorum 22

(a) Text and translation

<i>i</i>	ego tuī meminī	<i>I am mindful of you.</i>
<i>ii</i>	medēre meīs pedibus	<i>Heal my feet.</i>
<i>iii</i>	terra pestem tenētō	<i>May earth hold the plague.</i>
<i>iv</i>	sālūs hīc manētō in meīs pedibus	<i>May health stay here in my feet.</i>

(b) Alternative colometry and scansion

¹ égo túī | méminī || medére | mēī̄s pēdībūs ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘
² térra péstem | tenētō || sálūs hīc | manētō ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
C in meīs pedibus D

However, Hooper & Ash suggest that the prepositional phrase after *manētō* (*iv*), largely repeating (*ii*) and usually taken as part of the poem, may well be a parenthetical gloss on *hīc* that “destroy[s] the jingle” (Hooper & Ash 1935: 182–183n2), directing the charm’s utterer to touch the feet, which expands on Varro’s own directions to touch the ground and to spit. This makes the parallelism of the clauses/sentences more congruent and allows the interpretation of *i–iii* and shortened *iv* as four Saturnian cola or two Saturnian lines. The lines instantiate two common types from the “4 | 3 || 3 | 3” archetype and constitute a couplet (104b). Compare now Epigr. Naev. .1–2, which, with the exception of the (permissible) resolution in the last quarter of Incertorum 22.1, are of the exact same form. (On the synizesis in *mēī̄s*, see § 2.4.2; on monosyllabic function words in /-/, § 2.3.2.)

§ 3.1.6 **Other charms and chants**

The rest of the medical/magical charms quoted by ancient and late antique writers exhibit rhetorical devices and possess rhythms as well, but these are text-internally and/or intertextually too irregular metrically to be considered verse in the conventional sense, let alone poetry of the same order as Saturnian epic, elegy, wisdom, and dedication, despite attempts such as Leo’s at scansions of some medical/magical charms as Saturnian cola

(easy to achieve even in prose; also see § 3.1.1 above on Marcius 1). These are, from Blänsdorf's edition (1995: 419–422 with references; see also the discussion in Blänsdorf 1991): Incertorum 16 (a father exhorts his son on seasonal planting; I quote this in connection with an Old Faliscan text discussed in § 3.2.2.3 below), 17 (uttered at the taking of medicine with wine), 18⁵ (a charm against a disease of the chest), 19 (against eye infections), 20 (tonsillitis), 21 (digestive problems; I quote this in § 3.2.2.1 below in connection with a Middle Faliscan text), 23 (addressed to an herb with curative properties), and 24 (uttered while taking a potion for neck pain). All have in common both properties just mentioned: regular syntactic and lexical parallelism but text-internal and/or intertextual metrical irregularity among each other, taken together, and/or compared against better understood Latin poetry.⁶ It is clear from cursory inspection, clearer from Blänsdorf 1991's discussion, that any noticeable rhythm, be it syllable-counting, quantitative, or accentual, is coincidental to the syntactic and lexical parallelism that is the salient property, thus the governing principle, of individual charms and all the charms together. Contrast other Indo-European charms discussed by Watkins 1995: 519–544, which *are* verses because of text-internal *and* intertextual metrical regularities. Counseled by caution, I turn my attention now to Faliscan.

⁵ Leo regarded the four lines of Incertorum 18 as Saturnian cola (Leo 1905: 63–64), but only the odd lines can be scanned as such in my proposed meter.

⁶ The apparent unmetricality of Saturnians, among themselves and compared to other poetry together with the verses' rhetorical ornament somewhat justify Pighi's theory of the verse from 1956.

§ 3.2 Faliscan

The language of the Faliscans survives in inscriptions that begin to appear ca. 600 BC. Unfortunately, the material that has come down to us is of limited utility. The standard edition of Giacomelli 1963 holds 199 inscriptions (145 + 54 in appendices; a few texts have been published since, but none appear or have been claimed to contain verse).⁷ Nearly all of these are short (fewer than five words), and very many of the words that can be read with certainty are onomastic. The inscriptions also do not punctuate word boundaries consistently, so segmentation of text in *scriptio continua* or continuous writing is not always complete or certain. Consequently, many linguistic details lie beyond our reach. Most frustrating for poetic interpretation and metrical analysis is our limited knowledge of Faliscan phonology and lexis. So the work takes a different turn here, and the rest of this chapter must be more tentative in its positive claims and conservative in the negative.

§ 3.2.1 Quantity and accent in Faliscan

The meager Faliscan corpus does not permit the establishment of the language's accent system with any certainty. Indeed, it is commonly meter that provides evidence for ancient phonology, among other things, and here meter must be discovered from phonological indeterminacies.

Whether Faliscan accentuation was word-initial, as in Sabellian Italic, or (ante-) penultimate, as in Latin, is impossible to determine. If syncope and non-initial vowel

⁷ Here I cite Faliscan texts from Giacomelli's edition, signaled by the abbreviation "LF," and by her numeration of the inscriptions. See the Index Locorum et Comparatio Numerorum for a concordance with Vetter 1953.

reduction is diagnostic of historically initial accentuation, as it is in Latin, Faliscan does not show either phonological process clearly by its orthography (Giacomelli 1978: 516–517). While the analysis of these features in Faliscan is very complex, the standard claim (as in Vetter 1953: 320; Giacomelli 1963: 68, 127–128; Leumann 1977: 84) is that the language does not show vowel reduction, but Vine points that this view is based on very little and ambiguous data (Vine 1993: 109n69). Consequently, both stress systems must be tried in the discovery of rhythmic patterns, also keeping in mind the possibility that, as in Latin, either the Faliscans knew Greek poetry and composed with Greek metrical principles or they inherited quantitative-syllabic versification from the same source as Greek and Sanskrit.

As for syllabic quantity, I assume the same for Faliscan as in the early Latin of Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius (see § 2.0.2). I will also assume that under (ante-) penultimate accentuation, Faliscan primary stress assignment was the same as in the Latin of the early poets. The only uncertainty of quantity will be met in words with no known cognate in which vowels are written singly before single consonants, but such a situation does not arise here. Nor does it come into play under initial accentuation, since primary stress assignment does not care for quantity, but secondary stress assignment in tetrasyllabic words or longer, of which at least three appear in the texts examined below, might require sensitivity to quantity.

To my knowledge, no proposals have been made regarding secondary stress in Faliscan, which is understandable given the uncertainty about primary stress assignment

and the paucity of data. Since the Faliscan data do not permit independent establishment of the details of the language's stress system, one must look outside Italic to Finno-Ugric for typological comparison. Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian are well-described word-initial-stressing languages, and they exhibit quantity-sensitive secondary stress assignment rules. In short⁸, Finno-Ugric secondary stress was assigned iteratively to every other syllable after a stress-bearing syllable, but if the target syllable is light, the immediately following syllable can bear the weak stress, so [ː́ ɔ̄ ɔ̄ (...)] ~ [ː́ ɔ̄ ɔ̄ (...)] (this is the exact mirror image of the Latin pattern described in § 2.3.1.1, so # *Sīciliēnsēs* | [# ~ ˘ ˘ ~ |] in Naev. 46 for †*Sīciliēnsēs* [†# ˘ ˘ ~ ˘ ~ |]). Similarly, in words with an odd syllable count, only heavy finals can bear secondary stress (see Hayes 1995: 317ff for an overview of Estonian accentuation rules, on which this brief report is based). Thus, on typological grounds but with the exception of word-final secondary stressing, I will assume similar accentual behavior for Faliscan (as well as for uncontroversially initial-stressing Sabellic discussed in the next chapter).

§ 3.2.2 Faliscan poetic remains

Four texts, two in Old Faliscan (7th–6th centuries BC) and two in Middle Faliscan (5th–3rd centuries BC), have been alleged to be poetic on the basis of syntax and rhetoric: the Old Faliscan “Ceres” inscription (*LF* 1), the most extensive and most celebrated; an

⁸ This is a very simplified description. In addition to word-initial primary stress, Finno-Ugric also has non-initial primary stress and unpredictable secondary stress that are determined by morphology. Furthermore, Estonian has a three-way quantitative distinction: light vs. heavy vs. superheavy, and words with superheavy syllables show different accentual patterns (Hayes 1995: 316). But I see no appreciable harm in eschewing these details, since it remains to be seen whether Faliscan even has extant poetry to speak of, let alone a sufficiently large poetic-metrical corpus, so as to require reference to more complex phonological description.

Old Faliscan dedication (*LF 2*, if its two discrete parts *a* and *b* are treated as a unity); two Middle Faliscan inscriptions that are nearly identical to each other (*LF 5a* and *b*). These have all attracted the attention of metrists and invited analyses according to syllabic or quantitative metrical principles. In addition, one other Old Faliscan text preserved on a ceramic vessel (*LF 3*) is also potentially poetic, likewise based on observable rhetorical ornament. So I examine these texts with respect to the prosodic features that govern most archaic Indo-European verse: syllable count, quantity (assuming basic rules of scansion as in Greek and Latin but cautious of invoking Latin scansional licenses), and accent, testing both initial and (ante-) penultimate accentuation (by the rules and licenses proposed for the Latin Saturnian, for which see §§ 2.3–4).

§ 3.2.2.1 *LF 5a* and *b*: Two (?) Middle Faliscan kylix inscriptions

Two nearly identical Middle Faliscan texts are preserved on separate 4th-century BC *kylikes* or wine-cups that were found at the necropolis of La Penna near modern Civit  Castellana, the ancient Faliscan capital of Falerii Veteres. The red-figure drinking vessels, apparently mass-produced, feature erotic scenes. Around these the texts are written right to left in half of a circular band. With the diplomatic transcriptions⁹ in (105), I provide translations in Latin and English (as I will hereafter for non-Latin Italic material).

⁹ A non-Latin Italic text written in its native alphabet is conventionally diplomatically transcribed in bold face, one written in Roman letters is given in italics.

(105) *LF 5*

(a)	Transcription	(b)	Translation
<i>a</i>	foied• uino• pipafō• cra• carefo•		<i>hodiē vīnum bibam crās carēbō</i>
<i>b</i>	foied• uino• pafō• cra• carefo•		<i>Today I will drink wine, tomorrow I will go without.</i>

The first question that arises concerns the variant reading in *LF 5b*. The grammatical interpretation of both texts is uncontroversial¹⁰, but the variants of the first verb in each, ⟨**pipafō**⟩ (*LF 5a*) ~ ⟨**pafō**⟩ (*LF 5b*), pose two problems: the (de-)reduplication and inflection. The variation is usually glossed over, so the verbs are noncommittally understood to be interchangeable allomorphs /(*pi*)pāfō/ ‘I will drink.’ Regarding the inflection, I follow Nussbaum 2003, who proposes the development /*pibāfō*/ 1sg future ⇐ **pibām* < **pibām* ⇐ **pibē* subjunctive (he orders the developmental stages differently in Latin: *bibam* < *bibām* ⇐ **pibēbō* ⇐ **pibē*, cf. Plautine *exsūgēbō* ‘I will suck out’ for Classical *exsūgam*).

The de-reduplication in ⟨**pafō**⟩ can also be explained. As reflected in the transcription in (105a), the word-dividing interpuncts are not of uniform size. In *LF 5a*, the interpuncts after ⟨**foied**⟩, ⟨**pipafō**⟩, and ⟨**cra**⟩ are slightly but markedly larger than the others, based on the photograph given as plate VI on the page facing Giacomelli 1963: 64. In *LF 5b*, the interpunct after ⟨**uino**⟩ is almost as large as the letter ⟨**o**⟩, large enough to fill the space inside the letter, as opposed to the uniform word-dividing interpuncts in the text. The punctuation of *LF 5a* thus suggests that syntactic constituency is being

¹⁰ For basic discussion of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation, see Vetter 1953: 287–288; Giacomelli 1963: 49–50; Giacomelli 1978: 529–530.

marked as well as word-ends: ADVERB ⟨•⟩ OBJECT ⟨·⟩ VERB ⟨•⟩ ADVERB ⟨•⟩ VERB ⟨·⟩. (Complex punctuation in ancient Italic inscriptions of this time period is well documented, e.g. Vine 1993: 351–381, especially 362–366 on Faliscan practice itself. See also § 4.3.3.2 on Paelignian in the following chapter. However, I am not aware that this particular use of differently sized interpuncts has been noticed for other inscriptions, nor whether the observations on *LF 5* here have been made elsewhere.) This makes the large interpunct between accusative object and verb in *LF 5b* anomalous. In his discussion, Nussbaum rejects */pǎfō/* as a possible form on theoretical grounds and further raises the possibility that it is a misspelling in *LF 5b*: intended ⟨**ppafo**⟩, with the first graphemic consonant standing for */Ce-/* or */i-/* (also a well instantiated spelling convention throughout ancient Italy), was haplographized to ⟨**pafo**⟩ (Nussbaum 2003). The large interpunct indeed suggests inscriber’s error, but rather an accidental dittography of ⟨**uinoo**⟩ corrected by the inscriber to ⟨**uino•**⟩, leaving very little room for full ⟨**pipafo**⟩ or even ⟨**ppafo**⟩. The text of *LF 5b* should therefore be emended by restoring ⟨**[pi]pafo**⟩, and I will operate under the assumption that the texts were meant to be identical.

The second question that comes up concerns the nature of the text: is it verse? Given the text’s obvious syntactic parallelism and notable phonological play—the (loosely) alliterating word-initial labials in the first clause and the *c*’s in the second and rhyming *-fō* (Freeman 1998: 78–79)—most assume that it is indeed verse and have attempted metrical analyses (see Costa 2000: 105ff, with references). G. Morelli

if the Faliscan text's rhythm is accentual, then both initial and (ante-) penultimate accentuation must be considered. Under either system, the disyllables /fóijēd uīnom/ would bear initial = penultimate stress, quantitatively anapestic /píbafo/ would be accentually dactylic, and monosyllabic /crā(s)/ would be stressed on its lone syllable. /Carēfo/, on the other hand, will be accentually dactylic under initial accentuation but amphibrachic with penultimate stress. In any case, regardless of accentuation, the Faliscan line does not admit of analysis as a Saturnian by my definition. While hendecasyllabic Saturnians are found, the incidences of word boundaries in the Faliscan line do not make its scansion as a reduplicated-second-colon type possible (see § 2.2.3).

However, the first clause /fóijēd uīnom píbafo/ (107) does pass for a well-formed “4 | 3” colon reminiscent of # *dédet Tèmpes- | tátebus* || [# ˈ ː ˌ ˌ | ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||] (CIL 9.6) and # *dónu(m) dánunt | Hércolei* || [# ˈ ˌ ː ˌ ˌ | ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ ||] (CIL 1531.5). The second clause /crās carēfo/ can be scanned as iamb + pyrrhic with phonological clash under initial accentuation (107a). With (ante-) penultimate stress, the monosyllabic adverb makes ictus before the amphibrachic verb, and together they would constitute a trochaic dipody (107b).

(107) LF 5: accentual scansion

(a) Initial accent

fó(i)jēd uīno(m) | píbafo || crā(s) carēfo ˈ ˌ ː ˌ ˌ | ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ || ˌ ː ˌ ˌ ˌ

(b) (Ante-) Penultimate accent

fó(i)jēd uīno(m) | píbafo || crā(s) carēfo ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ | ˈ ˌ ˌ ˌ || ˌ ː ˌ ˌ ˌ

The accentual rhythmic units in the Faliscan line appear to form a coherent pattern. Under initial accentuation, the parallelism of the line's medial and final accentual dactylic cadences can be acting in concert with the syntactic parallelism and homoioteleuton, and the same can be said for the scansion with (ante-) penultimate stress where the second clause's trochaic dipody is responding to the first clause's closing trochee + dactyl. This metrical form, in the abstract, finds a Latin parallel. Compare now Incertorum 21 (108), a charm against digestive problems quoted by the medical writer Marcellus.

(108) Incertorum 21

¹	lúpus íbat per víam per sémitam	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘
²	crúda vorábat líquida bibébat	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

*A wolf went all along the road, all along the path.
It ate fresh (-killed food), it drank pure (water).*

LF 5's ADVERB + OBJECT | VERB || ADVERB' + VERB' is structurally and rhythmically paralleled in Incertorum 21.1 by the SUBJECT + VERB | PREPOSITION + NOUN || PREPOSITION + NOUN'. Note the Faliscan dactyl for the Latin amphibrach, which within Latin alternates with dactyl as well, and the Faliscan iamb + pyrrhic or trochee + trochee for the Latin iamb + pyrrhic. So, at the very least, the Faliscan is accentually rhythmic, and its rhythmic units occur in the same combinations as in Latin.

But it is clear from Incertorum 21.2 that the Latin charm's accentual patterns are not only partial but incidental to the syntactic and lexical parallelism that binds the

couplet. Consequently, broader comparison with Latin in fact points to a negative answer to the question of the Faliscan line's versehood, and this should have been obvious: the Faliscan line is not verse in the conventional sense but a rhythmic saying—the isolated line does not permit a decision to be made regarding initial or (ante-) penultimate accentuation—slogan, or jingle. Giacomelli said as much by recalling modern proverbial rhythm in pondering the irregular quantitative pattern of the Faliscan text, and Morelli's comparison of the Faliscan to Saturnians turns out to be as inappropriate as Leo's of the Latin medical/magical charms to early epic and elegy. The salient property of the Faliscan line, as that of Latin charms, is syntactic and lexical parallelism characteristic of a popular and typologically common subliterary genre. So it is now understandable that Watkins, in his monumental comparative Indo-European poetic study, only mentions the kylix text in connection with discernible Faliscan themes and to introduce a thorough investigation of a longer textual relict, the "Ceres" inscription (*LF* 1) (Watkins 1995: 127), to which I myself now turn.

§ 3.2.2.2 *LF* 1: The Old Faliscan "Ceres" inscription

A terracotta pot, partially reconstituted from shards found at the necropolis of Le Colonnelle also near modern Civit  Castellana but dating from 600 BC, 250 years before the kylikes, preserves the oldest and longest Faliscan text we have. The text is written left to right, running in a spiral around what would be the base of the pot's neck, falling roughly into three rows and interpreted as three sentences or periods. Unfortunately, we do not have the benefit of consistent word division, as opposed to the Middle Faliscan

kylix text, and several lacunae remain because of missing shards. The letter-forms are otherwise clear. See (109) for the diplomatic transcription and translation.¹¹

(109) *LF 1*

- i* **ceres: farṃe[la]ṭom: l[-----]uf[--]ui[no]m: p[ore]kad**
- ii* **euios: mamaz[e]xtosmedf[i(:)f]iqod: prauiosurnam: soc[iai]pordedkarai:**
- iii* **eqournal[ati]telafitaidupes: arcentelomhuti[c]ilom: pe: para[i:]douiad**

i Ceres far molitum ... vinum porrigat
Let Ceres proffer ground grain, let ... wine.

ii Evius, Mama, Sextus me finxerunt; Pravius urnam sociae dedit carae
Evios, Mama, (and) Sextos fashioned me; Pravios gave the urn to (his) dear girlfriend.

iii ego urnula parvula <fitaidupes> argentum fusum peperit; det
I, the dear little urn ... have provided poured silver; let it give.

With respect to the reading <l[-----]uf[--]ui[no]m> at the end of the first period, I follow Giacomelli 1978. Herself following G. Radke and E. Peruzzi, she withdraws her attractive reading of <l[o]uf[ir]> = Latin *Liber* ‘(native Roman god of fertility and wine equated with Greek Bacchus)’ adopted by Watkins and many others: the lacuna is too long for the restoration of a single letter (Radke 1965); based on R. Mengarelli’s facsimile (*CIE* II.1: 23), it appears that a combination of up to five letters and triple interpuncts is possible in the lacuna. Similarly, Giacomelli’s restoration of three letters in <p[ore]kad> seems more likely than that of one in <p[a]rad>, preferred by Watkins (1995: 128, 130). Watkins takes <euios: mamaz[e]xtos> as three asyndetic subjects of <f[i(:)f]iqod>, which makes sense to me: one was the potter, another was the artist—the

¹¹ For basic discussion of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation of the inscription, see Vetter 1953: 279–283; Giacomelli 1963: 41–44; Giacomelli 1978: 525–526.

shards are decorated with what look like seahorses—and another was the inscriber (Vine 1993: 365 prefers two subjects, Mama Evios and Sextos [Evios], based on the punctuation and comparison with epigraphic onomastic sequences in Latin, as well as the common formation of gentilicia in **-i(i)o-*). Regarding **⟨farmē[la]tom⟩**, I follow Watkins, who follows L. Joseph and J. Klein (Watkins 1995: 128). With Watkins I also prefer **⟨urnel[ati]tela⟩** (Watkins 1995: 129), rather than Giacomelli’s restoration **⟨urnel[alu]tela⟩** ‘*urnula lutea* / clay pot’. **⟨fitaidupes⟩** remains obscure. Aside from the disagreements noted here, the translation above reflects Watkins’s interpretation.¹²

In Watkins’ discussion of the text’s poetic properties, he noticed that the three periods are syntactically and semantically distinct: the first is a quoted epigram, likely poetic and metrical (this still holds true without Giacomelli’s old reading **⟨l[o]uf[ir]⟩**); the second and third are in the vase’s voice, as the object of the manufacture and dedication (which may or may not be verse) in the second period and as the subject in the third. Of the vase’s narration, line 3 illustrates the “typical Indo-European” poetic distraction of noun-phrase constituents around the verb, “each adjoin[ing] a metrical boundary” (Watkins 1995: 127–131). However, Watkins does not define the meter. Based on his discussion of other Italic material, he assumes metricality in syllable-counting terms. He disposes the three periods into five lines, which I give in quasi-phonological transcription with quantitative (110a) and accentual scansion (110b):

¹² For a very different reading and interpretation of the text, see Radke 1991: 266, summarized in the following note.

and it is unrecoverable, but note that its legible or restorable words already take up eleven positions.

Lines 2, 3, 5, the complete lines with clear interpretations, do not have uniform syllable counts. From a quantitative scansion (110a) no coherent pattern or patterns emerge. An accentual scansion (110b) under initial accentuation brings out dipodic runs or longer of trochees and dactyls; only the shape of line 5 differs under (ante-) penultimate accentuation, opening with iamb + pyrrhic + trochee + pyrrhic. The accentual shape of line 2 recurs but only incompletely and only in line 3, but this is meaningless on account of the three names that fill most of line 2 and the one that opens line 3, notwithstanding the parallelism of NAMES + ACCUSATIVE + VERB (l.2) / NAME + ACCUSATIVE + DATIVE + VERB + DATIVE (l.3). One can compare the accentual rhythm of line 3 to the kylix text (107), with initial dactyl here for the initial trochee in the Middle Faliscan, which was already shown to be metrical but not verse.

In contrast to the rest of the text, line 5 provides some interest. Scanned accentually with one syllable per verse position, the line possesses rhythm but not in any meaningful way: the first half takes holotrochaic form or instantiates a trochaic dipody + iamb + pyrrhic, followed by a holodactylic second half. However, if quantitatively proceleusmatic *húticilom* is scanned with resolution, line 5 becomes a well-formed trochaic-dactylic Saturnian comparable to also trochaic-dactylic *CIL* 1531.4 (see §§ 2.2.2 and C.1.1). But, striking as this might be, line 5 is on its own in the text. It may have formed a couplet with line 4, but the obscurity of **⟨fitaidupes⟩** makes this impossible to

prove and pushes line 5's security beyond reach. Recall from § 2.7.1 that the scansion of two early Latin prose specimens yielded 195 ersatz Saturnian cola, of which 59 pairs of contiguous cola could form Saturnian lines. The combination /• o • ∪ | o • ∪ || o • ∪ | o • ∪/ is found in three pairs: pseudo-cola .35–36 and .51–52 in the Cato (§ E.1), and in the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, .67–68 (§ E.2). Thus, the oldest and most celebrated text that we have of Faliscan, while clearly possessed of some verbal art and rhythms, does not preserve any verse intact. If it does, it cannot be identified with confidence.

§ 3.2.2.3 *LF 2: An Old Faliscan oinochoë*

So far, the meager Faliscan corpus has produced only rhetorically ornamented and rhythmic sequences but such with insufficient regularity to be verse. However, two more likely candidates can perhaps be found in two more dedicatory texts preserved on *oinochoai*, pitcher-like vessels for taking wine from the mixing bowl and pouring it into cups. The first, *LF 2* (111), consists of two discrete sequences (*a* and *b*) and has been taken as a unity by H. Eichner (1988–1990c) to be poetic and metrical. Dating from the first half of the 6th century BC, *LF 2b* is inscribed in scriptio continua around the vessel's base, following *LF 2a*, a decorative, phonologically playful, lexically non-sensical sequence inscribed on the body. The decipherable text, in the vessel's voice, falls into two periods. The first is the oinochoë's declaration of its ownership, and the second is its command to be greeted (in Giacomelli's reading and interpretation, which I follow

almost completely).

(111) *LF 2*¹⁴

a **propramom̄: pramed[u]mom̄· pramodpramedumom̄: pramod: propramod̄:
 pramodumom̄(m)**

b i **ecoqutoneuotenosiotitiasduenomduenas**

ii **saluē[to]duoltene:**

i ego κῶθων *Evoteni Titiae bonum bonae*

I am the good drinking vessel of Evotenos, good Titia's (friend).

ii salveto Voltene

Hail, Voltenos!

The vessel names three names: *Evotenos*¹⁵, *Titia*, and *Voltenos*. The first two are in the genitive and the last in the vocative. *Evotenos* is taken as the recipient of the speaking ⟨*quton*⟩, *Titia* the giver of the vessel, which is referred to appositively by ⟨*duenom*⟩, and *Voltenos* in connection with *Evotenos*. On the one hand, the fact that eleven of *LF 2b*'s 22 syllables—a full half of the count—consists of names does not bode well for the text's candidacy as verse. Nor does the formulaic but prosaic nature of the first nine syllables = three words (Agostiniani 1982: 187–198): I (AM) + NOMINATIVE + GENITIVE [OWNER/RECIPIENT] is attested on numerous “speaking inscriptions” in Latin, non-Latin Italic (Agostiniani 1982: 262), and Etruscan (Agostiniani 1982: 242–244).

¹⁴ For basic discussion of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation, see Vetter 1953: 283–285; Giacomelli 1963: 44–46; Giacomelli 1978: 526–527. Giacomelli restores ⟨*saluē[me]d*⟩ and translates it into Italian as ‘salve per me’ in *b*, but Agostiniani 1982: 150 reports the publication of a new inscription from Gabi that supports the restoration adopted here.

¹⁵ ⟨*uo[I]tenos-*⟩ in Eichner's word division and interpretation with a restoration on the basis of the final ⟨*uoltene:*⟩ (Eichner 1988–1990c: 216).

On the other hand, the distraction of <titias> and <duenas> around <duenom> betrays some rhetorical ornament, which also marks the whole period. The distraction of formally tight Titia and ‘good f.’ around ‘good n.’—this may be, as Eichner intuits, a significant poetically driven modification of also formulaic <duenomduenas> : Greek *καλος καλῶ* : Etruscan *mlay mlakas* : Latin <DVENOS ... DVENOI> (Agostiniani 1981)—is paralleled by the distraction of semantically connected ‘κῶθων / drinking-vessel’ and ‘bonum / good’ around Evotenos.



While the two genitive names stand in the unmarked relationship conveyed by their serial arrangement, which is reflected in the translation, they can nevertheless each be serving more than one function in the period:

I (am) the drinking vessel of Evotenos
of Evotenos (husband/lover) of Titia
= Evotenos’ (wife/lover) Titia’s
good Titia’s good (gift/drinking vessel)

The rhetoric of the text therefore might yet save the text for poetic analysis, and the non-sensical but phonologically playful sequence *LF 2a* may be acting in concert with the syntactic play in *b*, though one need not follow Eichner’s grammatical interpretation of *a* and his scansion of it as (in my understanding) a catalectic iambic dimeter / $\overline{\cup}$ 1 $\overline{\cup}$ 2 $\overline{\cup}$ \cup \wedge / (or hypermetrical acatalectic tripod / $\overline{\cup}$ 1 $\overline{\cup}$ 2 $\overline{\cup}$ 3 $\overline{\cup}$ /) + iambic tripod / $\overline{\cup}$ 1 $\overline{\cup}$ 2 $\overline{\cup}$ \cup / + catalectic iambic dimeter again, which he can only accomplish

by deleting the final ⟨**pramod**⟩ (Eichner 1988–1990c: 216).

Eichner exploits the functional ambiguity of ⟨**titias**⟩ and divides the text into three lines, before ⟨**titias**⟩ and after ⟨**duenas**⟩. I give the text in quasi-phonological transcription in Eichner’s colometry and (adapted) scansion (112).¹⁶

(112) *LF 2b* after Eichner

(a) Quantitative scansion

1	egō qūtōn Eϋotenos̄jo	ω: 1 –: ω 3 3 3
2	T̄itiās d̄uēnom d̄uēnās	ω 1: 3 2: 3 3
3	salvē[tō]d Voltene	– 1 –: 2 3 3

(b) Accentual scansion

INITIAL	1	égō qūtōn Èϋotenòs̄jo	˘ 3: ˘ 3: 3 3 ˘ 3
	2	T̄itiās d̄uēnom d̄uēnās	˘ 3 3: ˘ 3: 3
	3	sálvē[tō]d Vóltene	˘ 3 3: 3 3
PENULTIMATE	1	égō qūtōn Èϋotenós̄jo	˘ 3: ˘ 3: 3 3 ˘ 3
	2	T̄itiās d̄uēnom d̄uēnās	˘ 3 3: ˘ 3: 3
	3	salvé[tō]d Vóltene	3 ˘ 3: 3 3

Eichner discerned quantitative iambic rhythms (these are still present in the reading I adopt) and scanned the first line as a catalectic dimeter / $\overline{\omega} 1 \overline{\omega} 2 \overline{\omega} 3 \overline{\omega} \wedge$ / (or a hypermetrical acatalectic dimeter / $\overline{\omega} 1 \overline{\omega} 2 \cup 3 \cup$ /) and lines 2–3 as tripodies / $\overline{\omega} 1 \overline{\omega} 2 \cup \overline{\omega}$ / (the basis of his interpretation and scansion of *LF 2a*), with iambic shortening and resolution in ⟨**eco**⟩ and resolution in the names. The treatment of the names can be excused, but the assumption that *Old Faliscan* had iambic shortening like

¹⁶ Eichner understands ⟨**qutoϋneuo-**⟩ as /qūtō ne Ūo-/, but exactly how is unclear since he provides no translation or explanation.

Plautine Latin is difficult to support. More importantly, the lines' syllabic quantities cohere only loosely in a text-internal pattern and only by recourse to licenses. The licenses themselves are paralleled, but in such an isolated and limited context their application carry greater cost than redeemed by the results. An accentual scansion with either initial or (ante-) penultimate stress (112b) fares no better. Thus the text in Eichner's colometry cannot be verse.

The functional ambiguity of *Titiās* can be exploited a different way to divide the text's two periods into a couplet (113): the first line consisting of SUBJECT + NOUN PHRASE [NOMINATIVE + [GENITIVE + GENITIVE']] would be internally additively enjambed by the second (in Higbie's theory of enjambment, on which see § 2.6.5.1).

(113) *LF 2b*: Alternative colometry

(a) Quantitative scansion

1	egō qūtōn E <u>u</u> otenosio Titiās	∪ 1: - 2 ∪ ∞ - ∪ 5
2	duenom duenās salvē[tō]d Voltene	∪ 1: ∪ 2 - 3 - 4 ∪ ∪

(b) Accentual scansion

INITIAL	1	égō qūtōn É <u>u</u> otenòsio Títias	˘ ∪: ˘ ∪ ~ ∪ ˘ ∪ ~ ∪
	2	duénom duénās sálvē[tō]d Vóltene	˘ ∪: ˘ ∪ ˘ ∪ ∪ ˘ ∪ ∪
PENULTIMATE	1	égō qūtōn È <u>u</u> otenósio Títias	˘ ∪: ˘ ∪ ~ ∪ ˘ ∪ ~ ∪
	2	duénom duénās salvē[tō]d Vóltene	˘ ∪: ˘ ∪ ∪ ˘ ∪ ˘ ∪ ∪

Quantitative iambic pentapodies can be achieved, and the suspicious operation of resolution, compared to Latin metrical practice, in the names *Euotenosio Titias* (for unmarked *Euotenosio Titiās* [∪ ∪ - ∪:∞ -]) can perhaps be excused once more. But,

under either initial or (ante-) penultimate stress, accentual scansion brings out more coherent rhythmic patterning, which is accomplished by unmarked application of resolution in the names. Each line opens with a trochaic dipody, followed by what appears to be a holotrochaic six-position Saturnian colon in the first line and a “3 | 3” colon in the second line.

Attractive as an accentual of *LF 2b* might be, dipodic expansion of an apparent Saturnian colon was encountered above in *LF 5*, the kylix text (see § 3.2.2.1). Just as the kylix text’s rhetoric and rhythm bore partial resemblance to the Latin Saturnian but closer similarity to rhythmic-prosaic Incertorum 21, *LF 2b* can be compared to Incertorum 16 (114) and the status of the Faliscan as verse called into question. Incertorum 16 is a rustic couplet of decasyllables preserved by Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.20), which is also quoted by Paul the Deacon. In it, a father exhorts his son on seasonal planting.

(114) Incertorum 16¹⁷

¹ hībérnō | púlvere || vérnō lútō - - - | - ∪ ∪ || - - : ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ ∪ || ∪ ∪ : ∪ ∪
² grándia | fárra || camílle | métēs - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ || ∪ - ∪ | ∪ - ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ || ∪ ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪

*In dust of winter, in mud of spring,
 you will reap full-grown grain, laddy.*

Note here the lines’ metrical shapes: a “3 | 3” Saturnian colon expanded by a trochaic dipody comprises the first line, and two cola that recall the Saturnian /Λ • ∪ ∪ | ∪ ∪ / compose the second line. As opposed to other Latin charms, the syntactic and lexical parallelism of the first line’s ADJECTIVE + NOUN + ADJECTIVE’ + NOUN’, with modifiers

¹⁷ Morel enshrines Leo’s colometry and scansion of Incertorum 16 as three Saturnian cola (Leo 1905: 63), but Blänsdorf’s disposition is superior for its sensitivity to the syntactic and lexical parallelism.

from one semantic field and the head nouns from another, is only partially mirrored by the ADJECTIVE" + NOUN" that open the second line. To this can be compared the structure of *LF 2b*: the first period (SUBJECT + PREDICATE [NOUN + GENITIVE + GENITIVE' + ADJECTIVE + ADJECTIVE']) spans *LF 2b.1–2*, which corresponds to the extension of the verbal adjuncts (adverbial ablative noun phrases + accusative noun phrase) across *Incertorum 16.1–2*. The second halves of both *LF 2b.2* and *Incertorum 16.2* are taken up by IMPERATIVE'/VOCATIVE" + VOCATIVE'/IMPERATIVE". If rhythm, as it clearly is, is incidental to syntactic parallelism in *Incertorum 16*, *LF 2b* may only be coincidentally metrically regular and does not meet the burden of proof to be called verse.

§ 3.2.2.4 *LF 3: Another Old Faliscan oinochoë*

The inscription on the second oinochoë, *LF 3* (115), dating from the same period as *LF 2*, bears Faliscan's last (low) hope for extant verse. The text runs around the vessel's body and falls into four parts: opening and closing material, *i* and *iv*, which are uninterpretable from unsegmentability, and parallel sentences *ii* and *iii*.¹⁸ To my knowledge, the text has not been investigated in poetic or metrical light, which is understandable given the obscurity of *i* and *iv*.

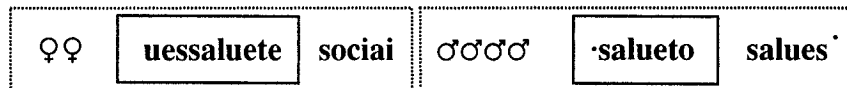
(115) *LF 3*

- i* epeaziepuṭilepekapena
- ii* rufiakalkętiauessaluetesociai
- iii* ofetioskaiosuelosamanos·saluetosalues
- iv* seiteiofetęqemenesej--eie

¹⁸ For basic discussion of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation, see Vetter 1953: 285–287; Giacomelli 1963: 46–48; Giacomelli 1978: 527–528.

- i ... Capena
... Capena
- ii Rufia Calcetia vos salvete sociae
Rufia, Kalketia, hail, you girlfriends!
- iii Ofentius Gaius Vel Amanus salvento [?]salvi
Let Ofetios (,) Kaios, Velos (,) Amanos, [?]in good health hail!
- iv ...

Giacomelli and Vetter read a space between <kapena> and <rufia>, which Giacomelli thinks may be due to the inscriber's desire to correct the deviation of the text flow (Giacomelli 1963: 47), and interpuncts between <amanos> and <salueto>; Giacomelli also reads a post hoc added supralinear punct after <salues>. The punctuation therefore suggests that the text may have been colometrized by the inscriber, albeit inconsistently, either as structured prose or as verse. (Contrast the phrasal punctuation observed in *LF 5a*.) Moreover, the two sequences that can be translated, *ii* and *iii*, are rhetorically marked.



(Let “♀” stand for a female name, and “♂” for male.) In both sequences, the verbs are in penultimate position. In each, nominatives surround the verb. Phonologically, *uēs* in *ii* rhymes with *-uēs* in *iii* and *-uē-* medial in the verbs; *sal-* is repeated three times and alliterates with *sociai*. In *ii*, the alliterating and assonating syllables are arranged *uēs sal-uē- s-*, which is mirrored by *sal- uē- sal- uēs* in *iii*. The syntactic parallelism of the two sentences and in light of the first oinochoë *LF 2b* (111), where the male is named more

fully than the female, suggests that the four masculine names here stand for two men, <ofetioskaios> and <uelosamanos> (= gentilicium + prae-/cognomen or ethnonym + name), who correspond to two *sociae* <rufiakalkētia> (perhaps from the town of <kapena>, which has alternatively been taken as the name of a third *socia*).¹⁹ In any case, the syntactic and phonological ornament recommend the text for further exploration.

If *LF* 3 (116) is verse, the names must be extra metrum (these are set off by “⊃” in the quasi-phonological transcription, which corresponds to orthographic <·>). From the scansion given in (116a), no quantitative pattern emerges.

(116) *LF* 3

(a) Quantitative scansion

<i>ii</i>	Rūfia Calcetia ⊃	uēs salūēte	social	... ⊃	-: - - u u u -
<i>iii</i>	Ōfentios Kājos Velos Amānos ⊃	salūe(n)tō	salūēs	... ⊃	- - - - -

(b) Accentual scansion

INITIAL

<i>ii</i>	Rūfia Calcetia ⊃	uēs sáluēte	sóciai	... ⊃	u: ' u u ' u u
<i>iii</i>	Ōfentios Kājos Velos Amānos ⊃	sáluē(n)tō	sáluēs	... ⊃	' u u ' u

PENULTIMATE

<i>ii</i>	Rūfia Calcetia ⊃	uēs salūēte	sóciai	... ⊃	' u ' u ' u u
<i>iii</i>	Ōfentios Kājos Velos Amānos ⊃	salūe(n)tō	sáluēs	... ⊃	u ' u ' u

By contrast, in an accentual scansion, with either initial or (ante-) penultimate stress, two Saturnian cola emerge, a “4 | 3” colon at the end of *ii* and a “3 | 2” form at the close of *iii*.

¹⁹ The erotic relationship of the named persons has already been suggested by V. Pisani, though there is neither need nor basis to read obscenity into the text. Vetter proposes that four men are named as brothers from a Faliscan *Jugendbund*, similar to the three <euiois: mamaz[e]xtos> in the “Ceres” inscription (Vetter 1953: 282), and E. Peruzzi argues for traces of a θίασος, a Bacchic revel. Giacomelli rejects Vetter’s *Jugendbund* as anachronistic and Peruzzi’s θίασος as forced though learned (Giacomelli 1963: 47; 1978: 528).

Irrespective of accentuation system, *ii* ends in a dactyl and *iii* in a trochee. Before what appear to be the cola's odd quarters, either iamb + pyrrhic or trochaic dipody occurs in *ii*, to which either dactyl or amphibrach is responding in *iii*.

What then could be made of this patterning? In the kylix text's solitary line (*LF* 5), we saw partial overlap with the accentual-metrical rhythm of the Latin Saturnian, but comparison of the Faliscan to a Latin charm strongly favored a prosaic-rhythmic analysis. Likewise, the first oinochoë text (*LF* 2) also bore partial resemblance to the Latin Saturnian, but another Latin couplet cast doubt on the Faliscan's text-internal regularity and versehood. In the case of this second oinochoë text, we again encounter rhetorical ornament (parallelism, repetition, alliteration), and we again meet partial similarity to the Latin Saturnian. But what distinguishes *LF* 3 from these others is the occurrence of two Saturnian cola which, though interrupted by names, when put together *in the order of their appearance* constitute a well-formed Saturnian line /C...D • o • v | o • v || C...D ^ • o v | ' v / (see §§ 2.2.2 and C.13), and such a reading finds support in the inscriber's use of complex punctuation: space before the verse-initial but extrametrical female names, interpunct ⟨·⟩ after the post-caesural but extrametrical male names, and supralinear punct ⟨^⟩ at verse-end. However, another Old Faliscan text, the "Ceres" inscription (*LF* 1), preserves an even better formed Saturnian than *LF* 3, and doubts surround its security as such in light of three pairs of ersatz Saturnian cola from early Latin prose. Indeed, the test of the Saturnian against early Latin prose uncovers two

pairs of pseudo-cola, .84–85 in the Cato (§ E.1) and .81–82 in the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (§ E.2), with the combination /• ◦ • ∪ | ◦ • ∪ || ^ • ◦ ∪ | ^ ∪/. Clearly, poetic intent underlies the composition of *LF* 3, but the same poetic intent is evident in prose. So, does the second oinochoë text meet the burden of proof to be verse? Its case, though strong and striking in its details as in the “Ceres” inscription, nevertheless remains circumstantial.

§ 3.3 Conclusion

In the previous chapter, I proposed a theory of the Saturnian meter of early Latin, built from the diverse overlapping and complementary accentual and word boundary patterns. I based the theory on the Latin texts as they are and the Latin linguistic facts as we know them. In this chapter, I tried to apply the theory to several more Latin texts, and I advanced arguments in favor of their analyses as Saturnians. For yet others, I argued against metrical analyses altogether. I then tried to follow the same discovery procedures on the few scraps of Faliscan that have come down to us. After evaluating previous claims and testing principles of quantitative and accentual scansion, I am led to the negative conclusions that Latin’s closest geographic and linguistic neighbor has left behind too few textual remains of substance to decide with any confidence between initial or (ante-) penultimate accentuation and whether the texts are poetry or just artful rhythmic prose. And so, with the same method and caution, I proceed with an examination of Sabellian textual remains.

CHAPTER 4

SABELLIAN

§ 4.0 Introduction

This chapter concerns primarily three South Picene, one Vestinian Oscan, and two Paelignian Oscan poetic epitaphs. Other texts from Umbrian and Sidicinian Oscan have also been alleged to be poetic and metrical—often described as Saturnians—and I discuss these in brief. As in the previous chapter, each text requires careful individual attention. Since these are discrete languages within the Sabellian family of the Italic branch of Indo-European, I postpone broad overviews of their textual remains as preludes to their respective discussions. In organization, I largely follow the order in which the texts are presented in Rix's (2002) edition: earliest to latest, from northwest central Italy southeastward. The results I present verify the status of the three South Picene texts, the one Vestinian, and the two Paelignian as verse: all are rhetorically ornamented accentual-metrical poems with text-internal and intertextual regularities. However, these take surprising forms and are discovered in quite unexpected ways. I conclude the chapter with proposed refinements to Sabellian rules of accentuation and scansion.

§ 4.0.1 Quantity and accent in Sabellian

Before proceeding, I rehearse here my assumptions regarding quantity and accent in non-Latin Italic, which were stated briefly in § 3.2.1 in connection with Faliscan. I will assume that syllabic weight was calculated in Sabellian the same way as in the early

Latin of Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius (see § 2.0.2), i.e. short vowels in open syllables and before mute + liquid = obstruent + sonorant are scanned light, and long vowels or diphthongs in open syllables and any vowel in a closed syllable count as heavy.

Unlike Faliscan, we know from spelling and historical changes in Sabellian that word-initial syllables bore primary stress (see Schmid 1955 for a survey and critique of the view that Sabellian had (ante-) penultimate accentuation as in Latin). The Sabellian languages show medial and final vowel syncope (Wallace 2004: 822). Umbrian shows similar phenomena as encountered in Latin: word-final vowel weakening and weakening of *a* in various non-initial positions in late Old Umbrian (Meiser 1986: 32–33, 267ff; see now Haug 2004 on vowel weakening in connection with syncope and verbal morphology). G. Meiser (1986: 33) has also observed rightward shift of accent in words joined to an enclitic or suffix with a complex onset (though, as in early Latin, this might point less to stress shift than to secondary accentuation triggered by the enclitic or suffix, for which see §§ 2.3.4). In South Picene, A. Marinetti uses initial alliteration as a diagnosis for initial accentuation (Marinetti 1981: 155–157). Watkins connects consistent word-dividing punctuation with demarcative stress, which he concludes to be most likely word-initial (Watkins 1995: 131n10). These observations lead to a natural conclusion that, as in Latin (and Faliscan), word-final syllables in Sabellian were ineligible for accentuation.

Despite these knowable details of Sabellian phonology, as with Faliscan a similar problem arises: an only partial prosodic description must establish poetic meter. For

secondary stress, I turn again to Finno-Ugric for typological comparison and will assume secondary accent on every odd post-tonic non-final syllable or, if such were light, the syllable immediately after, i.e. [é ɾ ð ɾ(...)] ~ [é ɾ ɹ ð(...)] (see Hayes 1995: 317ff). I return in § 4.4 to discuss recurring prosodic and metrical phenomena turned up by examination of the texts.

§ 4.0.2 **Note on transcription and interpretation of Sabellian**

I illustrate the discussions below with diplomatic transcriptions of the texts based on Rix 2002, supplemented with information from Vetter 1953 for Umbrian (apart from the Iguvine Tables) and Oscan, Marinetti 1985 for South Picene, and Vine 1993 for Paelignian. Transcriptions in bold face conventionally represent texts written in native alphabets, and those in italics reflect texts written in the Latin alphabet. To facilitate metrical interpretations, I also provide quasi-phonological transcriptions. These are modified forms of the diplomatic, with vowel lengths, semi-vowels, and unspelled segments indicated. However, no additional effort has been made to represent all segments with greater exactitude (see Rix 1983 and Meiser 1986 for richer phonological transcription schemes).

As with Faliscan, investigators of Sabellian poetics and metrics can meet with frustration, given only partial knowledge of the languages' morphologies and lexica. But the difficulties are not as aggravating in Sabellian, since the texts are more numerous, longer, and more consistently punctuated than in Faliscan, though Sabellian still does not

rival Latin in strength of attestation or extent of understanding. In examinations of the texts, I eschew discussion of most every word and give the available interpretations that seem best to me. I rely heavily on *WOU*, the most current and complete dictionary of Sabellian available, with references. I discuss crucial words as they arise, but otherwise lexical uncertainties are registered in the footnotes or are signaled by a superscript question mark “[?]” before a gloss.

§ 4.1 Umbrian

About 40 inscriptions survive in the language of the Umbrians, the Sabellians who inhabited the region northeast of Rome. The dates of the inscriptions lie between the 7th or 6th and 1st centuries BC, the early ones written in the Umbrian national alphabet and the later ones in the Latin alphabet. The bulk of this subset of Sabellian texts is taken up by the long Iguvine Tables (Um 1 in Rix’s edition), seven large bronze tablets each inscribed on both sides with instructions concerning the complex ritual purification of the Umbrian town of Iguvium (modern Gubbio). The earlier tablets Ia–Va contain only the ritual instructions, which are repeated in the later tablets Vb–VIIb and amplified with the actual texts of the accompanying prayers. These are quite long and extremely complex, and I save them for a separate study together with the Roman prayers I have also excluded (see Watkins 1995: chh.17–18, pp.197–225¹ on the poetics; Prosdocimi 1992 on rhythmic patterns). The remaining 39 inscriptions of the Umbrian corpus survive on

¹ Cf. Mercado 2003 for a wrong-headed quantitative-metrical analysis of the Umbrian “Prayer to Jupiter Grabovius” after Parsons.

different media—stone, ceramic, metal—and represent various genres: dedication, identification, epitaph, and coin legend. All are short, lacunose, and/or fragmentary.

Now, on four 4th-century BC bronze sheets from Plestia (near modern Colfiorito in Perugia) recur the same single sentence that has been alleged to be a quantitative Saturnian by G. Costa (2000: 105–110). In Rix’s edition, Um 17 = 18 = 19 = 20² (all fragmentary to varying degrees and at different points of the sentence) are “speaking inscriptions” that identify their referents as consecrated to the goddess Cupra Mater ‘Good Mother’ of Plestia.

(117) Um 17 = 18 = 19 = 20

(a) Diplomatic transcription and translations

17	cupras matres pletinas sacru [Bonae Matris Plestinae sacrum sum
18]as matres pletinas sacru esu	<i>I am sacred for the Good Mother</i>
19]as matres p[<i>of Plestia</i>
20	cupr [

(b) Quasi-phonological transcription and scansions

Cúprās Mátres Plé(s)tínās sácru(m) ésu(m)	
---	--

The five-word sentence, which also consists of a singular clause, lacks all rhetorical ornament and only happens to possess similar rhythmic and word boundary patterns as the slightly less prosaic Middle Faliscan kylix text *LF 5* (see § 3.2.2.1) and Old Faliscan *LF 1* line 3 (§ 3.2.2.2). Even putting aesthetic requirements aside, the eleven-syllable

² See Rix 2002: 63–64 for the transcriptions and references to basic discussions of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation.

Umbrian sentence does not meet the structural specifications of the Saturnian meter I propose. With this I leave Umbrian behind.

§ 4.2 South Picene

To the east of the Umbrians lived the South Picene Sabellians on the central Adriatic coast. They have left behind a corpus of texts, mostly preserved on stones, comprised of 23 inscriptions written in their native alphabet. These range from one word to 30, from fragmentary to lacunose to complete. I single out for investigation three complete texts that have been described as poetry: the funerary inscriptions MC 1 and TE 2, and the dedicatory inscription AP 2.³ These texts date from roughly the same time period. If the use of the South Picene alphabet serves as an indicator, the *floruit* of South Picene ends circa 5th–4th centuries BC. In the 4th–3rd centuries BC, Sabellian inscriptions in non-South Picene orthographies begin to appear in their place (Marinetti 1985: 45–46).

§ 4.2.1 MC 1: The epitaph of Apaes

I begin with the shortest of the set. The text of the funerary *cippus* (stone column) from Loro Piceno, the transcription and translations of which are given in (118), consists of two sentences running continuously in *boustrophedon* (the text flow changes direction with each line), starting on the reader's lower right-hand corner (see figure 4.1 for a rough scheme of the text flow; cf. Marinetti 1985: 162 for a facsimile and figure 1 for a photograph).

³ A fourth complete text, the monument TE 5, is most likely poetic, thus metrical. However, the fact that only five of the inscription's twenty words can be interpreted with any certainty militate against meaningful poetic and metrical analysis. Cf. one quantitativist attempt by Eichner 1988–1990b; Watkins 1995: 133–134 only discusses the last two words; Freeman 1998: 78 offers a syllable-counting analysis, noting alliteration with Marinetti 1985: 85–88; yet another interpretation and quantitative scansion, with notes on phonological play, is Costa 2000: 96–100.

(118) MC 1⁴

¹	apaes: qapat[: e]smín:	Appius iacet in hoc.
²	púpúnis: nír: mefiín: veiat: vepetí	Picenus/Piceni vir in medio iacet lapide.

Apaes lies in this.

A man of Picenum/Picene man 'lies in the middle of this stone.

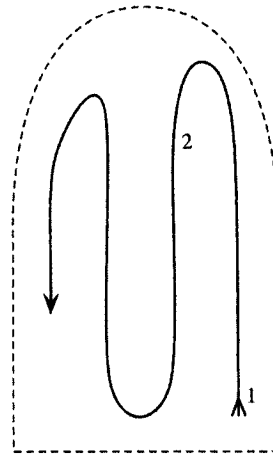


Figure 4.1. Text flow of MC 1.

The text exhibits the poetic properties of marked syntax and phonological play. The two sentences have parallel syntactic structures: SUBJECT + VERB + ADVERBIAL / SUBJECT + ADVERBIAL + VERB + ADVERBIAL. The paratactic and formulaic nature of the inscription, the synonymy of the verbs, and the distraction of the postpositional phrase around the second verb—the object of the postpositional phrase consists of ADJECTIVE + NOUN, and each member receives the postposition—have been noticed by A. Marinetti and Watkins (Marinetti 1985: 106–107; Watkins 1995: 133). In addition to the cadential alliteration of

⁴ Lest the epitaph be anonymous, I take ⟨**apaes**⟩ as a name. ⟨**veiat**⟩ / *uēiāt* / < **leg^h-i-ā-ti* can be indicative or subjunctive (Marinetti 1985: 76–77); Marinetti prefers the former, but the latter, preferred by Untermann (*WOU* 830, s.v.), can be hortatory, perhaps in the sense of ‘*requiescat* / rest.’ So the text can be read: ‘Here lies Apaes / a Picene man rests in the middle of this stone,’ or ‘... / let the man of Picenum rest’

μ - μ - observed by Watkins, the homoioteleuton of <-es -at -ín / -is ... -ín -at> can be noted.

Seeing the function of <púpúnis: nír> as ambiguous, being either an appositive to <apaes> or the subject of <veiat>, Watkins does not commit to a colometry but proposes one for each interpretation. If ‘Picene man/man of Picenum’ belongs to the first line, the poem would consist of a hendecasyllable + octosyllable; if the phrase were construed with the second line, the epitaph would have hepta- + dodecasyllable. While the phrase’s ambiguous role cannot be denied, assignment of it to the second line results in clearer syntactic parallelism with the first line, so (119).

(119) MC 1: Scansions

	(a) Quantitative	(b) Accentual
¹ Á(p)pa(i)es qúpāt ésmīn	- u u u - : - -	' u u ' u : ' u
² Pópōnis nēr méfiīn uéjjāt uépetī(n)	- - - - : u u - - - u u -	' u u u : ' u u ' u ' u u

Quantitative scansion (119a) brings out no notable patterning besides line 2’s medial and final cadential anapests. By contrast, accentual scansion (119b) produces a “3 | 4” Saturnian colon (see §§ 2.1.2.3 and B.5) followed by a full “3 | 4 || 2 | 3” Saturnian line (see §§ 2.2.1 and C.8; on the accentuation and scansion of *nēr*, see § 4.4.1 below; cf. § 2.3.1.2 on monosyllabic content words in Latin Saturnians).

Now, taken on its own with its lines taken together, it is difficult to judge whether MC 1 meets the burden of proof to be verse. The syntactic and rhetorical ornament are

present in the text, as is coherent accentual rhythmic patterning. But the pattern does not cohere very tightly. If the text is a unitary poem, it is polymetric. However, recall once more from § 2.7.1 that the scansion of two early Latin prose specimens yielded 195 ersatz Saturnian cola, of which 59 pairs of contiguous cola could form Saturnian lines. The combination /o • ∪ | • o • ∪ || ^ ∪ | o • ∪/ is found in one pair: ersatz cola .2–3, preceded by a “3 | 3” pseudo-colon, in the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (§ E.2). The colon archetype /o • ∪ | • o • ∪/ on its own occurs numerous times in prose as well: five instances in the Cato (.2, .37, .53, .71, .99) and nine tokens in the *Senatus Consultum* (.5, .26 = .53, .37, .69, .75, .77, .78, .83). So, taken on its own with its lines taken together, MC 1 does not fully satisfy both of the strict requirements of rhetorical ornament and text-internal + intertextual metrical regularity in order to be considered verse in the conventional sense.

However, the epitaph can well be a mix of prose and verse. The first line can be regarded as a prosaic sentence formulaic to epitaphs (it identifies the deceased), and the second line a single verse that fulfills all specifications to be a Saturnian. Syntactic parallelism unites the lines not as a poem but in a derivational relationship: the prose inspired and was expanded by a verse, which opens with similar rhythm as the incidentally rhythmic formula. Compare now not only the Saturnian epitaphs, e.g. *CIL* 11 (§ D.10), but also those in quantitative meters, all of which are preceded by naming formulas. The fact that closer inspection isolates the phonological play and hyperbaton in

the second line of the South Picene point to this alternative interpretation. (AP 2 discussed in § 4.2.3.2 below appears to be similarly composed of interrelated prose and verse.)

§ 4.2.2 TE 2: The epitaph of Tetis Alis

Less controversial as a poem is the text of the funerary stele from Bellante, the transcription and translations of which are given in (120) with the directions of the text flow indicated by long arrows. Its nine words run clockwise in an outward spiral around a (male) human figure in relief. (See figure 4.2 for a rough diagram of the text flow; cf. Marinetti 1985: 204 for a facsimile and figure 13 for a photograph).

(120) TE 2⁵

1	→	postin: viam: videtas:	per viam videtis
2	←	tetis: tokam: alies:	Titi [?] tectum [?] Secundi
3	→	esmen: vepses: vepeten	hic (= in hoc) [?] strati in lapide

*Along the road you see the [?]tomb of Tetis Alis,
[?]stretched out here (= in this) in this stone.*

⁵ I adopt Adiego Lajara's interpretation of ⟨**videtas**⟩, but the word has also been taken as an imperative or nom./acc. pl. f. perfect passive participle (WOU 854–855, s.v. *uirseto*). ⟨**tokam**⟩ is most commonly taken as a cognate of Lat. *toga* after Marinetti (Nonius 406.21 cites an example from the 2nd-century BC comic writer Titinius with Lat. *toga* in the meaning 'tectum / covering' (Lewis & Short 1875, s.v.; Ernout-Meillet 678, s.v. *tegō*)), though Vine points out that the use of ⟨**k**⟩ for /g/ has not been fully described and proposes as another possibility *Itōkkam!* 'publicam / public' < **toutika-*, cognate with Umbrian ⟨*toce*⟩ (Vine 1993: 232n44). I take ⟨**tetis alies**⟩ as the genitive of a name *Titos Alis*, lest the grave marker be anonymous, similar to what would be Latin *Titus Secundus*, though we could also be faced with two different names standing for *Titos* the buried and *Alis* his father. I follow Meiser (2003: 47–49) on the interpretation of ⟨**vepses**⟩ as gen. sg. perfect active participle 'strati / stretched out,' agreeing with ⟨**tetis alies**⟩, from **uep-us-eis*, cognate with Ved. *vap-* 'strew, scatter,' which Adiego Lajara interprets as 'reliquiae / remnant's,' the reflex of **leiq^h-es-eis*, cognate with Umbrian ⟨**vepur-**⟩ < **leiq^h-ōs-* (apud WOU 839–840, s.vv. **vepses**, **vepurus**), and for which Vine (1993: 230) suggests as also possible 2sg. fut. 'iacebis / you will lie' < **leg^h-e-se/o-*. The text can thus be read in a number of ways.

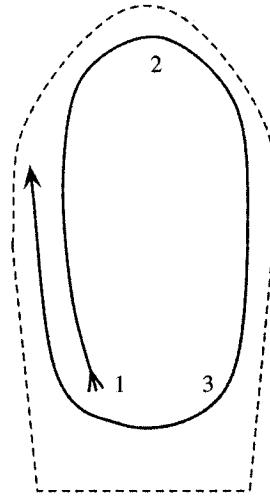


Figure 4.2. Text flow of TE 2.

Watkins observes that the first three words, which can be grouped together in a line, begin at the figure's right foot (the viewer's left) and end at his head; the second three words go from his head to his left foot; the final three words continue from his left foot to his right shoulder (Watkins 1995: 131). In other words, this physical disposition of the writing on the stone can be correlated with verse lines in a natural way. Watkins (1995: 131–2) and Freeman (1998: 78) note that the alternating concatenative alliteration of *p- ū- ū- / T- t- A- / e- ū- ū-* and homoioteleuton of *-en -am / -is -am -es / -en -ēs -en* signal the text as poetic. Alliteration with the function of demarcating rhythm (but not syntactic constituency) in bipartite cola has also been noticed by Marinetti for a number of inscriptions including TE 2 (Marinetti 1985: 85–88; see now Janson 1993 on alliteration in South Picene). The homoioteleuton of *-en -am / -is -am -es / -en -ēs -en* is also noteworthy. If *<tetis alies>* is construed as the two-part name of the deceased in the

second line, then the name is distracted around <tokam>, the direct object of <videtas> (line 1). This distraction is paralleled by the bookending of <vepses> with the scrambled members of the postpositional phrase.

Regarding the meter of the inscription, Watkins (1995: 131–132), followed by Freeman (1998: 78), observes that the three lines of TE 2 are each heptasyllabic with trisyllabic cadences. As for quantitative rhythm (121a), only the cadential anapests in lines 2–3 form any sort of pattern; in all other positions, light and heavy syllables are interchangeable.

(121) TE 2: Scansions

	(a) Quantitative	(b) Accentual
¹ pósten uíam uídētās	– –:u – u – –	´ u:´ u ´ u u
² Tétis tókam Álies	u –:u u u u –	´ u:´ u ´ u u
³ ésmīn uépsēs uépetīn	– –:– – u u –	´ u:´ u ´ u u

It is E. Dupraz (2006 [forthcoming]) who provides the attractive accentual trochaic-dactylic scansion given in (121b), improving upon Eichner's three trochaic-cretic lines [´ u:´ u | ´ u ´] (Eichner 1993: 65), which imply the unlikely accentuations *uídētās*, *Áliès*, and *uépetīn*. Dupraz arrives at his scansion on the basis of other Sabellian texts (Vestinian and Paelignian, discussed shortly), and he considers the final dactyl a substitute for expected trochee, but I see no need in explaining the dactyl at all. The South Picene trochaic and dactylic rhythms form a coherent text-internally regular pattern, of which a trochaic-amphibrachic counterpart occurs in a now lost Latin

inscription quoted at Fronto 67 (122):

(122) Incertorum 1⁶

flāmen sūme | sāméntum - - : - ∪ | - - - ' ∪ : ' ∪ | ∪ ' ∪
Priest, take up the ³tuft of sacred herbs.

But the Latin colon can be old enough to have been [' ∪ : ' ∪ | ∪ ' ∪] under initial accentuation. Note, in addition to the similar rhythmic and rhetorical-phonological pattern, also the repetition *-āmen -āmen-* and the order NOUN + VERB + NOUN', which all make comparison of the South Picene and the Latin appropriate. Another such colon perhaps survives inscribed on a strainer dedicated to Mater Mursina (123):

(123) *CIL* 580 (2nd–early 1st century BC, near Cortona in Umbrian country)

sácro(m) Mātre(i) | Mursína(e) ∪ - : - - | - - - ' ∪ : ' ∪ | ∪ ' ∪
sacred to Mother Mursina

Unlike the rhythmic but prosaic Umbrian dedication to Cupra Mater Plestina (Um 17 = 18 = 19 = 20) (see § 4.1), the Latin dedication possesses not only rhythm but also alliteration and marked word order compared to other similar dedications, where THEONYM almost always precedes SACRED, such as *Mārte(i) sacrom* (*CIL* 47a, Tibur), *Hercolei sacrom* (*CIL* 607, Rome, 217 BC) (cf. also Neo-Faliscan ⟨MENERVA·SACRV⟩ (*LF* 59); discussions of the THEONYM + SACRED formula can be found in Rocca 1996: 79ff on Umbrian and Wachter 1987: n1017 on Latin). But the best parallel to South Picene TE 2 is provided by Paelignian, for which see § 4.3.3.1 below.

⁶ Leo (1905: 31n2) analyzed Incertorum 1 as a Saturnian first colon, but the text need not be considered the first half of a once full Saturnian.

§ 4.2.3 **AP 2: A monument for a mother and father**

Now, the cippus from Castignano known as AP 2 is by far the most interesting South Picene text with respect to its language, epigraphy, and poetry. Several advances have been made in the interpretation of the text's lexis, which now permit a complete poetic description. The text occurs on two faces of the cippus, labeled A and B, and the inscription is commonly read A→B. A transcription is provided in (124) (I postpone the translations). Reading the text from face A to face B, the five lines spiral then run in boustrophedon, starting at the lower right-hand corner of A (from the reader's perspective) and ending midway up the left side of B (see figure 4.3 below for a rough scheme; cf. Marinetti 1985: 177 (facsimile) and figures 3–6b (photographs)).

(124) AP 2

A	1	←	matereih: patereih: qolof-
	2	→	itur: qupirih: aritih: imih: puih
B	3	→	↓ púpúnum: estufk: apaiús:
	4	←	adstaiúh: súais: manus:
	5	→	meitimúm

According to the common interpretation, the 14 words of the inscription fall into two syntactic constituents: the first takes up the space of face A, and the second face B. But before we explore the text's meaning, there is the vexing epigraphic issue of the inscriber's arrow (↓) before (púpúnum) in epigraphic line 3, and there is no consensus on whether it should be construed as 'go here next,' so A→B, or 'start here,' so B→A (see figure 4.4).

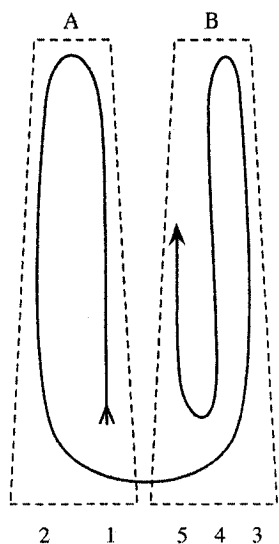


Figure 4.3. Text flow of AP 2: A→B.

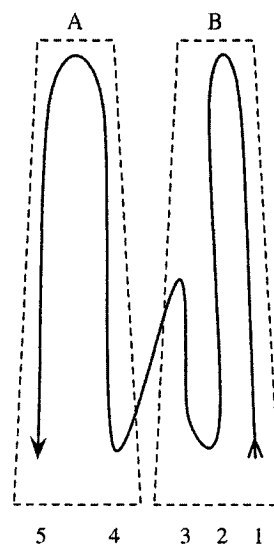


Figure 4.4. Text flow of AP 2: B→A.

In favor of the latter, Marinetti lists several authorities, but because $\langle \text{meitimúm} \rangle$ spans the space of a short line, she numbers herself with several proponents of the A→B reading, and so Rix in his edition, Eichner in his metrical analysis, and Watkins in his poetic discussion all follow her (Marinetti 1985: 178–180).

The A→B order allows Marinetti to interpret $\langle \text{puíh} \rangle$ as a relative pronoun ‘*qui / who,*’ which Eichner et al. adopt. However, the A→B reading is far from certain, and $\langle \text{puíh} \rangle$ is open to a different interpretation. With $\langle \text{puíh} \rangle$ as a relative, the entire predicate of its clause— $\langle \text{matereih: patereih: qolofítúr: qupírih: arítih: ímih} \rangle$ INDIRECT OBJECT + VERB + ADVERBIALS—is preposed before it. Watkins sees such a marked configuration as poetic (Watkins 1995: 133). But the Saturnian pattern (see § 2.6.3) and the comparative evidence from Indo-Iranian analyzed by Hale 1987—including poetry—strongly suggest

that only lesser constituents can be left-dislocated before a relative-interrogative. ⟨**puíh**⟩ must therefore be interpreted another way, which I. Adiego Lajara has already proposed: the word is the fourth in the series of adverbials that close the sentence of face A, /pūē(d)/ ‘pie / dutifully’ based on the stem *pū-io- (WOU 554–555, s.v. *pihom*). I also follow Vine, who has provided the interpretations of heretofore problematic ⟨**qolofítúr**⟩ and ⟨**ímih**⟩, respectively /qolofētor/ formed from *kelH- + *d^heh₁- (Vine 2006 [forthcoming]) and /émī(d)/ based on *h₂/h₁émh₃-i- (Vine 2005) (see WOU 408, s.v. **qolofítúr** and 341–342, s.v. **ímih** for other interpretations). The text of AP 2 can therefore be understood as follows (125):

(125) AP 2: Translations

A	1	matri patri erigitur	<i>For a mother (and) father (this) is raised</i>
	2	bene arte amore pie	<i>well, with skill, with love, dutifully.</i>
B	3	Picenorum hic seniores	<i>Here the elders of the Picenes</i>
	4	statuerunt suis manibus	<i>have set up with their own hands</i>
	5	munus	<i>a tribute.</i>

Only the issue of the inscriber’s arrow now remains. Coextensive with the faces of the cippus, the text’s 14 words thus fall into two sentences. But these can still be read in either order. I will test both.

§ 4.2.3.1 AP 2^{A→B}

As was just mentioned, Eichner and Watkins have discussed the metrics and poetics of AP 2 in the A→B reading. Eichner, assuming ⟨**puíh**⟩ is a relative pronoun, disposes the text into six lines, which he scans as catalectic quantitative trochaic tripodies

/Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ - Ɱ / or acephalous iambic tripodies /Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ / (in my understanding) (Eichner 1988–1990b: 200–201). I provide the diplomatic transcription with Eichner’s scansion in adapted form in (126).

(126) AP 2^{A→B}

A	1	matereih: patereih:	(Ɱ) 1 ∪ 2:ω 3 (Ɱ)
	2	qolofítúr: qupírh:	(Ɱ) ω - 2:ω 3 (Ɱ)
B	3	arítih: ímih: pūh	(Ɱ) ω - 2: 3 (Ɱ)
	4	púpúnúm: apaiús:	(Ɱ) ω - 2: 3 (Ɱ)
	5	estufk: adstaiúh:	(Ɱ) 1 - 2: 3 (Ɱ)
	6	súais: manu: meitimúm	(Ɱ) - :ω: 2 ∪ 3 (Ɱ)

There are a number of problems in Eichner’s scansion. ⟨púpúnúm⟩ (v.4) can also be read /Pōpōnum/ and scanned [– – ∪]. ⟨adstaiúh⟩ (v.5) is a tetrasyllable, quantitatively [– ∪ – –]. ⟨manus⟩ (v.6) should be read as /manuss/ and scanned [∪ –] < *manufs < *manufos < *manuβos; Eichner 1988–1990b: 200–201n6 bases his scansion of the word on his similar treatment of obscure ⟨povaisis: pid-⟩ (TE 5), but it is inappropriate to assume a development resulting in manu^s [∪], as in prevocally pyrrhic (post-Plautine) Latin *hospes* [∪ ∪] < Plautine *hospess* [∪ –] < *hospets. Even if /manu^s/ were pyrrhic and thus treated as a resolution, the word does not form a tightly enough cohesive prosodic and syntactic unity with ⟨meitimúm⟩ to be permissible by the rule of HERMANN-LACHMANN against exposed resolution. Most serious is Eichner’s purely *metri causa* transposition of ⟨estufk⟩ and ⟨apaiús⟩ in order to achieve metrically uniform lines. More conservatively, Watkins follows the stone’s lineation and counts syllables: 10σ (to

⟨-ítúr⟩ + 9σ (to monosyllabic ⟨puíh⟩) + 8σ (to ⟨apaiús⟩ in its proper place) + 7σ (to ⟨manus⟩) + 3σ (⟨meitimúm⟩), noting the concatenative alliteration of *q-* / *q-* that binds vv.1–2 Watkins, *p-* / *p-* (vv.2–3), *a-* / *a-* (vv.3–4), and *m-* / *m-* (vv.4–5) (Watkins 1995: 133).

Before considering the alternatives, any syntactic ornamentation must first be noted. Following Adiego Lajara and Vine and assigning verse boundaries after ⟨qolofítúr⟩, ⟨puíh⟩, ⟨apaiús⟩, and ⟨manus⟩, which correspond to the direction changes in the text flow, two syntactic rhetorical figures emerge in addition to the phonological play noticed by Watkins. In the A→B reading, the first line with ⟨matereih: patereih: qolofítúr⟩ DATIVE DATIVE VERB is in *chiasmus* or crosswise correspondence with the fourth line's ⟨adstaiúh: súais: manus⟩ VERB ABLATIVE ABLATIVE. These enclose two lines with further *chiasmus* of nominal and adverbial forms in ⟨qupírih: arítih: ímih: puíh⟩ ADVERB ABLATIVE ABLATIVE' ADVERB' in the second line and ⟨púpúnum: estufk: apaiús⟩ GENITIVE ADVERB NOMINATIVE in the third.

A quantitative scansion of the text (127a) brings out different patterns than Eichner's scansion. The two lines of face A can be scanned as trochaic tetrapodies (or dimetra) with resolutions. Otherwise, the two lines are decasyllabic. The first long line of face B can be scanned as an iambic tetrapody (or dimeter), but v.4 has a trochaic first half and iambic second. Final *meitimum*, troublingly in a line of its own, constitutes a cretic. Thus no single quantitative meter can capture the patterns of AP 2.

(127) AP 2^{A→B}: Scansions

(a) Quantitative

A	1	mātereī patereī qolofētor	$\underline{1} \cup \underline{2} \dot{\omega} \underline{3} \dot{\omega} \underline{4} -$
	2	quperē(d) aritī(d) ēmī(d) pūē(d)	$\omega - \dot{\omega} - \dot{\omega} - \underline{4} -$
B	3	Pōpōnum estufk a(p)paīōs	$- \underline{1} \cup \underline{2} - \dot{\omega} \underline{3} \cup \underline{4}$
	4	adstaēō(d) so(ū)ais manūs	$\underline{1} \cup \underline{2} - \dot{\omega} \underline{3} \dot{\omega} \underline{4}$
	5	meitimum	$- \cup -$

(b) Accentual

A	1	mātereī pātereī qólofētor	$\acute{\cup} \cup \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \cup \cup$
	2	qúperē(d) áritī(d) émī(d) pūē(d)	$\sim \cup \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \cup$
B	3	Pōpōnum éstufk á(p)paīōs	$\acute{\cup} \cup \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \cup \cup$
	4	ádstaēō(d) só(ū)ais mánūs	$\acute{\cup} \cup \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} \cup$
	5	meítimum	$\acute{\cup} \cup$

An accentual scansion (127b) produces a more coherent pattern. With resolutions, the two lines of face A respond to the long lines of face B: the odd lines can be scanned as dactyl + trochee + dactyl and the even lines as trochaic tetrapodies = dimetra. (See § 4.4.2 below on the secondary accentuation of *adstaēō(d)*, and the treatment of anaptyctic vowels and resolution.) But, still discomfiting, dactylic *meítimum* closes the two-stanza text.

§ 4.2.3.2 AP 2^{B→A}

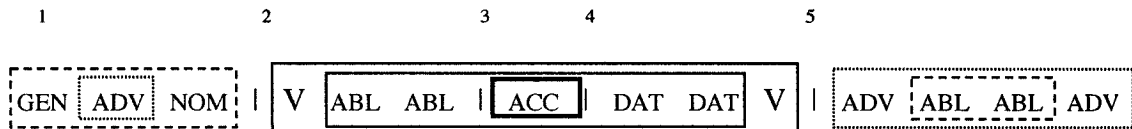
If we take the inscriber's arrow in front of ⟨púpúnum⟩ as a signal to 'start here,' the text flows in simple boustrophedon, starting at the lower right-hand corner of face B and ending at the lower left-hand corner of face A (see figure 4.4 above). Compare MC 1

(figure 4.1 above; also TE 5). For convenience, I reprint the transcription in the B→A order in (128), with appropriate adjustment to the line numbers.

(128) AP 2^{B→A}: Transcription

B	1	→	↓	púpúnum: estufk: apaiús:
	2	←		adstaiúh: súais: manus:
	3	→		meitimúm
A	4	←		matereih: patereih: qolof-
	5	→		ítúr: qupírh: arítih: ímih: puíh

⟨meitimúm⟩, instead of being the final one-word line in the A→B reading, as if an afterthought, now becomes central, being surrounded by the long lines groupable into couplets. Rhetorically, we still have chiasmoi, this time in an ὀμφαλός ('navel,' enlisted by Watkins to describe the pattern) or nesting arrangement around 'munus / tribute':



Moreover, the elliptical subject of ⟨qolofítúr⟩ can now more easily be understood to be *meitims*, the nominative of ⟨meitimúm⟩ (the object of ⟨adstaiúh⟩). With the B→A order, we still have concatenative alliteration of *a-* / *a-* linking vv.1–2 and *q-* / *q-* vv.4–5, but with ⟨meitimúm⟩ now the center of the ὀμφαλός arrangement, the triple alliteration of *m-* / *m-* / *m-* links three lines. This has the further advantage of explaining the marked order 'matri patri / for a mother (and) a father' for expected 'patri matri / for a father (and) a mother.' Lastly, the B→A order puts the declaration 'Here the elders of the Picenes / have set up' in initial position, which seems to be the formulaic position on the basis of

initial (and not obscure) ⟨σιδομ:σαφινύς:εστύφ:εσέλσιτ⟩ ‘hoc Sabini hic erexerunt/erigunt / The Sabines raise(d) this here’ (TE 5). These features conclusively point to the B→A order.

As for the poem’s meter, the quantitative scansion of the text does not change except in the order of the couplets and remains inferior to an accentual one. Nor does reading the text B→A alter the accentual scansion much, except now the couplets enclose the lone dactyl.

(129) AP 2^{B→A}: Accentual scansion

B	1	Pópōnum éstufk á(p)paĩōs	˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘
	2	ádstaèō(d) só(υ)āis mánūs	˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘
	3	meítimum	˘ ˘ ˘
A	4	mátereĩ pátereĩ qólofētor	˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘
	5	qúperē(d) áritĩ(d) émi(d) púē(d)	˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘

(See § 4.4.2 below on the treatment of anaptyctic vowels and resolution.) Thus, in concert with the phonological and syntactic ornament, rhythmic regularities can be found in the text and its status as a poem confirmed. The metrical forms of the lines also have direct and indirect parallels in Sabellian, which are provided by Vestinian (see § 4.3.2 below). Within South Picene itself, recall that Apaes’ epitaph consists of a prose formula expanded by a verse. Here, ⟨meitimúm⟩ can be seen as an extrametrical header⁷, and the two couplets that refer to it—as the direct object of the first, as the elliptical subject of the second—“radiate” out from it.

⁷ I thank J. Katz for this suggestion.

In sum, the South Picene textual remains that I have singled out for investigation preserve three poems in accentual meters: one Saturnian verse in MC 1—what scheme the South Picene Saturnian had and where it came from are questions I try to answer in the following chapter—alongside the trochaic-dactylic tripodies of TE 2 and AP 2 and the trochaic tetrapodies = dimetra of AP 2. From these I move forward in time and southward on to the territory and tradition of the Oscans.

§ 4.3 Oscan

In contrast to the Umbrians and South Picenes, the Oscans occupied a wider geographical area—from central to southern Italy—and left behind the most texts in number (Rix 2002: 6 counts about 650). Like Umbrian, Oscan enjoys a long period of attestation. The earliest Oscan dates from the 7th or 6th centuries BC, the same time as the earliest Umbrian, and the latest to the mid-1st century BC. While not as long as the Iguvine Tables of Umbrian, several longish Oscan texts survive, such as the *Cippus Abellanus* (Cm 1 in Rix's edition, a treaty) and the *Tabula Bantina* (Lu 1, a set of laws). Given the geographical and chronological spread of Oscan, the languages of the texts can also be characterized with finer detail and differentiated into dialects.

Now, the later one gets in Oscan (and related) dialectal texts, the heavier the Latin influence becomes, especially lexically and syntactically (borrowings, syntactic calques, etc.), which creates problems in assessing later material in terms of “nativeness.” Indeed, the Saturnian rhythms that have been alleged in the late Paelignian Oscan poems have been taken to be borrowed from the Romans (see Adams 2003: 112–159 with references,

especially 133–134 on Latinized Oscan and 141–142 on Oscan in Roman orthography). This should be kept in mind as I discuss alleged poetic inscriptions from the Sidicinian, Vestinian, and Paelignian varieties of Oscan.

§ 4.3.1 Sidicinian

Six Sidicinian Oscan inscriptions, written in the Oscan alphabet and dating from circa 300 BC, have attracted some attention from metrists. These are varnished and decorated ceramic vessels from the town of Teanum (modern Teano) in the Oscan territory of Campania (central eastern coastal region of Italy). In Rix’s edition, Si 4, Si 5, and Si 6 = 20 = 21 (Rix 2002: 94; a seventh, Si 22 is fragmentary) bear the labels of three potters Berrii (130).

(130) Sidicinian manufacturers’ trademarks

Si 4	minis: beriis: anei: upsatuh: sent: tiiane:
Si 5	vibieisen: berieis: anei: upsatuh: sent: tiiane:
Si 6 = 20 = 21	beriumen: anei: upsatuh: sent: tiiane:
Si 22]: tiiane:

The texts have been alleged to be Saturnians by P. Poccetti (1983) purely on quantitative rhythmic grounds.⁸ But, while the labels might indeed possess rhythms, the rhetorical ornament that should be the first potential sign of their versehood is wholly absent from them: they all constitute single sentences of the form ‘At Beris’s ’workshop (these) were made in Teanum.’ So I pass over these prosaic manufacturers’ labels in silence.

⁸ Cf. Mercado 2006 [forthcoming] for a wrong-headed analysis of these texts under Parsons’ theory of the Saturnian.

§ 4.3.2 Vestinian

In the region around Teate (modern Chieti) lived the Marrucinian and Vestinian Oscan-speakers, with the river Aternus (in modern Pescara) running between the Marrucinians to the south and the Vestinians to the north. Twelve inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet, six in each of their closely related but sufficiently distinct varieties of Oscan, survive on stone and metal to varying degrees of completeness, representing the genres of dedication, epitaph, and religious law. Out of these, MV 7 (131), the epitaph of the Vestinian priestess Saluta Licina from Interpromium (modern Torre de' Passeri), has been proposed to be poetic.

(131) MV 7⁹

¹	[s]acracrix	sacerdos	<i>The priestess</i>
²	cibat · cerra	iacet Cerealis	<i>of Ceres rests,</i>
³	licina · saluta	Licina Saluta	<i>Licina Saluta.</i>
⁴	salaus	salvus (sis)	<i>(Be) Well.</i>

What might first signal the text to be poetic is the inversion of the gentilicium (family name) Saluta and praenomen (first name) Licina. Poccetti was the first to notice this transposition and explains it as an expression of the priestess' servile status in the cult of Ceres, recalling that such an inversion is common in slaves' names (Poccetti 1972: 152). In support of this, he adduces another Paelignian inscription with similar inversion, though he acknowledges the possible influence of Latin naming practice (Poccetti 1972: 153n9). However, compare the transposition # *Cornélius | Lúcius* || (CIL 7.1) for unmarked 'Lucius Cornelius' in a Latin Saturnian, whereby the alliteration (related

⁹ For basic discussion of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation, see Poccetti 1972: 151–153.

saluta / salaus) also constitute a sort of etymological figure) and hyperbaton in the Vestinian to which many call attention, such as Watkins (1995: 129) and Dupraz (2006 [forthcoming]) recently, carry more significance.

Dupraz analyzes the inscription's four lines as a single verse with two cola: heptasyllabic and accentually dactylic-trochaic [˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘], with synizesis in *⟨cerrī/īa⟩*, followed by octosyllabic [˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘] (see § 2.4.2 on synizesis in Latin). However, synizesis is unnecessary—Dupraz requires it in order to achieve a long line to support scansion of other texts—and, under the default assumption that one syllable is aligned per verse position, the text more easily falls into two octosyllabic sequences (132).

(132) MV 7: scansions

1	sácrācrīx cúbat Cérria	˘ – –:˘ –:– ˘ ˘	˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘
2	Lícina Sálūta sálaus	˘ ˘ ˘:˘ – ˘:˘ –	˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘

On the basis of the alliterative pattern *s- c- C- + L- S- s-* and the distractions NOUN + VERB + ADJECTIVE : PRAENOMEN ↔ GENTILICIVM + VERB PHRASE, I dispose the inscription's four lines into two octosyllabic verses, with verse division at the end of epigraphic line 2. The verses thus have parallel alliteration and chiasmic hyperbaton. A quantitative scansion brings out no coherent pattern. By contrast, from an accentual scansion emerges also parallelism of initial dactyls, correlated with the parallel alliteration, and chiasmic non-initial feet, which act in concert with the chiasmic hyperbaton.

Podic inversion has already been encountered in Latin Saturnians (see § 2.1.2.4), and MV 7.1 instantiates a line type found in South Picene AP 2^{B→A}.1 and .4 (129). In

contrast to the Faliscan inscriptions (see § 3.2.2), rhetorical ornament and text-internal and intertextual metrical regularity meet in the Vestinian priestess's epitaph. Though proper names constitute nine of her inscription's 16 syllables, little or no doubt attends her epitaph's versehood.

§ 4.3.3 Paelignian

Like MV 7 in Vestinian, Paelignian survives in late inscriptions written in the Latin alphabet, which are probably also adulterated with Latin borrowings. The Paelignians lived in the northern central Appenine region around Sulmo (modern Sulmona) and nearby Corfinium and have left behind about 70 inscriptions on stones and some coins. Of these, two epitaphs preserve the longest Paelignian we have, and both are alleged to be poetic. These are always discussed together, with longer Pg 9 taking most of the focus. I start with shorter Pg 10.

§ 4.3.3.1 Pg 10: The epitaph of C. Anaes

The epitaph of Caus Anaes, Pg 10 (133), is preserved on a stone block found at Pentima around ancient Corfinium. By its letter-forms and use of the Latin alphabet, the inscription is dated to the mid-1st century BC.

(133) Pg 10¹⁰

1	<i>pes▲ pros▲ ecuf▲ incubat</i>	<i>pius probus hic iacet</i>
2	<i>casnar▲ oisa▲ aetate</i>	<i>senex usa aetate</i>
3	<i>c▲ anaes▲ solois▲ des▲ forte</i>	<i>C(aius) Annaeus omnibus dives fortunae</i>
4	<i>faber</i>	<i>faber</i>

¹⁰ For basic discussion of the epigraphy and linguistic interpretation, see Vetter 1953: 149–150; on the linguistic interpretation only, Jiménez Zamudio 1986: 29–31. Vetter notes the triangular shape of the word-dividing puncts, which I represent here with ⟨▲⟩.

complex subject of the sentence that spans epigraphic lines 1 and 2, ⟨*pes* ▲ *pros* ... *casnar*⟩, is scrambled, and the composer of the text has placed the adjectives initial in 1 and the head noun initial in 2. The writer continues the line-initial syntactic parallelism with a twist, as it were: the verb phrase (ADVERB + VERB) that closes line 1 is in chiasmus with the ablative absolute (PARTICIPLE + NOUN) final in 2. So, construing the name as extrametrical and on the basis of the syllable count and pattern of syntactic ornament in epigraphic lines 1–2, the text more easily falls into three heptasyllabic verses (134).

(134) Pg 10: Scansions

1	pēs pro(s)s écuſ íncubāt	–:–:⊘ ⊘ – ⊘ –	˘:⊘:˘ ⊘ ˘ ⊘ ⊘
2	cásnar ói(s)sā áetāte C C. A(n)naēs ⊔	– ˘:– ⊘ – – ⊘	˘:⊘:˘ ⊘ ˘ ⊘ ⊘
3	só(l)lois dēs fórtē(s) fáber	– –:– – –:⊘ –	˘ ⊘:⊘ ˘ ⊘:˘ ⊘

The quantities of the heptasyllables do not form a readily apparent pattern that coheres throughout the text. By contrast, in an accentual scansion, trochaic dipodies and dactylic feet unify the poem, with the first two verses’ trochaic-dactylic shape inverted in the dactylic-trochaic third. (The final vowel in the participle *oi(s)sā* likely shortens in hiatus before *aetāte*; see § 4.3.3.2.3 on prosodic hiatus in Pg 9; for the process in Latin, cf. § 2.4.4. On the accentuation and scansion of *pēs pro(s)s* and *dēs*, see § 4.4.3 below; cf. § 2.3.1.2 on monosyllabic content words in Latin Saturnians.)

The rhetoric corroborates the three-verse colometry and accentual scansion. The alliterative pattern of the text (*p- p-*) *e- i-* / (*c-*) *oi- ae-* / (*s- d-*) *f- f-* recalls the parallel alliteration in MV 7 (§ 4.3.2). Again, as in the Vestinian, the parallelism and chiasmus of

the syntactic scrambling in the Paelignian act in concert with the podic inversion.

§ 4.3.3.2 Pg 9: The “Herentas” inscription

The longer and more celebrated Paelignian inscription, known by its last word, is also more difficult. I first give the text in (135) in diplomatic transcription after Vine 1993: 366ff, with translations postponed.

(135) Pg 9: Transcription

¹ [.]^{4 or 5}pracom p[.]^{20 or 30}
² usur▲ pristafalacirix▲ prismu▲ petieđu▲ ip▲ uiđad
³ uibđu▲ omnitu▲ uranias▲ ecuc▲ empratois
⁴ çlisuist▲ cerfum _ sacaracirix▲ semunu▲ sua
⁵ aetatu▲ firata▲ fertlid _ praicime▲ perseponas
⁶ afðed• eite▲ uus▲ pritrome Ø pacris _ puus▲ ecic
⁷ lexe• lifar▲ dida▲ uus▲ deti▲ hanustu▲ herentas

The inscription’s most salient feature, its complex punctuation, raises two interpretive difficulties. First, we are not sure what function the three or four different punctuation marks are serving: the triangular punct (▲) (encountered in Pg 10) clearly marks word boundaries throughout; the circular punct (◊) in epigraphic lines 6 and 7 signals not only word-end but also a boundary at a different level or of a different type of constituency; the space (_) medial in epigraphic lines 4, 5, and 6 serves an unclear function; the function of the lack of space (Ø)—given the care with which the text was inscribed, this may be of significance—in epigraphic line 6 is likewise unknown (technically, (çlisuist) in epigraphic line 4 also lacks punctuation, but the participle + copula are often written together in Italic inscriptions). Any marked syntax that might suggest versehood and

point to metrical structures is obscured by the opacity of syntactic boundaries, leaving only the obvious but potentially insignificant phonological play to motivate metrical analysis. We may thus be faced with verse or simply visually organized complex prose (cf. the punctuation of Middle Faliscan *LF 5a* discussed in § 3.2.2.1 and of Old Faliscan *LF 3* in § 3.2.2.4) or even a mix of prose and verse, but it is impossible to tell at the outset. The second difficulty, assuming the inscription is a poem, pertains to colometry: line division is accomplished either by a known meter or, absent such a thing, from the epigraphy or syntax of a text. Not every ancient Italic text that I have examined is in Saturnians, so no meter can be used responsibly to guide the colometry, but the punctuation does not permit a syntax-based hypothesis on how to divide the candidate poetic text into possible verses in order to tease out any rhythms.

Predecessors have handled these difficulties variously in formulating their likewise diverse proposals. With the exception of Poccetti and Vine, investigators ignore the punctuation entirely. (Rix's edition, after others, uses only ⟨.⟩ for 'presence of punctuation' and ⟨ ⟩ for 'absence.' Still others do not reflect the stone's punctuation at all.) Durante offers only linguistic and cultural interpretations and implicitly assumes the text's poetic and metrical nature, alluding to Latin *elogia*, and divides the text according to alliterative sequences (Durante 1978: 799–802). After a critical survey of analyses of Pg 9 and 10 as Saturnians, Poccetti (1982) can conclude that only the text from ⟨ *praicime* ⟩ medial in epigraphic line 5 to the end constitutes two-and-a-half quantitative Saturnians. R. Jiménez Zamudio takes the text as prose with poetic properties

and offers an interpretation indifferent to the punctuation (Jiménez Zamudio 1986: 21–29). Watkins (1995: 130) comments only on the formulaic nature of $\langle dida \blacktriangle uus \blacktriangle deti \blacktriangle hanustu \blacktriangle herentas \rangle$ in epigraphic line 7 to support claims about the Old Faliscan “Ceres” inscription (*LF* 1; the versehood of its parts I showed in § 3.2.2.2 to be uncertain). Finally, Dupraz (2006 [forthcoming]) assumes the text is a poem and proposes an accentual scansion, noting the alliteration and verbal echoes with other Italic inscriptions and simply equating epigraphic line-ends in 2–4 with verse-ends; he follows Vine’s suggestion that the circular puncts $\langle \bullet \rangle$ in epigraphic lines 6 and 7 mark the delayed (“enjambéd”) ends of verses that begin in 5 and 6 (Vine 1993: 371).¹² And so I proceed under the frequently held assumption that the text is poetic; I divide the text on the basis of the syllable counts and punctuation of the last two epigraphic lines, where the observations of Poccetti, Vine, Watkins, and Dupraz converge: the circular puncts each begin rhetorically ornamented 13-syllable sequences.

§ 4.3.3.2.1 Pg 9: Colometry and interpretation

If, with Poccetti, Vine, and Dupraz, the circular puncts are taken seriously as markers with a metrical function, the text closes with two 13-syllable verses that are complete sentences. If verse-ends occur before every thirteenth syllable before $\langle \bullet eite \rangle$ in epigraphic line 6 (assuming uniform verse length and one-to-one syllable : position alignment), the text’s remaining four epigraphic lines fall into four verses (136).

¹² I do as Dupraz in my own discussion of Pg 9 under Parsons’ quantitative theory of the Saturnian (Mercado 2006 [forthcoming]).

(136) Pg 9: Colometry

|² ... ⟨l⟩ u(s)sūr prīstafalācirīx
|²⁻³ prīsmū Petieđū ip ūiđād ⟨l⟩ Vibđū omnītū
|³⁻⁴ Ūraniās ecūc emprātois ⟨l⟩ clīsū ist Cerfum
|⁴⁻⁵ ⟨_⟩ sacarācirīx Sēmūnu(m) suā ⟨l⟩ aetātū
|⁵⁻⁶ firātā fertlīd ⟨_⟩ prai(c)cim-e(n) Perseponās ⟨l⟩ afđed
|⁶⁻⁷ ⟨•⟩ eite ūs prītrom-e(n) ⟨∅⟩ pācrīs ⟨_⟩ pūs ecic ⟨l⟩ lexe
|⁷ ⟨•⟩ Līfar didā ū(s)s dēti(m) hanustū Herentās

|² ... uxor sacerdos.
.... *wife, priestess.*

|²⁻³ prima Petiadia hic ⟨uiđ⟩at Vibidia [?]facta/commemorata
Petieđu Vibđu ⟨uiđ⟩s here commemorated; the first

|³⁻⁴ Uraniae haec imperatis clusa est Cerealium.
*(daughter) of Urania has been entombed by the orders of the
Cereal(priestesse)s.*

|⁴⁻⁵ consecratrix [?]Semonum sua aetate
The consecrator of the [?]Crop(-god)s, her life

|⁵⁻⁶ neta fertili [?]in regnum Proserpinae abiit.
fruitfully spun, has departed into the domain of Persephone.

|⁶⁻⁷ ite vos protinus placidi qui hoc legistis;
Go you forth in peace who have read this.

|⁷ Liber det vobis divitias honesta Venus
May Līfar give you richness, (may) noble Herentas (do likewise).

(Let “⟨l⟩” stand for epigraphic line break.) Two crucial words have uncertain interpretations. ⟨lexe⟩ taken on its own admits of more than one analysis: 2pl. perfect as here, or infinitive (WOU 429, s.v. *lexe*; Untermann prefers the former; the infinitival interpretation is not compatible with construing ⟨•⟩ as a sentence boundary). Similarly,

the interpretation of *lifar* and its etymology as a cognate of Latin *Liber* are uncertain (WOU 430–431, s.v. *lifar*).

Epigraphic lines 4–5 *sacaracirix ... aetatu* constitute another 13-syllable verse. The rest of the text falls into 14-syllable lines: *prismu ... omnitu* in 2–3, *urantias ... cerfum* in 3–4, *firata ... afðed* in 5–6. Syntactically, with the exception of the final two lines, the complete lines appear to be composed of complex sentences: *prismu ... cerfum* in 2–4, *sacaracirix ... afðed* in 4–6. This colometry counted the anaptyctic vowels in *sacaracirix* for presumed */sac^arācⁱrīx/*; discounting the anaptyctic vowels, epigraphic lines 4–5 become hendecasyllabic.

The text so disposed reveals several rhetorical adornments that suggest that the entire inscription is poetic, despite the frequency of proper names. In epigraphic line 7, the theonyms are placed at the extremities of the verse, likewise the verbs in 6–7 and the names in the genitive in 3–4. In 6–7 + 7, note the parallelism of VERB + ‘vos / you,’ and the distraction of the members of the noun phrase *prismu urantias* into initial positions in 2–3 and 3–4. In 2–3, the verb interrupts the two-part name of the deceased, which is paralleled by the similar distraction of the noun phrase *empratois cerfum*. As for alliteration, the pattern *p- P- ū- V- o-* in 2–3 is mirrored by sequentially reversed *Ū- e- e- c- c-* in 3–4, but *s- S- s- a-* in 4–5 is sequentially paralleled by *f- f- p- P- a-* in 5–6. Finally, the syntactic independence of epigraphic lines 6–7 and 7 is reflected by the independent alliterative patterns of the lines: *e- ū- p- p- p- e- l-* in 6–7, *l- d- ū- d- h- H-* in

7. Note, however, the concatenative alliteration of *l-⟨•⟩ l-* in 6–7# + #7, perhaps also *o-Ū-* in 3# + #3–4.

§ 4.3.3.2.2 Pg 9: Scansion

The question now is what the meter of this complex poem is. The syllable-counting that led to a plausible colometry does not make for uniform or coherent rhythm. I examine a quantitative scansion first, which I give as (137) with the complete verses numbered.

(137) Pg 9: Quantitative scansion

	²	... ⟨l⟩ u(s)sūr pristafalācirīx	– – : – ∪ ∪ – ∪ –
1	²⁻³	prīsmū Petjeđū ip ūiđād ⟨l⟩ Vibđū omnītū	– – : ∪ ∪ ∪ : – ∪ – : – ∪ : – –
2	³⁻⁴	Ūraņiās ecūc emprātois ⟨l⟩ clīsū ist Cerfum	– ∪ – : ∪ – : – – : – ∪ : – : –
3	⁴⁻⁵	⟨_⟩ sacarācirīx Sēmūnu(m) suā ⟨l⟩ aetātū	∪ ∪ – ∪ – : – – : ∪ ∪ : – –
4	⁵⁻⁶	fīrātā fertlīd ⟨_⟩ prai(c)cim-e(n) Perseponās ⟨l⟩ afđed	– – – : – : – ∪ – : – ∪ – : –
5	⁶⁻⁷	⟨•⟩ eite ūūs prītrom-e(n) ⟨∅⟩ pācrīs ⟨_⟩ pūs ecic ⟨l⟩ lexe	– ∪ : – : – ∪ – : – : – : ∪ – : – ∪
6	⁷	⟨•⟩ Līfar didā ūū(s)s dēti(m) hanustū Herentās	– – : ∪ – : – : – ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ – –

Besides the dactylic close of v.6 [– ∪ : ∪ – ∪ : ∪ – – #], syllabic quantities do not alternate in any clear or meaningful way in the poem. Scansion of the text as Saturnians in (138) seems forced:

(138) Pg 9: Saturnian scansion

	²	... ⟨l⟩ ú(s)sūr prístaf ^a - ^l lāc ^l rīx	... ^l ∪ : ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
1	²⁻³	prīsmū Pétje- ^l đū ip ūiđād ⟨l⟩ † Vibđū ómnītū	^l ∪ : ∪ ∪ ∪ : ∪ ∪ ^l ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪

2	³⁻⁴	Ūranìās écūc émprātois ⟨l⟩ clísū_ist Cérfum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
3	⁴⁻⁵	⟨_⟩ sác ^a rāc ^r ix Sémūnu(m) ‡ súā ⟨l⟩ áetātū	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
4	⁵⁻⁶	fīrātā fértlīd ⟨_⟩ prái(c)cim-e(n) Pérsepònās ⟨l⟩ áfðed	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
5	⁶⁻⁷	⟨•⟩ éite ūs prítrom-e(n) ⟨∅⟩ pācrīs ⟨_⟩ pūs éic ⟨l⟩ léxe	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
6	⁷	⟨•⟩ Lífar dídā ū(s)s déti(m) hánustū Hérentās	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

The careful execution of the inscription is not reflected by the hodgepodge of Saturnian line types (mostly predicted and well formed in and of themselves) and the near-uniformity of syllable count is wholly ignored. *Pétje-¹ ðū* requires resolution and elision with *ip* in v.1, but # *Ūranìās* | in v.2, where *ist* must be prodelided, and || *Pérsepònās* | in v.4 are better scanned with ictic secondary stresses and without resolution. The anaptyctic vowels must be discounted in # *sác^arāc^rix* | in v.1 (and *prístaf^a-¹lāc^rix* # in epigraphic line 2). And v.4 can only be anacrustic. This leaves only vv.5–6, which constitute a Saturnian couplet not unlike Epigr. Naev. .3–4 and the Faliscan cooks' *CIL* 364.5–6, confirming Poccetti's conclusion.

By contrast, the rhythms in an unmarked accentual scansion (139) appear to form a very complicated pattern of palindromic arrangements of trochaic and dactylic feet within verses and parallel and chiasmic responsions across verses.

(139) Pg 9: Accentual scansion

²	... ⟨l⟩ ú(s)sūr prístafalācírīx	... ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
1	²⁻³ prísmū Pétjeðū ip úðād ⟨l⟩ Víðū ómnitū	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

2	³⁻⁴	Ūraņiās éćuc émprātois ⟨l⟩ clísū ist Cérfum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
3	⁴⁻⁵	⟨_⟩ sácarācirīx Sémūnu(m) súā ⟨l⟩ áetātū	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
4	⁵⁻⁶	fírātā fértlīd ⟨_⟩ prái(c)cim-e(n) Pérseponās ⟨l⟩ áfðed	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
5	⁶⁻⁷	⟨•⟩ éite ūs prítrom-e(n) ⟨∅⟩ pácrīs ⟨_⟩ pūs éćic ⟨l⟩ léxe	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
6	⁷	⟨•⟩ Lífar dídá ū(s)s déti(m) hánustū Hérentās	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

(Note the complete lack of elision as reflected by the orthography, on which see § 4.3.3.2.3 below; on the accentuation and scansion of *ip uíðād*, *sácarācirīx*, *pūs éćic*, and the names, see § 4.4.2.) The inscriber appears to have explicitly marked only the caesurae in vv.4 and 5 with ⟨_⟩, so I have placed the caesurae in epigraphic line 2 and vv.2 and 6 on analogy to v.4, and in vv.1 and 3 based on v.5. So situated, the caesurae allow the complex respensions to become more transparent. The dactyl + dactyl + trochee | amphibrach + trochee in v.5 is mirrored in v.6's trochee + dactyl | trochee + dactyl + dactyl (as in Latin, amphibrach and dactyl respond to each other). The trochee + dactyl + dactyl | trochee + dactyl in v.3 run in the reverse order of dactyl + trochee | dactyl + dactyl + trochee in v.4. The same palindromic pattern unites vv.1–2. Partial epigraphic line 2 suggests that it was the second verse of the poem and had the same accentual shape as v.6. This complexity can be represented more clearly as follows:

	²	...		TR DA DA
1		TR DA AMPH		TR DA
2		DA TR		DA DA TR
3		TR DA DA		TR DA
4		DA TR		DA DA TR

5	DA DA TR		AMPH TR
6	TR DA		TR DA DA

(Let “TR” stand for accentual trochee, “AMPH” for amphibrach, and “DA” for dactyl.) Recall from § 4.3.3.2.1 that vv.1–2 are comprised of a complex sentence with a parallel alliterative pattern, as are vv.3–4. The syntax and phonological play find correlates in the parallel metrical patterns of these couplets. By contrast, a different but related metrical pattern unites syntactically independent vv.5 and 6, which also have different alliterative patterns. The composer of Pg 9 thus takes to an unprecedented level of complexity the podic and colon inversion seen in Latin, South Picene, and Vestinian.

§ 4.3.3.2.3 Pg 9: Punctuation

Having proposed a colometry, interpretation, and accentual scansion for Pg 9, the last issue that should be addressed is the question posed at the beginning of the discussion: the function(s) of the complex punctuation. For convenience, I provide the diplomatic transcription again but in the proposed colometry, with caesurae indicated by [I] (140):

(140) Pg 9: Modified diplomatic transcription

¹	[^{4 or 5} praçom p[..... ^{20 or 30}]
²	usur▲ pristafalacirix▲
	[I]
1 ²⁻³	prismu▲ petieđu▲ ip▲ uiđad uibđu▲ omnitu▲
	[I]
2 ³⁻⁴	urantias▲ ecuc▲ empratois çlisuist▲ cerfum
	[I]
3 ⁴⁻⁵	_sacaracirix▲ semunu▲ sua aetatu▲
	[I]
4 ⁵⁻⁶	firata▲ fertlid _praicime▲ perseponas afđed
	[I]
5 ⁶⁻⁷	• eite▲ uus▲ pritrome Ø pacris _puus▲ ecic lexe

6 |⁷ • *lifar▲ dida▲ uus▲ deti▲ hanustu▲ herentas*

First, the spelling and punctuation reflect prosodic phenomena. In all instances of the triangular word-dividing interpunct ⟨▲⟩, elision does not apply: ⟨*petieðu▲ ip*⟩ and ⟨*uibðu▲ omnitu*⟩ in v.1, and ⟨*hanustu▲ herentas*⟩ in v.6. Epigraphic line break also blocks elision, so ⟨*sua | aetatu*⟩ (vv.4–5). The full spelling ⟨*clisuist*⟩ implies that prodelision, which might have been spelled *⟨*clisust*⟩, does not apply either. The spelling and punctuation reflect the loss of coda nasals before triangular interpunct + consonant in ⟨*semunu▲ sua*⟩ (v.3), ⟨*praicime▲ perseponas*⟩ (v.4), and ⟨*deti▲ hanustu*⟩ (v.6); likewise before no space ⟨∅⟩ + consonant in ⟨*pritrone ∅ pacris*⟩ (v.5; the lack of space here is likely just a consequence of the need for it before ⟨*puus*⟩); but *no* loss of coda nasal before space ⟨_⟩ in ⟨*cerfum _ sacaracirix*⟩ (vv.2–3, across verse break).¹³

Secondly, the punctuation marks correlate with syntactic boundaries. The space ⟨_⟩ in v.3 marks a new sentence, ⟨_⟩ in v.4 either the right edge of the ablative absolute or the left of the verb phrase, and ⟨_⟩ in v.5 the left edge of a relative clause. The circular puncts signal changes in subject: through v.4, the subject of the poem is the deceased, but the poem's readers are the subject in v.5, and two gods are in v.6.

Third (and most importantly), the layout of the inscription and the complex punctuation are significant for colometry: 17 of the 23 triangular interpuncts, four of the

¹³ Nor is *-d* dropped before caesurae in ⟨*uiðad |*⟩ (v.1) and ⟨*fertlid _*⟩ (v.4), and verse-finally in ⟨*afðed •*⟩ (v.4), as opposed to non-caesural/final ⟨*firata▲*⟩ (v.4) and ⟨*dida▲*⟩ (v.6). Jiménez Zamudio describes the final dental in ⟨*fertlid _*⟩ as a historical preservation and the one in ⟨*afðed •*⟩ as a lenition of **-t* as in Latin *-ed* 3sg. forms, but he only points out the loss in ⟨*firata▲*⟩ and ⟨*dida▲*⟩ (Jiménez Zamudio 1986: 27–29). To be sure, the (metrically conditioned) sandhi I have described is not incompatible with the developments noted by Jiménez Zamudio.

six epigraphic line-breaks, and the one instance of no space all occur verse- and half-verse-medially, whereas only six of the triangular puncts, two of the epigraphic line-breaks, but *all* instances of the special signs ⟨•⟩ mark verse boundaries and ⟨_⟩ caesurae and verse boundary. Compare the use of space to indicate caesurae or verse-beginning in the Latin Saturnian poems preserved on *CIL* 10 (§ D.9) and *CIL* 1531 (§ D.12); related to the space, indentation marks the even verses of the couplets in *CIL* 364 (§ 3.1.2). By “significant,” I also mean statistically (see table 4.1). That is to say, there is less than a 1% chance that the inscriber of Pg 9 did *not* intend for the layout and complex punctuation to mark metrical constituency (see § 2.7.2 for a brief overview of the statistical test).

	CAESURA	VERSE BOUNDARY	ELSEWHERE	TOTAL
⟨▲⟩	1	3	17	21
⟨ ⟩	1		4	5
⟨_⟩	2	1		3
⟨•⟩		2		2
TOTAL	4	6	21	31

Degrees of freedom: 6 ; $\chi^2 = 20.561$; $p \leq 0.01$

Table 4.1. Statistical significance of layout and complex punctuation for verse colometry in Pg 9.

§ 4.4 Prosodic and metrical phenomena in Sabellian

Close examination of the three South Picene poetic inscriptions, the one Vestinian, and the two Paelignian have turned up certain rules of accentuation and scansion that have been encountered in Latin Saturnians. I have referred to the discussions of the Latin

phenomena as Sabellian data came up, with the implicit assumption that the Sabellian languages behave the same as or similar to Latin. But I bring together here for explicit discussion phenomena that are encountered in both South Picene and Paelignian.

§ 4.4.1 Monosyllabic words

Non-ictic monosyllabic content words are found in a Saturnian preserved on the South Picene epitaph MC 1 (119), and once in each of two trochaic-dactylic tripodies of the Paelignian epitaph Pg 10 (134), which also shows one instance of an ictic monosyllable. As in Latin *vir sūmmus* || (Andr. 10) (see § 2.3.1.2), South Picene *nēr* (141a) and Paelignian *dēs* (141b), though they bear phonological primary stress, can be scanned as non-ictic before a polysyllable with ictic initial stress. In grid notation:

(141) Sabellian monosyllabic content words

(a) MC 1.2

```

  ∪ : ˘ ∪ ∪
  x  x
  x  x
  x  xxx
  nēr mefiin

```

(b) Pg 10.3

```

  ˘ ∪ : ∪ | ˘ ∪
  x      x  x
  x      x  x
  x  x  x  x  x
  so(l)lois dēs | forte(s)

```

See § 4.4.3 below on Paelignian *pēs pro(s)s* (Pg 10.1).

As for monosyllabic function words (on function word accent in Latin, see § 2.3.2.), these occur non-ictic five times in four verses of the Paelignian funerary poem Pg 9 (139).

(142) Sabellian monosyllabic function words (representative examples)

(a) Pg 9.2	(b) Pg 9.5	(c) Pg 9.6
$\acute{ } \cup \acute{ } \cup \quad \acute{ } \cup$ $\times \quad \times$ $\times \quad (\times) \quad \times$ $\times \times \times \quad \times \times$ <i>clisũ ist Cerfum</i>	$\cup \acute{ } \cup \acute{ } \acute{ } \cup$ $\quad \quad \quad \times$ $\underline{\times \times} \quad \times$ $\times \times \times \quad \times \times$ <i>pũs ecic lexe</i>	$\acute{ } \cup \acute{ } \cup \quad \quad \acute{ } \cup$ $\times \quad \quad \quad \times$ $\times \quad \underline{\times \quad \times} \quad \times$ $\times \times \times \quad \quad \times \times$ <i>didã yũ(s)s dēti(m)</i>

It is unclear whether Paelignian *ist* (142a) is receiving weak function word accent or whether it is being stressed as a unity with its participle (cf. Latin || *victus est* | (*CIL* 11.4), # *oblītũ* | *sunt Rōmae* || (Epigr. Naev. .4)). In any event, the rise to *Cēr-* prevents it from making ictus, as in *yũ(s)s dē-* (142c), so also *ip yĩ-* (Pg 9.1) and *yũs prĩ-* (Pg 9.5) (cf. | *cum vídēs* || (App. 2.1 Fleckeisen)). In (142b), the stress on *é(cic)*, while also weak, takes precedence over that of *pũs* for the meter (cf. # *cum tú ar-¹ quítenēns* || (Naev. 62)).

§ 4.4.2 Secondary stress, resolution, and anaptyxis

The proposed scansion of the Sabellian poetic inscriptions also bring out variable treatments of tetrasyllabic or longer words. In one instance from South Picene, secondary stress is assigned on the odd syllable after the main stress, and the secondary-stressed syllable makes ictus, so *ádstaèð(d)* in AP 2^{B→A}.2 (129). However, the interaction of secondary accentuation, resolution, and anaptyxis calls for discussion.

As was seen in Latin, when the syllables bearing primary stress and secondary stresses become metrically adjacent, the secondary-stress-bearing syllable does not make ictus, since the sequence constitutes a sufficient fall to be scanned as [´ ~]. Likewise, the

sequence of secondary-stress-bearing resolution + primary stress constitutes a sufficient rise to be scanned [$\sim \acute{\text{~}}$] (see § 2.3.1.1). Paelignian seems to be allowing falling and rising clash as well, in addition to resolution with *rising* contours where Latin only has falling (at least in Saturnians). These are seen in the names (143):

(143) Secondary stress and resolution in Paelignian names

(a) Pg 9.1	(b) Pg 9.2	(c) Pg 9.4
$\sim \sim \sim$ \widehat{x} $\underline{x \ x}$ $xxx \ x$ Petjedǔ	$\acute{\text{~}} \sim \sim$ x $\underline{x \ \widehat{x}}$ $x \ x \ xx$ Ūraniās	$\acute{\text{~}} \sim \sim$ x $\underline{x \ \widehat{x}}$ $x \ x \ x \ x$ Perseponās

Phonologically accentually trochaic *Pétjèdǔ* (143a) is being scanned as a dactyl with resolved first position [$\sim \sim \sim$] and falling clash, where the resolution has a falling contour. Accentually trochaic *Ūraniās* (143b) and *Pérsepònās* (143c) are being scanned as dactyls with resolved second positions [$\acute{\text{~}} \sim \sim$], with similarly falling clash, but the resolutions have rising contours. What matters in Paelignian are that the quantities of the syllables in resolution must both be durationally short, and that the resolution forms a (shallow) contour with an adjacent more strongly stressed syllable. Either syllable of the resolution can bear more prominence than its partner. Compare accent-indifferent resolution in classical Somali *gabay* verse and most likely Prakrit *arya* meter also (Devine & Stephens 1984: 62).

South Picene and Paelignian also show resolution in words lengthened by

anaptyctic vowels. Historical or underlying disyllables become trisyllabic by anaptyxis, and such that are quantitatively anapestic [˘ ˘ –] and accentually dactylic can be scanned as trochees by resolution, so South Picene *pátērei* in AP 2^{B→A}.4 (129), and in AP 2^{B→A}.5 *qúperē(d)* and *áriti(d)*. Thus, historically or underlyingly trisyllabic (*)/qolfētor/ survives or surfaces with its dactylic accentuation as qólofētor [˘ ˘ ˘] (AP 2^{B→A}.4). Similarly, Paelignian *prístafalācirix* in Pg 9 epigraphic line 2 (a fragmentary verse) (139), on the surface an accentual dactylic dipody, shows accentuation as if a historical or underlying trochaic dipody (*)/prístafalācrīx/ (Schmid 1955: 32–33 saw no connection between anaptyxis and accentuation).

However, another Paelignian polysyllable poses a problem. Lengthened by anaptyxis, *sácarācirix* in Pg 9.3 (the anaptyctic vowels are underlined) is being accented as if underlyingly *pentasyllabic* and not as its trisyllabic cognate, Vestinian *sácrācrīx* in MV 7.1 (132). The Paelignian datum can only mean that anaptyxis is ordered *before* accentuation. Compare an analogous situation in the indigenous North American language Winnebago, from the Siouan family (see Hayes 1995: 346–365). In the briefest and most simplified terms, accent in Winnebago is realized by pitch and is assigned post-peninitially (the converse of the Latin (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE) with sensitivity to syllable count and weight. A rule of epenthesis known as DORSEY’S LAW inserts a vowel to break apart clusters consisting of voiceless stop or fricative + resonant (as in Paelignian *sacarācirix* and *prístafalācirix*), but the rule must apply before accentuation in

order to account for such patterns as *hōččágra* ‘the Winnebago’ (with voiced stop + liquid and no additional accent on the post-tonic syllable) vs. *rōrákewé* ‘you dressed him’ (← */rōrakwel/*, with voiceless stop + resonant and additional accent on the underlying post-tonic syllable).¹⁴ So, in Paelignian */sacrācīx/* → *sacarācīx* (anaptyxis) → *sácarācīx* (accentuation) and also */pristaflācīx/* → *pristafalācīx* → *pristafalācīx*. It now becomes unclear whether South Picene ⟨*qolofítúr*⟩ really stands for accentually first-paeonic *qólofētór* [´ ∪ ∪ ∪] without secondary stress or holotrochaic *qólofētór* [´ ∪ ` ∪] with post-anaptyctic secondary stress, since the operation of resolution results in the same scansion [~ ∪ ∪] in a dactylic foot /´ ∪ ∪/: either with no clash if phonologically [~ ∪ ∪] or falling clash if [~ ` ∪]. But the rule ordering can be a late development in Paelignian.

§ 4.4.3 Phrasal accentuation

The last detail of Sabellian phonology that the discovered meters suggest pertains to the accentuation of minor phrases. In Latin (§ 2.3.3), it was necessary to refer to the prosodic and syntactic constituency of the minor phrase to account for certain scansions. So, in *CIL* 1531.1, for # *quod rē suā* | (49) to scan as [´:´:´ ∪] and respond to the trochaic dipodies that open the rest of the poem’s lines, *rē suā* had to be modified to *rè suā* by the phrasally conditioned destressing of the monosyllable. Similarly, the prepositional phrase *apud mēās seedēs* had to be stressed as if a single pentasyllable, so *apud mēās seedēs*.

¹⁴ Compare a similar situation in Japanese. In Japanese, loanword accentuation reveals that pitch accent is assigned by default to the antepenultimate mora, ignoring epenthetic morae. But epenthetic morae can be counted and even receive pitch, e.g. the variable treatment of ⟨*アレヒギ*→⟩ */a.ré.ru.giil ~ /a.re.rú.giil ~* ‘allergy’ (Shinohara 1997: 140, with references). With thanks to A. Albright who pointed out the Winnebago and Japanese phenomena to me.

Moreover, the accentuation of the prepositional phrase is preserved even after it is scrambled to | *apud meās* || *rēstitīstei* | *sēedēs* # in *CIL* 1202.1.

Combinations of these phenomena are found in Paelignian. Recall that a complex noun phrase consisting of two monosyllabic adjectives *pēs pro(s)s* and a disyllabic noun *casnar* are scrambled to initial positions in Pg 10.1–2 (134). The first adjective makes ictus, but the second does not before a disyllabic function word *ecuf*. This can only mean that the prominence of *pro(s)s* is weakened by phrasally conditioned destressing *before* the complex noun phrase was scrambled, so:

ACCENTUATION	DESTRESSING	SCRAMBLING
× <u>×</u> ×	× <u>∅</u> ×	˘ : ˘ : ˘ ... ˘ ˘
× × ×	× × ×	× <u>× ×</u> ×
× × × ×	× × × ×	× × × × × ×
pēs pro(s)s casnar ...	pēs pro(s)s casnar ...	pēs pro(s)s ecuf ... casnar

§ 4.5 Conclusion

In sum, a close and fresh examination of three South Picene, one Vestinian Oscan, and two Paelignian Oscan poetic epitaphs, with respect to their phonological and syntactic ornament and accentual rhythms and with sensitivity to epigraphic and known linguistic details, revealed heretofore unknown Sabellian meters and compositional principles that confirm the texts' status as poetry. The syllable-counting meters proposed by Watkins and Freeman and the quantitative schemes by Eichner and Poccetti were not able to capture the rhythmic patterns of the texts, nor were the accentual meters advanced by Dupraz. Discovery of the South Picene accentual Saturnian, the trochaic-dactylic

tripodies of Vestinian and Paelignian, the trochaic tetrapodies = dimetra of South Picene, and the complex pentapodies of Paelignian required revision of the texts' interpretations and colometries. In addition to refinements to Sabellian phonological description, these revisions also uncovered the interrelatedness of formulaic prose and artful verse in the South Picenes' monuments and the invertibility of metrical constituents in Vestinian and Paelignian poetry.

These features have been discerned in Latin Saturnians: the formal and stylistic closeness of early Latin poetry and prose, the configurational flexibility of an accent-based Saturnian meter, and the meter's contextual sensitivity to relative phonological prominences. And it is to the question concerning the relationship between Latin and other Italic metrical forms and compositional principles that I turn in the next and final chapter of this work.

CHAPTER 5

TOWARDS ITALIC HISTORICAL METRICS

§ 5.0 For comparison: *détails singuliers*

The foremost goal of this work has been to propose synchronic descriptions of the metrical systems that underlie the relicts of the archaic poetic traditions of the Italic languages of Indo-European. Before looking at the same data from a comparative perspective in order to outline a broad and tentative historical account of them—some inner-Italic typological comparisons have already been carried out in chapters 3 and 4—the salient details of each synchronic metrical description bear review.

The poetic remains of the archaic Latin tradition figured prominently in this work, taking up a lengthy second chapter and much of a third. For the Saturnian, the Romans' preferred meter for epic, funerary, dedicatory, and gnomic composition before adopting and adapting Greek quantitative versification, I proposed a derivational scheme that can capture the diverse overlapping and complementary accentual and word boundary patterns of the fragmentary and complete Saturnian poems as we have them. The meter I propose depends not on the fixed columnar correspondences from line to line of stressed and unstressed syllables on the level of the word and by the (ANTE-) PENULTIMATE RULE but on the relative rise and fall in syllabic prominences within a verse. To capture this, I extended Hermann's basis and devised the dispositional /◦ •(◡)/ and tripositional bases

/o • o(◡), • o • (◡)/. The only fixity of correspondence stems from the requirement that a quarter-verse must have a falling accentual contour and terminate in / (• o)◡, (o •)◡, (´)◡/. The quarter-verse boundaries themselves have the appearance of mobility due to line-type derivation by positional anaclasis and podic and colon inversion. By default, one syllable fills each of the thirteen or twelve positions of the Saturnian line. In 13-position lines and in cola without suppressions, two non-word-final light syllables can be aligned to one verse position: the odd basal positions of a binary foot and either basal position of a ternary foot. The stressed syllable of a polysyllabic word must fill a basal position, and elision cannot operate to result in a clash of equal syllabic prominences. From this restriction against level clash only monosyllables are exempt.

Investigation of Faliscan, Latin's geographic neighbor and closest linguistic relative, turned up only a rhythmic slogan in Middle Faliscan (the kylix inscription, *LF* 5), and in Old Faliscan a rhythmic greeting (*LF* 2), one potential accentual Saturnian (in the "Ceres" inscription, *LF* 1), and two potential Saturnian cola that can constitute a well-formed line (*LF* 3). However, Faliscan accentuation remains indeterminate.

By contrast, a close examination of Sabellian texts yields three poems in South Picene, one in Vestinian Oscan, and two in Paelignian Oscan. All are composed in accentual meters: dactylic-trochaic tripodies in South Picene (*AP* 2) and Vestinian (*MV* 7), Saturnian cola in South Picene (*TE* 2) and Paelignian (*Pg* 10), a full Saturnian in South Picene (*MC* 1), and complex palindromic/invertible pentapodies in Paelignian

	SO. PICENE	VESTINIAN	PAELIGNIAN	FALISCAN	LATIN
600s/ 500s BC				(i) ?Saturnian	
				(ii) ?“4 3” + “3 2”	
400s- 300s BC	(i) [ˈuːuːuːuː] + [ˈuːuːuːuː] (ii) [ˈuːuːuː ˈuːuː]				
200s- 100s BC		[ˈuːuːuːuːuː] + [ˈuːuːuːuːuː]			(i) [ˈuːuːuː ˈuːuː]
					(ii) Saturnian
100+ BC			(ii) [ˈuːuːuːuː/oːuːuːuːuː] + [ˈoːuːuːuːuːuːuːuːuː]		

Table 5.1. Conspectus of metrical forms.

(Pg 9). The scansion of these texts, based on initial stress, bring out additional rules of scansion and accentuation pertaining to accentual clash, resolution, and phrasally conditioned stress similar to those in Latin. The Sabellian metrical forms, along with those of Latin and perhaps Faliscan, are gathered in table 5.1.

§ 5.1 An Italic poetic-metrical *Sprachbund*?

As can be seen from the conspectus in table 5.1, accentual tripodies (South Picene, Vestinian, Paelignian, and Latin, perhaps Faliscan), the Saturnian (South Picene and Latin, perhaps Faliscan), and pentapodies (Paelignian) are found over a relatively wide geographical but narrow chronological spread. M. Weiss (2004: *xiv*) points out recently that such a distribution of metrical forms as this can be equally due to inheritance or borrowing. (The trochaic tetrapodies = dimetra in South Picene AP 2^{B→A} are also typologically common metrical forms, so I exclude them from comparative considerations; the possibility that such a typologically common form can have also been inherited cannot be ruled out, but this investigation turned up no Italic parallels for it.)

On the one hand, if Latin (perhaps Faliscan) and the Sabellian traditions borrowed their meters—as one group or in groups or individually, from one or more foreign sources or from each other—it is now clear that Greek cannot have been their source, pace Leo 1905, Pasquali 1936, Fraenkel 1951, Perrotta apud Morelli 1996, and Eichner 1988–1990a–c and 1993. The most likely possible foreign sources of borrowing that remain are Etruscan or Celtic, but yet a third unnamed entity cannot be excluded. The hunt for Etruscan poetry is on (Gerick 1996: 19 apud Weiss 2004: *xviii*28 quotes a

possible Etruscan *versus quadratus* “4|4|4|3” but by all appearances may well be prose; Pasquali 1937 rejects the notion of an Etruscan sub- or superstrate of archaic Latin verse). As for Celtic, only one sufficiently archaic text has been identified by Eska & Mercado 2005 to be poetic and metrical (144)¹:

(144) *CI* 119

(a) Transcription

PelKui Pruiam Teu KariTe isos Kalite Palam

(b) Translations

Belgo ⟨**Pruia**⟩m Devo statuit, hic erexit [?]stelam.
For Belgus Dewu set up the ⟨Pruiam⟩, he raised the stone.

(c) Scansion

⊂ Belgūj ⊃

¹ brūjiam Dé(ū)ū Kárite

˘ ˘: ˘: ˘ ˘

² íððos Kálite bálam

˘ ˘: ˘ ˘: ˘

This 5th-century BC Cisalpine Celtic epitaph from Vergiate (about 32 miles northeast of Milan, which is more than 342 miles northeast of Ascoli Piceno), written continuously along the edge of an ovoid stele not unlike the South Picene grave marker MC 1, shows poetic word order and admits of scansion as accentual trochaic-dactylic tripodies, just as the South Picene epitaph TE 2 and Paelignian Pg 10. Moreover, just as in Vestinian MV 7 and Paelignian Pg 10, the non-initial feet are in chiastic respension across the verses of

¹ It is worth mentioning that there is a potential for an interesting theoretical nexus between Etruscan and Celtic, in view of Rix 1998, a recent demonstration (to most people’s satisfaction) that R(h)aetic (geographically close to Lepontic, etc.) is in fact genetically related to Etruscan. In other words, Etruscan in northern Italy and related R(h)aetic in the eastern Italian Alps surrounded Celtic in the central Italian Alps, forming a cultural continuum that continues southward from Etruscan to Italic.

the Vergiate inscription. (Eska & Mercado 2005: 170–176 consider syllabic, quantitative, and accentual scansion of one- and two-line colometries of the text, with the name of the deceased *intra metrum*; they lean towards the two-line colometry and a syllabic scansion with accentual cadence.) Thus funerary customs, including commemorative poetic composition, may have been common to the cultures that inhabited the area between the Alps and the central Adriatic coast. (I return to the issue of Celtic in § 5.3 below.) But such an areal account, which tacitly implies the possibility that Cisalpine Celtic may have been the borrower from and not the lender to Sabellian, does not address the presence of Saturnians in Latin and South Picene or the unique pentapodies of Paelignian Pg 9.

§ 5.2 **An Italic poetic-metrical *Stammbaum*?**

On the other hand, many crucial pieces of evidence are still missing or too sparse which would enable a detailed or sure reconstruction of Proto-Italic versification. Compare the reconstruction of Indo-European meter, which is based on the metrical forms *and* formulaic phrases common to large corpora of epic *and* lyric poetry in Greek (Homer and Hesiod and the Lesbian poets) and Sanskrit (the Classical *Mahābhārata* and the archaic *Rig-Veda*) (the major influential proposals are Meillet 1923, Schmitt 1967, and Nagy 1974). Italic does not preserve texts of like natures in comparable lengths to show beyond any doubt a genetic poetic relationship: we have without the formulas only the forms (the seven- or eight-position accentually trochaic-dactylic colon and the twelve- or 13-

position line) and compositional principles (podic/colon inversion and various rhetorical devices²).

Italic phrases such as Latin and Umbrian MEN AND CATTLE compared by Watkins (1995: chh.17–18) to similar collocations elsewhere in Indo-European do not occur in the poems studied here. One might compare:

LATIN	SOUTH PICENE
pó(s)sidēt hoc <u>sáxsum</u> # (CIL 11.2)	méfiin <u>vé(i)jāt</u> <u>vépetī(n)</u> # (MC 1)

where note the same metrical context of VERB + STONE in the second half-verses of Latin and South Picene Saturnians. But such a similarity may well be due to chance: the Latin and South Picene verses are from funerary compositions. Pg 10 contains the gnomic phrase MAKER OF FORTUNE, but the Paelignians could have borrowed their *<forte / faber>* from the Romans, such as Appius' *fab<er>fortūnā<s>* (see § 4.3 on Latin and later Oscan).

One might grasp at a last straw and compare:

LATIN	VESTINIAN	PAELIGNIAN
<u>incēdit</u> <u>Céris</u> <u>Prosérpina</u>	<u>Cérria</u> #	{ <u>Cérfum</u> #
(Naev. 22)	(MV 7.1)	<u>Pérseponās</u> <u>áfðed</u> #
		(Pg 9.2, .4)

where CERES appears in pre-caesural position in a Naevian line and in final position of a Vestinian tripod and a Paelignian palindromic/inverted pentapody, and where VERB OF MOTION + PERSEPHONE occur in Latin and Paelignian, with the goddess' name immediately before the cadential trochee in both verses. But, while CERES is native Italic, PERSEPHONE is a Greek accretion that, along with the late date of the Paelignian, speaks

² Most salient of the Italic rhetorical devices is alliteration, which tends to play a greater ornamental role in poetic composition in languages with word-initial accentuation, as in Celtic and Germanic (see the discussion in Watkins 1995: 23).

against the inheritance of metrically formulaic content from a common ancestral source. So, we have only the Latin side of formulaic equations, such as || *fīli-*, either preceded (Andr. 12, 13, 21 codd.; Naev. 9) or followed (Andr. 19; Naev. 8.3 codd.; *CIL* 9.3) by a possessive genitive, or:

CIL 9.1–2 (§ D.8) **hōnc óino(m) | plóirume(i) || co(n)sentiont | R[ó]mae**
dūonōro(m) | óptumo(m) || † fūisse | víro(m)

Elog. Cal. (§ D.13) † **hunc ūnum† | plúrimae || cōnsentiunt | géntēs**
pópuli | primárium || † fūisse | vírum

with THIS ONE-ACC + VERY MANY + AGREE ... / OF X + Y'EST + WAS + MAN.

§ 5.2.1 An Italic trochaic-dactylic colon?

Nonetheless, if we follow the common assumption that Italic metrical forms are genetically related—this is implicit in efforts to situate the Latin Saturnian and South Picene meters within the larger Indo-European poetic-metrical *Stammbaum*, which I only touch on below in § 5.4—at least Latin and South Picene meters are cognate. About 150 miles and the Appenine Mountains lie between modern Rome and Ascoli Piceno, and at least one century stands between the end of the South Picene floruit and the beginnings of the Latin golden age. So, the Latin trochaic-amphibrachic colon instantiated by *Incertorum* 1 and *CIL* 580 corresponds to the South Picene trochaic-dactylic colon represented three times in TE 2 (see § 4.2.2). The Latin amphibrach can be accounted for by sound law (West 1973: 176–177 alludes to this in his discussion of the caesural pattern of seven-position cola): with the shift of the historical word-initial accent to the (ante-) penultimate syllable, the historically dactylic colon cadence split, which is seen in

/| ◦ • ◡/ → [◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡] in Saturnians, and eventually the amphibrach became the favored variant cadence. The dactyl + trochee + dactyl in South Picene AP 2^{B→A}.1 and .4 can now be regarded as the anacrusic derivative of the trochaic-dactylic colon, which finds an indirect parallel in the first half-verses of the Faliscan cooks' dedication's opening couplet (*CIL* 364.1–2, for which see § 3.1.2), where again the Latin amphibrachs correspond to the South Picene dactyls. These relationships are summarized as figure 5.1.

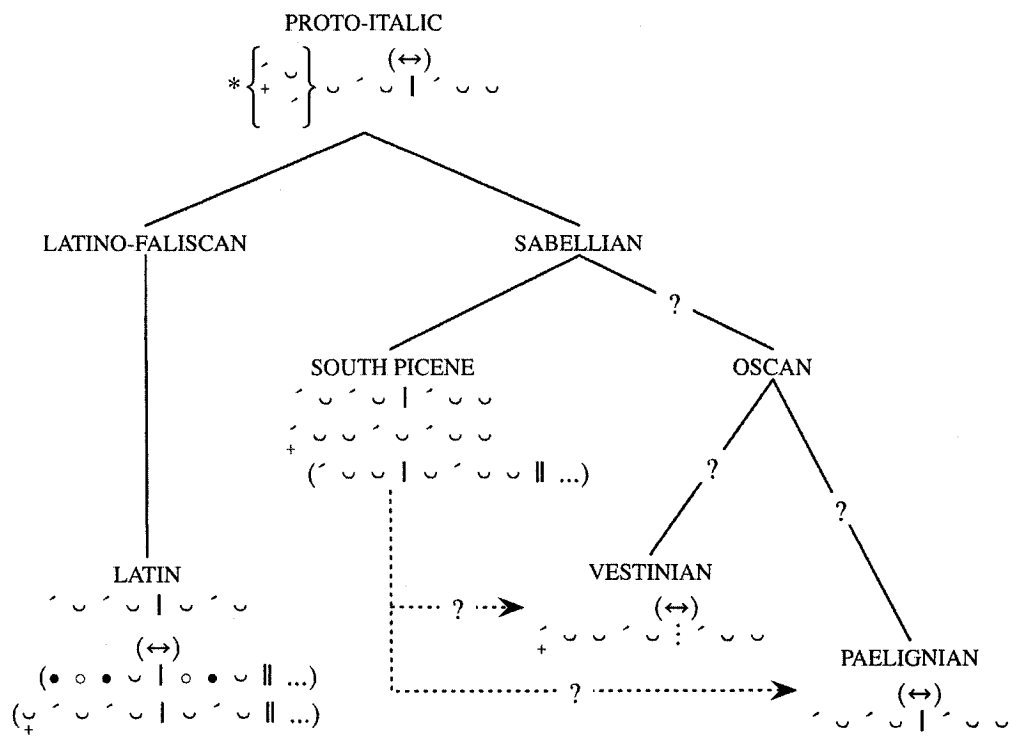


Figure 5.1. The Italic trochaic-dactylic colon.

The Vestinian dactyl + trochee + dactyl in MV 7 can now likewise be analyzed as an anacrusic trochaic-dactylic colon, which Paelignian attests in Pg 10 without anacrusis. Podic inversion appears also to have been available to both Oscan groups. However,

these forms and features may be substratal or adstratal: the north Oscans could have acquired the meters and podic inversion from the South Picenes, whom they supplanted on the central Adriatic coast (see p.252n2 above; Meiser 1987 discusses the linguistic continuum formed by Latin, South Picene, and Paelignian). Thus, at least South Picene and Latin hypothetically point to a Proto-Italic trochaic-dactylic colon with possible anacrusis and podic inversion.

§ 5.2.2 An Italic Saturnian?

Related to the underlyingly seven-position tripod or colon, can an Italic Saturnian likewise hypothetically be reconstructed based on the Latin and South Picene data, perhaps the Faliscan as well? Only one of the 25 Latin Saturnian archetypes has a possible cognate in South Picene, and two others have potential Faliscan parallels (see table 5.2).

LATIN	[?] FALISCAN	SOUTH PICENE
•••• •••• •••• ••••	?•••• •••• •••• ••••	
•••• •••• ^•••• ••••	?•••• •••• + •••• ••••	
•••• •••• ^•••• ••••		•••• •••• •••• ••••

Table 5.2. Saturnians in Latin (and [?]Faliscan) and South Picene.

South Picene [•••• | •••• || •••• | ••••] (MC 1.2, § 4.2.1) can be compared with Latin “3 | 4 || 2 | 3” (§§ 2.2.1 and C.8). And perhaps the two Old Faliscan Saturnians (§§ 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.4) correspond to the Latin “4 | 3 || 3 | 3” and “4 | 3 || 3 | 2” lines (§§ 2.2.1–2, C.1, and C.12). Beyond these similarities, however, it cannot be known whether South Picene (or Faliscan) possessed the full derivational paradigm that Latin attests.

Thus, if an Italic Saturnian could be reconstructed, only one sure line type would be recoverable. Latin and South Picene “3|4||2|3” might go back to Proto-Italic */˘ ˘ ˘ | • • • ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘/. Again, the variation dactyl ~ amphibrach in Latin can be tied to the accent shift from the initial to the (ante-) penultimate syllable. It made synchronic sense in Latin to connect shorter second cola to the more common longer ones through derivation by acephaly, and it might make similarly good sense to do the same in South Picene, which in turn suggests second-colon acephaly in the hypothetical Proto-Italic Saturnian as well. Here we see again the podic inversion reconstructible for the Proto-Italic trochaic-dactylic colon. Under this scenario, the dicolon had to have been assembled and coexisted alongside the single colon already in common Italic.

Several other metrical forms are difficult to situate in a synchronic relationship, let alone a historical one, and I hazard only the following guesses. Anacrusis presents the first complication. It is only certain in relatively late and arguably subliterate Latin Saturnians, but it is also present in rather solemn South Picene and Vestinian trochaic-dactylic tripodies. The hypothetical Proto-Italic Saturnian may have also allowed initial anacrusis, but in Latin literary composition, perhaps Faliscan and South Picene as well, this may have come to be in complementary distribution with second-colon acephaly (the Faliscan cooks’ poet allows both anacrusis and second-colon acephaly in *CIL* 364.2). Second, in light of anacrusic trochaic-dactylic cola in South Picene and Vestinian, the podic inversion in Latin, South Picene, and Vestinian, the Paelignian forms

magical qualities (Watkins 1995: 117–118; Freeman 1998: 82).

Approaches to and estimations of the similarities between Italic and Celtic metrical forms have varied. Fraser 1908 and 1909 and Fitzhugh 1910 compared Saturnians with Old Irish and Irish Latin verses. Lindsay, with a satisfactory description of the Old Irish metrical system at the time still pending, hinted at possible similarities between archaic Latin and Celtic verse (Lindsay 1923: 9–10). Pasquali saw affinities between Celtic verse and the Latin *carmen* (not the Saturnian) (Pasquali 1936: 153–160). Campanile rejected comparison of the Latin Saturnian and Celtic (Old Irish and Welsh) verse on the basis of only superficial and sporadic similarities (alliteration and bipartite structure), and the millennium that separates the two traditions also makes their comparison inappropriate. For Campanile, the metrical systems developed independently, though he does not deny a pre-historic Italo-Celtic linguistic and cultural unity. (Campanile 1963: 191–196). By contrast, Cole saw systematic similarities between the Latin and Old Irish versification systems (with respect to syllable count and caesural patterns) and accepted as likely the prehistoric poetic unity of the two (Cole 1969: 66–73). M. West takes the same view on the basis of the Saturnian and Irish cadential and caesural patterns (West 1973: 177). Finally, Freeman takes the unity for granted but questions whether the actual metrical forms of one should be compared with the other: Old Irish had undergone massive syncope and apocope, and the metrical system may have been adjusted (or not), so the similarities with the Saturnian may be illusory (or not) (Freeman 1998: 82–86).

*Sencha judged it in his first judgment
 woman possession-taking as man possession-taking
 so that blisters were suffered
 on his cheeks after (having passed) wrong judgments.*

*The truth of Brig cured him
 it was she who estimated female entry
 so that the blisters were concealed
 on his cheeks after the true judgments (were passed).*

(b) “4 | 3” + “2 | 3”: *AL IV 36.1–6, Din Techtugud* (transl. Binchy)

ní nais tír for imrumach	ú:í:ú: 'úú
mani fotha selb	'ú 'ú:í:

*thou shalt not bind land on a vagrant
 if ownership does not sustain him*

Finally, in Watkins’ description, the “5 | 3,” “4 | 3,” “3 | 3,” and “2 | 3” lines all have catalectic variants with trochaic cadences, respectively “5 | 2,” “4 | 2,” “3 | 2,” and “2 | 2,” which have the further catalectic variants “4 | 1” and “3 | 1.” The catalectic variants alternate with their acatalectic forms in the same poem (Watkins 1963: 234–237).³

(149) *AID II 6* (transl. Watkins)

mal ad-rúalaid íathu marb	í:ú'ú 'ú:í:
mac soër Sétnai	í:ú 'ú
selaig srathu Fomoire	'ú:í:ú 'úúú
for doine domnaib	ú:í:ú 'ú

*A prince has gone to the lands of the dead,
 the noble son of Setna.
 He ravaged the valleys of the Fomorians
 over worlds of men.*

³ Watkins also describes as archaic certain lines of obscure Old Irish text that take the form of heptasyllables with initial extensions of three to five syllables (Watkins 1963: 242–244). This might call for reconsideration of certain Latin charms, the Middle Faliscan kylix text *LF 5* (107), and especially the Old Faliscan oinochoë *LF 2b* (113). The *left-extended* Old Irish line and Old Faliscan lines might be cognate, though the *right-extended* Latin and Middle Faliscan forms may well be independent.

So, in outward appearance and in internal coherence, the Old Irish metrical system indeed resembles that of Italic:

LATIN/ITALIC	OLD IRISH
• o • u o • u	u u u u ' u u
' u u ' u u u	u u u u u ' u u
+ u o • u ' u	+ u u u u u ' u u
o • u o • u	u u u u ' u u
u ' u o • u	u u u u ' u u
o • o u ' u	u u u u ' u u
u • o u ' u	u u u u ' u u

(This similarity and assumed historical connection underlie Freeman's (1998) analysis of Italic verses not as *dicola* but as *distichs*.) Watkins compares the *cephalous/acatalectic* Irish verses to Greek lyric lines of ten, nine, eight, and seven syllables, taking into account the syncope and apocope that Celtic experienced. But the Old Irish system may require re-examination in light of the 5th-century BC Cisalpine Celtic poem discussed in § 5.1 above (Eska & Mercado 2005: 173n33 make no historical-metrical claims), the first line of which takes trochaic-dactylic shape [$' u u ' u u$], with podic inversion in the second line [$' u ' u u ' u$]. If the Cisalpine Celtic meter was not borrowed, the Old Irish heptasyllable may be quite ancient. The types with trochaic cadences may not be catalectic but *anacastic* variants of the cardinal dactylic/cretic-cadenced types, as in Latin, and certain catalectic types may be secondary derivatives of these. Of this last idea, there is a hint in West's characterization of Old Irish "2 | 3" and "2 | 2" as extensions of the series of longer types (West 1973: 175). The accentual cadence of Old Irish metrical

forms, which is otherwise usually taken as a late development from a syllable-counting cadence (Watkins 1963: 247; West 1973: 174–175), may also be quite ancient.

The hypothetical Italo-Celtic poetic-metrical unity may be survived by the cognate cola Latin/South Picene/Paelignian /' u ˘ u | ˘ u u/ and South Picene/Vestinian /' u u ˘ u ˘ u u/ on the Italic side, which point to a Proto-Italic *trochaic-dactylic colon with possible anacrusis and inversion, and on the Celtic side Cisalpine Celtic /' u ˘ u u ˘ u u/ and Old Irish /(' u) u u u u | ˘ u u/, which suggest a Proto-Celtic *trochaic-dactylic colon as well. The syncope and apocope of Old Irish words required not the shortening of the cardinal line only but the relaxation of the accentual requirements in pre-caesural and final positions: after stress-bearing words lost syllables, more of them had to be fit into a line type that was the conservative core of the metrical system.

In addition to the preservation of an old heptasyllable with newly relaxed accentual requirements, syncope and apocope resulted secondarily in the Old Irish acephalous types and certain catalectic ones. These further suggest that the shorter Italic cola may have likewise originated as (hyper-) acephalous and catalectic derivatives of the ancient seven-position colon. But, while it might make sense in Old Irish to connect the short lines to the heptasyllable through (hyper-) acephaly and catalexis, Italic as I have described it may have reanalyzed the six-position colon */^ o • u | ˘ u u/ as cephalous /o • u | o • u/, and the old hyperacephalous type */^ ^ ˘ u | ˘ u u/ as a simple acephalous /^ ˘ u | o • u/; the old cephalous/catalectic */• o • u | ˘ u ^/ may have been reanalyzed as

the anaclastic variant of “3 | 3,” and the old acephalous/catalectic */Λ ◦ • ∪ | ˘ ∪ Λ/ as anaclastic/acephalous/acatalectic /Λ ◦ • ∪ | ˘ ∪/. In Old Irish stichic composition, the (hyper-) acephaly and catalexis remained transparent, since the initial and final empty positions remained in columnar correspondence with initial and final full positions, whereas the correspondence became opaque in Italic when the long and short cola were concatenated into single lines, taking the suppressed : unsuppressed positional correspondence to the horizontal plane. Thus, assuming Italo-Celtic poetic-metrical unity, Proto-Italo-Celtic had a *trochaic-dactylic colon which Proto-Italic and Proto-Celtic inherited and augmented with (hyper-) acephalous and catalectic derivatives. Celtic preserved these, but Italic innovated by concatenating them with the old trochaic-dactylic colon, which concatenation resulted in reanalysis of catalexis as anaclasis and hyperacephaly as simple acephaly.

§ 5.4 **Italic and Indo-European: Implications of the present study and directions for future research**

In the foregoing sections, I have tried to supply from the bottom up but *grosso modo* the steps in the individual histories and possible unitary development of the Italic and Celtic metrical systems. Here I simply call attention to other metrists’ efforts at short-range comparison with other Indo-European branches, such as Bartsch 1867 and Beare 1955 who have compared archaic Latin verse with Germanic. As for longer-range comparison, two top-down accounts have situated the Saturnian within the larger Indo-European poetic-metrical Stammbaum. J. Vigorita (1973: 247–251) described Cole’s quantitative

Saturnian as the concatenation of an old heptasyllable */ⱮⱮⱮⱮ|ⱮⱮⱮ/ and a hexasyllable */ⱮⱮⱮ|ⱮⱮⱮ/ divorced from its historical decasyllabic context. The hexasyllable then came to be subject to initial or final suppression / (Ɱ)ⱮⱮ|ⱮⱮ(Ɱ) /. West derived the Saturnian, which in essence he described as /ⱮⱮⱮⱮ(l)ⱮⱮⱮ||ⱮⱮⱮⱮⱮⱮ/, from the concatenation of the quantitatively iambic Indo-European prototypes acephalous */^ⱮⱮⱮⱮ-ⱮⱮ/ and acephalous/catalectic */^ⱮⱮⱮⱮ-Ɱ^/ (West 1973: 175–177). These are now clearly inappropriate. I have tried to show that Cole’s or any other quantitativist theory of the Saturnian cannot capture the rhythms of archaic Latin verse, which I propose were based on phonological accent. They are also incomplete in light of the Sabellian meters I have described.

Vigorita and West’s efforts also raise other issues, and I end this work with two of these. First, how *should* accentual and syllabic/quantitative meters be compared? On the basis of the mobile pitch accents of Greek and Sanskrit, the Indo-European accent is reconstructed as pitch, its placement in the word determined lexically and morphologically. Again on the basis of Greek and Sanskrit, the *Urvers* is reconstructed as a syllable-counting metrical system with fixed quantitative cadences. The systems of regular phonological accentuation in Italic, Celtic, and Germanic, are thus seen as late developments, and their accentual meters transformations of older syllabic/quantitative prototypes. But the synchronic descriptions I propose have put the comparative problem on a whole new footing, since now we have to try to understand, under the assumption

that Italic and Celtic accentual meters are indeed inherited, how to correlate the older syllabic/quantitative meters of archaic pitch-accenting (eastern) Indo-European languages with the prehistoric accentual meters of initial-stressing Italic and Celtic (and Germanic: western Indo-European traditions inclined towards alliteration in verse).

Second, the accentual theory of archaic Latin and Italic (and Celtic) verse that I advocate pushes accentual metrical practice further back in the past and calls for a properly weighted consideration of phonological accent and its metrical treatment in comparative/historical studies. If accentual meters indeed evolved from syllabic/quantitative ones, we need a more nuanced comparative/historical account to capture the complexities of the transformation. For instance, attention to accent in verse can lead to the intuition that the accentual metrical system of mobile-accenting Slavic (see Jakobson 1952) might reflect a transitional state between the syllable-counting/quantitizing verse of older eastern mobile-accenting Indo-European and the accentual meters of the younger initial-stressing west. Ultimately, the findings of this work simultaneously advance and open new avenues in comparative Indo-European metrics. Details of the individual and unitary metrical developments of archaic Italic and Celtic become clearer and come within closer reach. As also implied by the speculation on Slavic, the Italo-Celtic metrical reconstruction I outline raises the possibility that phonological accent may have played a more prominent role in the *Urvers* and calls for the re-examination of its prototypes.

APPENDIX A

PROPOSED SCANSIONS OF SECOND COLA IN LATIN SATURNIANS

Arranged by Type

§ A.0 Notes

Gathered in this appendix are the second cola, with their proposed scansion, of all Latin Saturnian verses used to formulate the meter proposed in ch.2. See Appendices B for the proposed scansion of first cola, C for those of full verses arranged by type, and D for full verses with translations, including corrupt and partial lines. I adopt the *OLD*'s abbreviations for authors' names (see Bibliography § I.1).

Literary verses are cited from Blänsdorf's (1995) edition and by his numeration (see the *Comparatio Numerorum et Index Locorum* for a concordance with Morel 1927). In a few instances, I have preferred plausible manuscript readings over the accepted corrected versions. Such "insecure" verses are signaled by "codd." for 'codices' after a fragment number. Different critics' readings of a number of verses, especially given manuscript or textual-critical support (though this is not always available), are occasionally more compatible than Blänsdorf's with the proposed Saturnian meter. Such likewise insecure lines are marked by the critic's last name, e.g. "Andr. 8 Zander." See the footnotes, which are based on the fuller critical apparatuses of Blänsdorf 1995.

Inscriptional texts are taken from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (= *CIL*) and are given here in quasi-phonological transcription (see Appendix D

for diplomatic transcriptions). Other verses and now lost inscriptional lines quoted by literary writers are cited from Blänsdorf's edition and by his numeration.

The order in which types are listed here follows the same order as they are discussed in ch.2, § 2.1. “|| 3 | 3” archetypes /|| o • u | o • u/ are listed first, followed by “|| 4 | 2” archetypes /|| o • o u | • u/. Under each archetype, dactyls /' u u/ are ordered before amphibrachs /u ' u/ and trochee + trochee /' u ' u/ before iamb + pyrrhic /u ' u u/, reading leftwards from the even quarter-verse. Under each second-colon type, secure lines are listed before insecure ones in the same order that texts are listed in Appendix D.

On sigla and conventions of transcription and scansion, see pages xvii–xx.

§ A.1 || o • u | o • u

§ A.1.1 || ' u u | ' u u

SECURE	Naev. 59	pectora possidet	' u u ' u u
	<i>CIL</i> 7.2	fortis vir sapiensque	' u u ' u u
	<i>CIL</i> 10.2	omnia brevia	' u u ' u u
	<i>CIL</i> 10.6	Scipio recipit	' u u ' u u
	<i>CIL</i> 1202.1	Marcō Cai- ¹ cilio	' u u ' u u
	<i>CIL</i> 1531.4	maxsumē meretō	' u u ' u u

INSECURE	Andr. 21 Buecheler ¹	filia(e)m docuit	' u u ' u u
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§ A.1.2 || ' u u | u ' u

SECURE	Andr. 1	insece versutum	' u u u ' u
	Andr. 6 ²	aureō eclutro	' u u u ' u
	Andr. 7	omnia disertim	' u u u ' u
	Andr. 11	Graciam redire	' u u u ' u
	Andr. 12	filia regina	' u u u ' u

¹ Andr. 21: *filia* (e- or i)m Buecheler; *filiam* codd.; *filia* Scaliger, so Blänsdorf.

² Andr. 6: on *eclutro*, see Appendix D n2.

(§ A.1.2 continued)

Andr. 14	vírginem ōráret	' u u u ' u
Andr. 15.1	dōnicum vidēbis	' u u u ' u
Andr. 18.1	mācerāt hūmānum	' u u u ' u
Andr. 19	fīlius Lātōnās	' u u u ' u
Naev. 1	fīliae sorōrēs	' u u u ' u
Naev. 5.2	cāpitibus opértis	~ u u u ' u
Naev. 5.3	lācrimis cum mūltis	' u u u : ' u
Naev. 8.1	quōmodo Titāni	' u u u ' u
Naev. 15	óptimum appéllat	' u u u ' u
Naev. 18	hōminum fortūnās	' u u u ' u
Naev. 19	véstemque citrōsam	' u u u ' u
Naev. 21	fécerat quiétem	' u u u ' u
Naev. 24.2	Pýthius Apóllō	' u u u ' u
Naev. 25.2	órđine pōnúntur	' u u u ' u
Naev. 31	áureās lepístās	' u u u ' u
Naev. 35	ságmina sūmpsérunt	' u u u ' u
Naev. 37.3 ³	rem hóstium concínnat	' u u u ' u
Naev. 39.1	áuspiciāt auspicium	' u u u ~ u
Naev. 42	cónterit legiónēs	' u u u ' u
Naev. 46	óbsidēs ut réddant	' u u u : ' u
Naev. 50.1	mávolunt ibídem	' u u u ' u
Naev. 51.2	fieri per géntis	' u u u : ' u
Naev. 54 ⁴	rúmi)tant intér (sē)	' u u u : ' u
Naev. 61 ⁵	pópulum pepulísti	' u u u ' u
Naev. 68	hóstium prō móene	' u u u : ' u
Epigr. Naev. .2	Náevium poétam	' u u u ' u
Epigr. Naev. .3	trāditus thēsaurō	' u u u ' u
Metell. in Naev.	Náeviō poétae	' u u u ' u
Incertorum 5	pérdita spinturnix	' u u u ' u
<i>CIL</i> 7.1	Scípiō Barbátus	' u u u ' u
<i>CIL</i> 7.6	ópsidēs- ¹ que abdóucit	' u u u ' u
<i>CIL</i> 9.3	fílios Barbáti	' u u u ' u
<i>CIL</i> 10.1	fláminis ge(s)sístei	' u u u ' u

³ Naev. 37.3: on the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix D n19.

⁴ Naev. 54: on the security of the whole line, see Appendix C n3.

⁵ Naev. 61: regarded as the beginning of a fragmentary senarius or septenarius by Courtney 1993: 3. On the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix C n12.

§ A.1.3

|| ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE	Andr. 10 ¹⁰	adpr̄imus Patr̄oclus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 17	noegēō dēt̄ersit	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 25	ut pr̄ius fū̄erunt	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 20.1	Aenēa quō p̄actō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘
	Naev. 25.1	in tēplō Anchīsa	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 52	sub ūnum iūd̄icium	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Epigr. Naev. .1	sī fóret fās fl̄ére	˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘
	Incertorum 3	reliḡiōsus nē fū̄as	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘
	CIL 7.4	quei fū̄it apūd v̄os	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘
	CIL 9.4	hic fū̄et a[pūd v̄os	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘
	CIL 11.3	nōn hōnōs honōre(m)	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	CIL 11.5	is lóceis mandātus	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	CIL 11.6	quei m̄inu ^s sit mandātus	˘:˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	Andr. 9 Guenther ¹¹	aut íbī omméntāns	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

with ambiguous syllabification in ia.sen.:

Pl. <i>Truc.</i> 245	qui dē thēnsauris <u>integr̄is</u> dēmus danunt	- 1:1 - 2 - 3: 4 - 5: 6
Ter. <i>Ad.</i> 153	gaudēbam. ecce autem dē <u>integr̄o</u> nisi quidquid est	- 1: 2 - 3: 4 - 5: 6
Ter. <i>Ph.</i> 451	ēgit restitūi in <u>integr̄um</u> aequomst et bonum	- 1: 2 - 3: 4 - 5: 6
Ter. <i>Hec.</i> 145	nārratque ut virgō ab sē <u>integr̄a</u> etiam tum siet	- 1: 2 - 3: 4 - 5: 6

in ia.oct. / ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ /:

Ter. <i>Ph.</i> 174	quoi <u>integr̄o</u> est potestās etiam cōsulendī quid velis	˘:1 ˘:2: 3 - 4: 5 - 6 7 8 - 9: 10 -
Ter. <i>Hau.</i> 674	quid agam aut quid comminiscar ratiō dē <u>integr̄o</u> ineundast mihi	˘:1: 2: 3 4 - 5: 6 - 7 8 9 - 10: 11 -

in cr.tetr.:

Pl. <i>Truc.</i> 725	<u>integr̄um</u> et plēnum adortast thēnsaurum :: quis est	1 2: 3 - 4: 5 -
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On the colometry of Naev. 37, see Appendix D n19.

¹⁰ Andr. 10: or *Pátroclus* [l ˘ ˘ ˘ #]. See the foregoing note on /-g.r-/ vs. /-gr-/.

¹¹ Andr. 9: aut <h>aut Leo, Morel. *ibi* cod. Vaticanus 1549, Leo; *ibi*(dem) Blänsdorf; *ubi* cod. Vaticanus 3369, Lindsay. See § 1.1.3 and Appendix D n4 on the interpretation of the fragment.

§ A.2	o • u o • u		
§ A.2.1	˘ u u ˘ u u		
INSECURE	Naev. 38.1 Mariotti ¹²	símul ā- ¹ trócia	˘ u: u ˘ u u
§ A.2.2	u ˘ u ˘ u u		
SECURE	Naev. 51.1 Naev. 62 <i>CIL</i> 9.1 <i>CIL</i> 9.2 <i>CIL</i> 9.5	sīn íllōs dēserant cum tú ar- ¹ quítenēns honc óino(m) plóirume(i) duonóro(m) óptumo(m) hec cēpit Córšica(m)	u: ˘ u ˘ u u u: ˘ u ˘ u u u: ˘ u ˘ u u u ˘ u ˘ u u u: ˘ u ˘ u u
§ A.2.3	u ˘ u u ˘ u		
SECURE	Naev. 32 Naev. 56 ¹³ Epigr. Naev. .4	rēs dívās ēdícit quo)d brūtī nec sátis oblītī sunt Rómae	u: ˘ u u ˘ u u: ˘ u u: ˘ u u ˘ u u: ˘ u
INSECURE	Andr. 4 codd. ¹⁴ Andr. 21 Buecheler ¹⁵ App. 2.1 Fleckeisen ¹⁶	neque_énim tē_oblítus nam díva Monētās amícum cum vídēs	u: ˘ u u: ˘ u u: ˘ u u ˘ u u ˘ u u: ˘ u
§ A.3	^ ˘ u o • u		
§ A.3.1	^ ˘ u ˘ u u		
SECURE	<i>CIL</i> 9.6	† áide(m) méretō	^ ˘ u ˘ u u

¹² Naev. 38.1: **simul atrocía** Blänsdorf, †*simul atrōcia* Morel; see Appendix D n20 on the colometry of the fragment.

¹³ Naev. 56: on the security of the whole line, see Appendix C n30.

¹⁴ Andr. 4: **neque enim** codd., so Warmington; *neque tamen* Morel on the basis of cod. Parisinus 7496, so Blänsdorf. Morel's reading requires the treatment of *néque* as a resolution, which results in a level clash: *néque tamen* | *tē_oblítus* || [†~:˘ u | ˘ u ˘ u ||]. Alternatively, *ne(c) tamen*.

¹⁵ Andr. 21: the surface second colon, for which see § A.1.1 above, casts doubt on the security of the whole line.

¹⁶ App. 2.1: the surface second colon, for which see Appendix B n11, casts doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which see Appendix C n14.

§ A.3.2		^ ' u u ' u	
SECURE	Andr. 15.2	ɾ dómum vēnísse	^ ' u u ' u
	Andr. 34.2	ɾ pórtant ad nāvís	^ ' u u : ' u
	Naev. 6.1	ɾ múlti mortálēs	^ ' u u ' u
	Naev. 6.3	ɾ íllic exíbant	^ ' u u ' u
	Naev. 8.2	ɾ mágnī- ¹ que Atlántēs	^ ' u : ' u ' u
	Naev. 9.2	ɾ frātre[m] Neptūnum	^ ' u u ' u
	Naev. 10	ɾ bélli- ¹ que ínértēs	^ ' u : ' u ' u
	Naev. 48	ɾ stābant in flústris	^ ' u u : ' u
	<i>CIL</i> 1531.1	ɾ ásper affléictā	^ ' u u ' u
<i>CIL</i> 1531.5	ɾ crēbrō condémnēs	^ ' u u ' u	
INSECURE	Andr. 20.1 L. Mueller ¹⁷	ɾ fléxū nōdōrum	^ ' u u ' u
	Naev. 23 codd. ¹⁸	ɾ Dítem vexārant	^ ' u u ' u
	Naev. 60 Havet ¹⁹	ɾ flámmam Volcāni	^ ' u u ' u
§ A.4		o • o u ' u	
§ A.4.1		' u ' u ' u	
SECURE	Andr. 3	tuō_óre súprā fūgit	: ' u : ' u ' u
	Andr. 16	rèligāre strúppis	' u ' u ' u
	Andr. 23	quém prōfāta Mórta_est	: ' u ' u ' u :
	Naev. 3.2	èxpediti- ¹ ōnem	' u ' u ' u
	Naev. 9.1	déum àdlo- ¹ cūtus	' u : ' u ' u
	Naev. 50.2 ²⁰	súōs pòpu- ¹ lāris	' u : ' u ' u
	<i>CIL</i> 1202.2	rèstitistei séedēs	' u ' u ' u
§ A.4.2		u ' u u ' u	
SECURE	Naev. 22	Prōsērpina púer	u ' u u ' u
	Naev. 51.1	fortíssimōs vírōs	u ' u u ' u

¹⁷ Andr. 20.1: see Appendix D n7 on the colometry and interpretation of the fragment.

¹⁸ Naev. 23: **vexārant** codd. ed. Krehl, Warmington, Mariotti; *vexerant* Leo, so Morel, Blänsdorf. *Ditem* here can perhaps be restored to *Di(vi)tem*, cf. {SANCTO-DEIVETI} (*CIL* 3190, 3rd c. BCE), but I see no metrical reason to do so.

¹⁹ Naev. 60: the first colon, for which see Appendix B n10, casts doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which see § C.7.3.

²⁰ Naev. 50.2: **populāris poplāris** Zander, Havet. See Appendix C n19 on the scansion of the line.

(§ A.4.2 continued)

	App. 1.2	ferōcia párijat	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	CIL 7.3	parí(s)suma fūit	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	CIL 9.1 ²¹	cō(n)séntiont R[ōmae	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	CIL 9.5 ²²	Aléria(m)- que úrbe(m)	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	CIL 10.4	tibe(i) útier vítā	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
INSECURE	Naev. 38.1 Mariotti ²³	prōicerent éxta	~ ~ ~ ~ ~

§ A.5 ○ ○ ○ ~ | ~ ~ ||

SECURE	Andr. 13	ápuđ nýmpham At- ¹ lántis	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	Andr. 16	túmque rémōs iússit	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	Andr. 18.1	námque núllum pé(i)ius	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	Andr. 18.2	quámde máre sáevom	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	Andr. 30	ígitur dēmum U- ¹ líxī	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	Andr. 34.2	símul duóna e- ¹ órum	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
	Naev. 9.2	súmmī déum régis	~ ~ ~ ~ ~
INSECURE	Naev. 55 Morel ²⁴	átque príus páriet	~ ~ ~ ~ ~

²¹ CIL 9.1: R[ōmae R[ōmāne(i) Kruschwitz. On the scansion of the line, see Appendix C n28.

²² CIL 9.5: Lewis & Short (s.v., 82) mark the quantities in the toponym as *Ālērīa* = Greek Ἀλερία. However, the name does not seem to occur in Latin outside this inscription and may have been so analyzed by Lewis & Short's sources on the basis of the Greek, which may itself be epigraphic, i.e. <ΑΛΕΡΙΑ>, with uncertain quantities (Courtney 1995: 222). With Lewis & Short's *Aléria(m)-*, the toponym must be scanned accentually as a dactyl with resolved first position, cf. || *cápitibus* | [|| ~ ~ ~ |] (Naev. 5.2), which results in acephaly of its colon. The toponym is given as *Alēria* by W. Hazlit (1851: 25 = <<http://www.ancientlibrary.com/gazetteer/0027.html>>), which I adopt, though the basis of Hazlit's notation is also unknown. Cole 1969: 39n49, for similar reasons, questions the quantity of A-. Though late, cf. *Achāia* [~ ~ ~] in da.hex. of elegiac couplet, e.g. Propertius, *Elegiae* 2.28.53 and Ovid, *Epistulae* 8.13, in da.hex., e.g. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.606 (OLD s.v. *Achāia*, 27), from Greek Ἀχαιία (LSJ s.v. Ἀχαιός, 295).

²³ Naev. 38.1: see Appendix D n20 for the colometry of the fragment.

²⁴ Naev. 55: on the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix C n20.

§ A.6		^ • o u ' u	
§ A.6.1		^ u ' u ' u	
SECURE	Naev. 32 Naev. 56 ²⁵ App. 2.2 CIL 9.2	ꝥ praedícit cástūs ꝥ ⟨sardāre quéunt⟩ ꝥ nec líbēns áequē ꝥ fūí(s)se víro(m)	^ u ' u ' u ^ u ' u ' u ^ u : ' u ' u ^ u ' u ' u
§ A.6.2		^ ' u u ' u	
SECURE	Andr. 24 ²⁶ Andr. 34.3 Naev. 6.2 Naev. 25.3 Naev. 44 Naev. 45 CIL 7.5	ꝥ vēnimus Círcae ꝥ ìnseri- ¹ núntur ꝥ strēnuī vírī ꝥ víctimam púlchram ꝥ ílicō sédent ꝥ óbviām Póenum ꝥ Sámnio(m) cēpit	^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u
INSECURE	Andr. 28.2 Havet ²⁷ Naev. 8.3 codd. ²⁸ Naev. 26.1 Merula ²⁹ Naev. 26.2 Mariotti ³⁰	ꝥ anc(u)lā- ¹ bātur ꝥ fílii Térrās ꝥ sústulit súās ꝥ grātulā- ¹ bātur	^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u ^ ' u u ' u

²⁵ Naev. 56: on the security of the whole line, see Appendix C n30.

²⁶ Andr. 24: *Circae Circāi* Warmington, so [l u ' u #], but I see no metrical reason to follow Warmington.

²⁷ Andr. 28.2: *anc(u)labātur* Havet, so Zander, L. Mueller, Leo, Lenchantin de Gubernatis; *anclābātur* Morel, Blänsdorf. See Appendix D n11 on the colometry of the fragment.

²⁸ Naev. 8.3: the security of the first colon, for which see Appendix B n7, casts doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which see § C.13.3 and Appendix C n22.

²⁹ Naev. 26.1: the security of the first colon, for which see Appendix B n17, casts doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which see § C.14.2; on the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n18.

³⁰ Naev. 26.2: on the reading and scansion of the whole line, see Appendix C n23; on the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n18.

APPENDIX B

PROPOSED SCANSIONS OF FIRST COLA IN LATIN SATURNIANS

Arranged by Type

§ B.0 Notes

Gathered in this appendix are the first cola, with their proposed scansions, of all Latin Saturnian verses used to formulate the meter proposed in ch.2. See the notes in § A.0. The order in which types are listed here follows the same order as they are discussed in ch.2. “4 | 3 ||” archetypes /• o • u | o • u ||/ are listed first, then “5 | 2 ||” /• o o • u | ~ u ||/, then “3 | 4 ||” /• o • u | o • u ||/.

§ B.1 • o • u | o • u ||

§ B.1.1 ~ u ~ u | ~ u ~ u ||

SECURE	Andr. 25 Naev. 3.2 Naev. 22 Naev. 25.3 Naev. 39.1 Naev. 51.2 App. 1.2 <i>CIL</i> 9.6 <i>CIL</i> 10.3 <i>CIL</i> 11.1 <i>CIL</i> 1531.4	tópper fácit hóminēs cónsul pártē ex- ¹ ércitī in príma incēdit Céreris ìmmolábāt áuream vírum práetōr ádvenīt mágnū stúprum pópulō né quid fráudis stúprīque dédet Tēmpes- ¹ tâtebus hónōs fáma vírtūsque mágnā(m) sàpi- ¹ éntiam dónu(m) dánunt Hércolei	~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u
INSECURE	Andr. 8 Zander ¹ Naev. 23 codd. ²	mātre(m) <prócī> prócítum mágnā dómum décoremque	~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u ~ u: ~ u ~ u ~ u

¹ Andr. 8: <proci> supplied by Zander, undoing the haplographic omission before *procitum*, so Morel;
... *mātre(m) | prócítum* || Blänsdorf, with lacuna.

§ B.1.2 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||

SECURE	Naev. 10 <i>CIL</i> 7.1	silvícolae hóminēs Cornélius Lúcius	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
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§ B.1.3 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ||

SECURE	Andr. 1	vírur̄ mīhī Camēna	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 7	túque mīhī nārrátō	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 11	pártim érrant nequínont	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 12	sáncta púer Sātúrnī	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 14	útrum génu- ¹ a _˘ amplóctēns	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 15.1	íbī mánēns sedētō	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 15.2	mē carpéntō vehéntem	˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 23	quándō díēs advéniet	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 24	tópper cítī ad áedīs	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 34.3	múlta áli- ¹ a _˘ in ísdem	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 1	nóvem Ióvis concórdēs	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 5.2	nóctū Tróiad exíbant	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 5.3	fléntēs ámbae _a - ¹ beúntēs	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 6.1	éōrum séctam sequúntur	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 6.2	múltī áli- ¹ ī _˘ Tróia	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 6.3	úbī fóráš cum áurō	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 9.1	sénex frētus pietátei	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 15	pátrem súum suprémum	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 18	éī vēnīt in méntem	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 20.1	blándē _˘ et dóctē percóntāt	˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 21	iámque _˘ eíus méntem fortúna	˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 24.2	sánctus Ióve prōgnátus	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 25.1	póstquam ávem aspéxit	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 25.2	sácrā _˘ in ménsā Penátīum	˘:˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 31	férunt púlchrās crētérrās	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 35	scópās átque verbénās	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 45	cénsēt éō ventúrum	˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 46	Sìciliénsēs pacíscit	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 48	ònerári- ¹ ae _˘ onústae	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

² Naev. 23: the second colon, for which see Appendix A n18, casts some doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which § C.7.1.

(§ B.1.3 continued)

Naev. 50.1 ³	sēsēque_ēī perīre	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 50.2	quám cum stúprō redīre_ad	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 52	plērique_ōmnēs subigúntur	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 54 ⁴	símul áljus aljúde	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 59	mágnae métūs tumúltus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 68	ápuđ empóri- ¹ um_in cámpō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Epigr. Naev. .1	immortáles mortáles	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Epigr. Naev. .2	flérent dívae Caménae	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Epigr. Naev. .3	ítaque póstquam est Órchī	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Metell. in Naev.	málum dábut Metéllī	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Incertorum 5	òccursátrix artíficum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 7.2	Gnáivōđ pátre prōgnátus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 7.3	quóius fórma virtútei	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 7.4	cónsol cénsōr aidílis	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 7.6	súbigit ómne(m) Loucána(m)	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 9.4	cónsol cénsōr aidílis	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 10.1	quei_ápice(m)_insígne Diális	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 10.2	mórs perfécit tya_ut éssent	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 10.4	quíbu ^s sei_in lóngā licuí(s)et	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 10.5	fáçile fácteis superá(s)sēs	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 10.6	quārē lúbēns tē_in grémiu(m)	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 10.7	térrā Públī prōgnátum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 11.2 ⁵	àe(vi)táte quom párvā	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 11.3	quóiei víta dēfécit	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 11.4	ís hīc sítus quei núnquam	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 11.5	ánnōs gnátus (vígíntī)	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 11.6	nē quairátis honóre(m)	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 1202.1	hó(c)c est fáctum monuméntum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

³ Naev. 50.1: *ei* Ursinus' correction of *i* codd. See Appendix C n2 on the scansion of the whole line.

⁴ Naev. 54: on the security of the whole line, see Appendix C n3.

⁵ CIL 11.2: *ae(vi)tate* scanned as a tetrasyllable is first suggested by Lindsay (1893b: 314), cf. *aevitās* (Twelve Tables). Also in literature (quoted from old laws?) at Varro, *Menippae* 544; Cicero, *De Legibus* 3.7.9; as late as Apuleius, *De Platone* 1.12 (OLD, s.v. *aetās*, 73).

(§ B.1.3 continued)

	<i>CIL</i> 1202.2	hóspe(s)s grātum est quom apúd meās	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	<i>CIL</i> 1202.3	béne rem gerās et váleās	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	<i>CIL</i> 1531.1	quód rē súā di(f)féidēns	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	<i>CIL</i> 1531.2	párēns tímēns heic vóvit	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	<i>CIL</i> 1531.3	décumā fáctā po(l)lóuctā	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	<i>CIL</i> 1531.5	sémol tē órānt sē vótī	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Tab. Glab.	fúndit fúgat prōstérnit	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Incertorum 6	súmmās ópēs quī régum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Incertorum 7	mágnūm númerum triúmphāt	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	Andr. 9 Guenther ⁶	⟨aut⟩ in Pýlum dēveniēns	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 8.3 codd. ⁷	Rúncus átque Purpúreus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 16 Scaliger ⁸	súmme déum rēgnátōr	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 24.1 codd. ⁹	déinde póllēns sagíttis	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 60 Havet ¹⁰	⟨tópper saevi⟩ capésset	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.1.4			˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
SECURE	Andr. 3	mea púera quid vérbī ex	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 6	argénteō po(l)lúbrō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 10	ibídemque vir súmmus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Andr. 19	Mercúrius cumque éō	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 8.2	bicórporēs Gigántēs	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	Naev. 42	supérbiter contéptim	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
	<i>CIL</i> 7.5	Taurásia(m) Cisáuna(m)	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

⁶ Andr. 9: ⟨aut⟩ supplied by Guenther, undoing the haplographic omission after *ait* immediately preceding the quotation, so Warmington. *dēveniēns dēveniēs* Leo with cod. Vaticanus 3369, so Morel. See § 1.1.3 and Appendix D n4 on the interpretation of the fragment.

⁷ Naev. 8.3: *atque* ac L. Mueller, so Morel and Blänsdorf. On the scansion of the line, see Appendix C n22.

⁸ Naev. 16: the second colon casts some doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which see Appendix C n5.

⁹ Naev. 24.1: *deinde dein* Merula, so Morel, Blänsdorf.

¹⁰ Naev. 60: ⟨topper saevi⟩ # ⟨... topper⟩ Blänsdorf. Havet's restoration undoes the haplographic omission in the manuscripts' *cnaevicapesset*.

§ B.2	• • • • • • • • • •		
SECURE	Andr. 18.2 Epigr. Naev. .4	vīrēs cúī sunt mágnae lóquier línguā Latínā	˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ ~ ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	App. 2.1 Fleckeisen ¹¹	obliscere míseriās	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ~ ˘ ˘
§ B.3	˘ ˘ • • • • • ˘ ˘		
§ B.3.1	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘		
SECURE	Andr. 17	símul ac lácrimās dē_ōre	˘ : ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	Naev. 26.2 Mariotti ¹²	rēx Amúlius dívīs	˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.3.2	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘		
SECURE	Naev. 37.3 ¹³	úrit populáTUR vástat	˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.4	˘ ˘ • • • • • ˘ ˘		
INSECURE	Andr. 4 codd. ¹⁴	súm Lāértie nóster	˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.5	• • • • • • • • • •		
§ B.5.1	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘		
SECURE	Naev. 8.1 Naev. 19 ¹⁵ Naev. 44 CIL 9.3	ínerant sígna_expréssa púlchraque ⟨vása⟩_ex áurō séptimum décimum_ánnum Lúciom Scīpióne(m)	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ : ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ : ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

¹¹ App. 2.1: **obliscere** Fleckeisen, so Morel; *obliviscere* Blänsdorf. On the scansion of the whole line, see Appendix C n15.

¹² Naev. 26.2: on the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix D n18.

¹³ Naev. 37.3: **populatur vastat vastat populatur** transposed by Thulin. On the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix D n19.

¹⁴ Andr. 4: the first colon, for which see Appendix A n15, casts some doubt on the security of the whole line, for the scansion of which see § C.5.

¹⁵ Naev. 19: ⟨vása⟩ supplied by Reichardt, so Strzelecki, Barchiesi, Blänsdorf; *pulchraque ... ex aurō* Morel with lacuna.

(§ B.5.1 continued)

INSECURE	Andr. 28.2 Havet ¹⁶ Naev. 26.1 Merula ¹⁷	vínūmque quód libābant mánūsq̄ue sūsum ad cáelum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.5.2			˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
SECURE	Naev. 61 ¹⁸	quíanam Sātúrniūm	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.5.3			˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
SECURE	App. 2.2 Incertorum 3	inimícus síes comméntus religéntem ésse opórtet	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	Andr. 20.1 L. Mueller ¹⁹	nexébant múlta intér sē	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.5.4			˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	Naev. 37.2 codd. ²⁰	Rōmānus exércitus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.6			○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
§ B.6.1			˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
SECURE	Andr. 13	fíliam Càlypsónem	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
§ B.6.2			˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
SECURE	Andr. 30 Naev. 62	cor fríxit práe pavóre sagíttis póllēns déa	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
INSECURE	Naev. 55 Morel ²¹	lucústa Lúcam bóvem	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

¹⁶ Andr. 28.2: see Appendix D n11 on the colometry of the fragment.

¹⁷ Naev. 26.1: *manūsq̄ue* Merula, so Morel et al.; *isque* Blänsdorf. On the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix D n18.

¹⁸ Naev. 61: regarded as the end of a fragmentary senarius or septenarius by Courtney 1993: 3. On the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix C n12.

¹⁹ Andr. 20.1: see Appendix D n7 on the colometry and interpretation of the fragment.

²⁰ Naev. 37.2: *Rōmānus* codd., marked for deletion by Blänsdorf; *exercitus Rōmānus* transposed by Thulin. On the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n19.

²¹ Naev. 55: on the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix C n20.

APPENDIX C

PROPOSED SCANSIONS OF LATIN SATURNIAN LINES

Arranged by Type

§ C.0 Notes

Gathered in this appendix are all Latin Saturnian lines, with their proposed scansion, to illustrate the discussion in § 2.2 and used to formulate the proposed meter. See the notes in § A.0. The order in which types are listed here follows the same order as they are discussed in ch.2. The cardinal “4|3||3|3” archetypes /•••◡|◡•◡||◡•◡|◡•◡/ are listed first, followed by the inverted archetypes “5|2||3|3” /◡◡•◡|◡◡||◡•◡|◡•◡/, “3|4||3|3” /◡•◡|◡•◡||◡•◡|◡•◡/, “3|3||4|3” /◡•◡|◡•◡||•◡•◡|◡•◡/, “3|3||5|2” /◡•◡|◡•◡||◡◡•◡|◡◡/, and “3|3||3|4” /◡•◡|◡•◡||◡•◡|◡•◡/. Types with acephalous second colon //◡◡◡◡|◡◡/ follow in parallel fashion, as do those with second-colon types from //◡◡◡◡|◡◡/.

§ C.1 •••◡|◡•◡||◡•◡|◡•◡

§ C.1.1 ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡||◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡

SECURE

CIL 1531.4 dōnu(m) dānunt | Hércolei || máxsumē | méretō

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡||◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡

§ C.1.2 ˈ u ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u

SECURE

- Naev. 39.1 vírum práetōr | ádvenīt || áuspīcāt | auspīcium ˈ u : ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u
 Naev. 51.2 mágnūm stúprum | pópulō || fīerī | per gēntis ˈ u : ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u : ˈ u
 CIL 10.3 hónōs fáma | vírtusque || glória at-¹ que ingénium ˈ u : ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u : u | u ˈ u
 CIL 11.1 mágna(m) sàpi-¹ éntiam || múltasque | virtútēs ˈ u : ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u

INSECURE

- Andr. 8 Zander¹
 mátrēm ⟨prócī⟩ | prócītum || plúrimī | vērūnt ˈ u : ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u

§ C.1.3 u ˈ u u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u

SECURE

- CIL 7.1 Cornélius | Lúcius || Scípiō | Barbátus u ˈ u u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u

§ C.1.4 ˈ u ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u u | ˈ u u

SECURE

- Naev. 59 mágnae métūs | tumúltus || péctora | póssidet ˈ u : ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u u | ˈ u u
 CIL 7.2 Gnáivōd pátre | prōgnátus || fórtis vir | sápiēnsque ˈ u : ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u : u | u ˈ u
 CIL 10.2 mórs perfécit | tūa ut éssent || ómnia | brévia ˈ u : ˈ u | u : ˈ u || ˈ u u | ˈ u u
 CIL 10.6 quárē lúbēns | tē in grémiu(m) || Scípiō | récipit ˈ u : ˈ u | u : u || ˈ u u | ˈ u u
 CIL 1202.1 hó(c)c est fáctum | monuméntum || Máarcō Cai-¹ cíliō ˈ u : ˈ u | u : u || ˈ u u | ˈ u u

§ C.1.5 ˈ u ˈ u | ˈ u u || u ˈ u | u ˈ u

SECURE

- Andr. 25 tópper fáctit | hómīnēs || ut príus | fuérunt ˈ u : ˈ u | ˈ u u || u : ˈ u | u ˈ u

¹ Andr. 8: on ⟨proci⟩, see Appendix B n1.

§ C.1.6

˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 1	vīrum mīhi Camēna ínsece versūtum	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Andr. 7	tūque mīhi nārrātō ómnia disértim	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Andr. 11	pártim érrant nequínont Gráeciam redíre	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Andr. 12	sáncta púer Sātúrnī fília rēgína	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Andr. 14	útrum génu- ¹ a _u amplóctēns vírginem órāret	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Andr. 15.1	íbī mánēns sedētō dónicum vidēbis	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 1	nóvem Ióvis concórdēs fíliae soróres	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 5.2	nóctū Tróíad exíbant cápítibus opértis	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 5.3	fléntēs ámbae _a - ¹ beúntēs lácrimīs cum múltis	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 15	pátrem súum suprémum óptimum appéllat	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 18	éi vēnīt in méntem hóminum fortúnās	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 21	iámque _e íus méntem fortúna fécerat quiétem	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 24.2	sánctus Ióve prōgnátus Pýthius Apóllō	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 25.2	sácrā _i n ménsā Penátium órdine pōnúntur	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 31	férunt púlchrās crētérās áureās lepístās	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 35	scópās átque verbénās ságmina sūmpsérunt	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 46	Sìciliénsēs pacíscit óbsidēs ut réddant	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 50.1 ²	sésēque _e í períre mávolunt íbídē	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 54 ³	símul álius aljúnde rūmi)tant inté _r (sē)	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Naev. 68	ápud empóri- ¹ um _i n cámpō hóstium prō móene	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Epigr. Naev. .2	flérent dívae Caménae Náevium poétam	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Epigr. Naev. .3	ítaque póstquam est Órchī tráditus thēsáurō	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Metell. in Naev.	málum dábunt Metélli Náeviō poétae	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Incertorum 5	òccursátrix artíficūm pérdita spintúrnix	˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

² Naev. 50.1: on *ei*, see Appendix B n3. *I* codd. requires scanning the first colon as # *sésēque* | *períre* || [|| ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ||], cf. § C.15.

³ Naev. 54: lacunae in Festus restored by C. O. Mueller on the basis of Paul the Deacon.

(§ C.1.6 continued)

<i>CIL</i> 7.6	súbigit ómne(m) Loucāna(m) ópsidēs- ¹ que abdóucit	~:u:u u'u 'uu'u'u
<i>CIL</i> 10.1	quei ápice(m) insigne Diālis flāminis ge(s)sístei	:u:u'u u'u 'uu u'u
<i>CIL</i> 10.5	fácile fácteis superá(s)sēs glóriam ma(i)iórum	~:u:u w'u 'uu u'u
<i>CIL</i> 10.7	térrā Públi prōgnátum Públiō Cornéli	'u:u u'u 'uu u'u
<i>CIL</i> 11.2 ⁴	àe(vi)tāte quom párvā pó(s)sidēt hoc sáxsum	'u'u u:u 'uu u:u
<i>CIL</i> 11.4	ís hīc sítus quei núnquam víctus est virtútei	:u:u'u u:u 'u:u u'u
<i>CIL</i> 1202.3	béne rem gérās et váleās dórmiās sine qúrā	~:u:u'u u:~ 'uu w:u
<i>CIL</i> 1531.2	párēns tímēns heic vóvit vótō hōc solútō	'u:u'u u:u 'u:u u'u
<i>CIL</i> 1531.3	décumā fáctā po(l)lóuctā léibereis lubéntēs	~:u:u'u u'u 'uu u'u
Tab. Glab. Incertorum 6	fúndit fúgat prōstérnit máximās legiōnēs	'u:u'u u'u 'uu w'u
Incertorum 7	súmmās ópēs quī régum régiās refrégit	'u:u'u u:u 'uu u'u
	mágnum númerum triúmphāt hóstibus dēvíctis	'u:~u u'u 'uu u'u
INSECURE		
Naev. 16 Scaliger ⁵	súmme déum rēgnátōr quíanam genuísti	'u:u'u u'u 'uu w'u
Naev. 24.1 codd. ⁶	déinde póllēns sagíttis ínclutus arquítēnēs	'u:u'u u'u 'uu u~u

⁴ *CIL* 11.2: on *ae(vi)tāte*, see Appendix B n5.

⁵ Naev. 16: **genuisti** Scaliger's correction undoes the diplography in *genusisti* codd., so Merula, Lindsay; *genus (ōd)isti* Leo, so Morel, Blänsdorf. A lost verse contained the object of the verb, which need not be restored here. Moreover, Leo's restoration results in a line with suspicious resolution and caesural bridge:

súmme déum | rēgnátōr || quíanam génus (ō-¹ d)ísti

⁶ Naev. 24.1: on *deinde*, see Appendix B n9.

§ C.1.7 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

- Andr. 6⁷ argénteō | po(1)lūbrō || áureō | eclūtrō ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 Andr. 19 Mercúrius | cumque_éō || fílius | Lātónās ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 Naev. 42 supérbiter | contéptim || cónterit | legiōnēs ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.1.8 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

- Naev. 20.1 blándē_et dóctē | percóntāt || Aenēa | quō páctō ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 Naev. 25.1 póstquam ávem | aspéxit || in témplō | Anchísa ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 Naev. 52 plérique_óm̄nēs | subigúntur || sub ūnum | iūd̄fcium ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 Epigr. Naev. .1
 immortálēs | mortálēs || sī fóret | fās flére ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 CIL 7.4 cónsol cénsōr | aidílis || quei fūit | apúd vōs ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 CIL 9.4 cónsol cénsōr | aidílis || hic fūet | a[púd vōs ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 CIL 11.3 quóiei víta | dēfécit || nōn hónōs | honōre(m) ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 CIL 11.5 ánnōs gnátus | (vīgíntī) || is lóceis | mandátus ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
 CIL 11.6 né quairátis | honōre(m) || quei m̄nu^s sit | mandátus ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

INSECURE

- Andr. 9 Guenther⁸
 ⟨aut⟩ in Pýlum | dēveniēns || aut íbī | omméntāns ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.1.9 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

- Andr. 10⁹ ibídemque | vir súm̄mus || adprím̄us | Patróclus ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

⁷ Andr. 6: see Appendix D n2 on *eclūtrō*.

⁸ Andr. 9: on ⟨*aut*⟩ and *dēveniēns*, see Appendix B n6; on *aut íbī*, Appendix A n11; on the interpretation of the fragment, § 1.1.3 and Appendix D n4.

⁹ Andr. 10: on *Patroclus*, see Appendix A n10.

§ C.2 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 17 símul ac lácrimās | dē_ōre || noegēō | dētērsit ˘:˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
 Naev. 37.3¹⁰ ūrit populātur | vástat || rem_hóstium | concínnat ˘:˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘:˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.3 ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.3.1 ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Naev. 8.1 ínerant | sígna_expréssa || quómo_odo | Títānī ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
 Naev. 19¹¹ púlchraque | <vása>_ex áurō || véstemque | citrósam ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
CIL 9.3 Lúciom | Scípíone(m) || fílios | Barbāti ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.3.2 ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Naev. 61¹² quíanam | Sātúrnum || pópulum | pepulísti ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.3.3 ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

INSECURE

Naev. 37.2 codd.¹³ Rómānus | exércitus || ínsulam | intégram ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.3.4 ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Incertorum 3 religéntem | ésse_opórtet || religiósus | nē fúās ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘:˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘:˘

¹⁰ Naev. 37.3: see Appendix B n13 on *populatur vastat*; Appendix D n19 on the colometry of the fragment.
¹¹ Naev. 19: on <*vāsa*>, see Appendix B n15.
¹² Naev. 61: see Appendix B n18 for the first colon and Appendix A n5 for the second. I see no metrical reason to follow Courtney's scansion or colometry.
¹³ Naev. 37.2: on *Rōmānus exercitus*, see Appendix B n20; on *integram*, Appendix A n9; on the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n19.

§ C.4 ○ ● ◡ | ○ ● ◡ || ● ○ ● ◡ | ○ ● ◡

§ C.4.1 ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡

SECURE

Epigr. Naev. .4

oblíti | sunt Rōmae || lóquier línguā | Latīnā ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡: ◡ || ~ ◡: ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡

§ C.4.2 ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡

INSECURE

App. 2.1 Fleckeisen¹⁴

amícum | cum vídēs || obliscere | míseriās ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡: ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ~ ◡ ◡

§ C.5 ○ ● ◡ | ○ ● ◡ || ◡ ◡ ○ ● ◡ | ◡ ◡

INSECURE

Andr. 4 codd.¹⁵

neque_énim | tē_oblítus || súm Lāértie | nóster ◡: ◡ ◡ | ◡: ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡: ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡

§ C.6 ○ ● ◡ | ○ ● ◡ || ○ ● ◡ | ● ○ ● ◡

SECURE

Naev. 62

cum tú ar-¹ quítenēns || sagítis | póllēns déa ◡: ◡: ◡¹ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡: ◡: ◡

§ C.7 ● ○ ● ◡ | ○ ● ◡ || ^ ◡ ◡ | ○ ● ◡

§ C.7.1 ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ^ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡

SECURE

CIL 9.6

dédet Tēmpes-¹ tátebus || † áide(m) | méretō ◡: ◡: ◡¹ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ^ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡

INSECURE

Naev. 23 codd.¹⁶

mágnam dómum | décoremque || † Dítem | vexārant
◡: ◡: ◡ ◡ | ~ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ^ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡

¹⁴ App. 2.1: on *obliscere*, see Appendix B n11. Blänsdorf's reading with *obliviscere* results in a hypermetrical line.

¹⁵ Andr. 4: on *neque enim*, see Appendix A n15.

¹⁶ Naev. 23: on *Ditem vexarant*, see Appendix A n18.

§ C.7.2 ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

SECURE

Naev. 10 silvícolae | hóminēs || & bélli-¹ que_inértēs ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

§ C.7.3 ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

SECURE

Andr. 15.2 mē carpéntō | vehéntem || & dómum | vēnísse ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

Naev. 6.1 ēōrum séctam | sequúntur || & múlti | mortálēs ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

Naev. 6.3 úbi fóráš | cum áurō || & íllic | exíbant ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

Naev. 48 ònerári-¹ ae_onústae || & stábant | in flústris ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

CIL 1531.1 quód rē súā | di(f)féidēns || & áasper | affléictā ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

CIL 1531.5 sémol tē_órant | sē vótī || & crébrō | condémnēs ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

INSECURE

Naev. 60 Havet¹⁷

⟨tópper sáevi⟩ | capésset || & flámmam | Volcáni¹ ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

§ C.7.4 ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

SECURE

Naev. 8.2 bicórporeš | Gigántēs || & mágni-¹ que_Atlántēs ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

§ C.8 ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

INSECURE

Andr. 20.1 L. Mueller¹⁸

nexébant | múlta_in_tér sē || & fléxū | nōdórum ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

§ C.9 ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

§ C.9.1 ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

SECURE

Naev. 3.2 cónsul pártē_ex-¹ érciti_in || èxpediti-¹ ònem ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡ || ◡◡◡◡ | ◡◡◡◡

¹⁷ Naev. 60: on ⟨*topper saevi*⟩, see Appendix B n10.

¹⁸ Andr. 20.1: see Appendix D n7 on the colometry and interpretation of the fragment.

§ C.9.2 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 23 quándō díēs | advéniet || quém prōfāta | Mórta_{est}

Naev. 9.1 sénex frētus | pietātei || déum àdlo-¹ cūtus

Naev. 50.2¹⁹ quám cum stúprō | redíre_{ad} || súōs pòpu-¹ lāris

CIL 1202.2 hóspe(s) grātum_{est} | quom_{apud} meās || rēstitístei | séedēs

§ C.9.3 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 3 meā púera | quid vérbī_{ex} || tūō_{ore} súprā | fūgit

§ C.9.4 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

SECURE

Naev. 22 príma_{incēdit} | Céreris || Prōsérpina | púer

App. 1.2 né quid fráudis | stúprīque || ferócia | párijat

§ C.9.5 ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

SECURE

CIL 7.3 quóius fórna | virtūtei || parí(s)suma | fūit

CIL 10.4 quíbu^s sei_{in} lóngā | licuí(s)set || tibe(i)_{ut}ier | vítā

§ C.10 ○ ○ ○ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ○ ○ ○ ˘ | ○ ○ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 18.2 quámde máre | sáevom || vírēs cúī | sunt mágnae

¹⁹ Naev. 50.2: on *populāris*, see Appendix A n20. Without anaptyxis, as Zander reads, the line can be scanned as:

quám cum stúprō | redíre || ad súōs | poplāris

but the final short vowel of *redíre* in hiatus before unaccented *ad* would be unique in the corpus.

§ C.11 ○○○○|´○∥○○○|○○○

§ C.11.1 ´○○○|´○∥´○○○|´○○○

SECURE

Andr. 13 ápuḍ nýmphaḿ At-¹ lántis ∥ fíliam | Càylypsónem

´○:´○|´○∥´○○○|´○○○

§ C.11.2 ´○○○|´○∥´○○○|´○○○

SECURE

Andr. 30 ígitur démuḿ U-¹ líxī ∥ cor fríxit | práe pavóre

´○:´○|´○∥´○○○|´○○○

INSECURE

Naev. 55 Morel²⁰

átque príus | páriet ∥ lucústa | Lúcam bóvem

´○:´○|´○○∥´○○○|´○○○

§ C.12 ●○○○|○○○∥∧●○○○|´○

§ C.12.1 ´○○○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

SECURE

Naev. 25.3 ìmmolábāt | áuream ∥ ꝥ víctimam | púlchram

´○○○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

§ C.12.2 ´○○○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

SECURE

Andr. 24²¹ tópper cíti | ad áedīs ∥ ꝥ vénimus | Círcae

´○:´○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

Andr. 34.3 múlta áli-¹ a_u in ísdem ∥ ꝥ ìnseri-¹ núntur

´○:´○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

Naev. 6.2 múlti áli-¹ ī ē Tróia ∥ ꝥ strénuī | víri

´○:´○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

Naev. 45 cénsēt éō | ventúrum ∥ ꝥ óbviam | Póenum

´○:´○|´○○∥∧´○○○|´○

²⁰ Naev. 55: **pariet lucusta pariet** / *lucusta* Blänsdorf. Given Andr. 13 and 30, the fragment can be regarded as a complete single verse.

²¹ Andr. 24: on *Circae*, see Appendix A n26.

(§ C.12.2 continued)

INSECURE

Naev. 8.3 codd.²²

Rúncus átque | Purpúreus || § fílii | Térrās

§ C.12.3

SECURE

CIL 7.5

Taurásia(m) | Cisáuna(m) || § Sámnio(m) | cēpit

§ C.13

INSECURE

Naev. 26.2 Mariotti²³

rēx Amúlius | dívīs || § grātulā- | bātur

§ C.14

§ C.14.1

SECURE

App. 2.2

inimícus | síes comméntus || § nec líbēns | áequē

§ C.14.2

SECURE

Naev. 44

séptimum | décimum ánnum || § ílicō | sédent

²² Naev. 8.3: on *atque*, see Appendix B n7. With L. Mueller's correction, the line can be scanned:

Rúncus ac | Purpúreus || § fílii | Térrās

²³ Naev. 26.2: **dívīs grātulābatur grātulābatur dívīs** codd., transposed with *<-que>* supplied by L. Mueller, so Morel, Warmington, Marmorale, Strzelecki, Blänsdorf. On the colometry of the whole fragment, see Appendix D n18.

(§ C.14.2 continued)

INSECURE

Andr. 28.2 Havet²⁴

vínūmque | quód libābant || ꝛ anc(u)lā-¹ bātur ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

Naev. 26.1 Merula²⁵

mānūsque | sūsum ad cáelum || ꝛ sústulit | súās ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

§ C.15 || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

INSECURE

Andr. 21 Buecheler²⁶

nam díva | Monétās || fília_(e)m | dócuit || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.16 || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 18.1 námque núllum | pé(i)ius || mácerāt | hūmánūm || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.17 || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

SECURE

Andr. 34.2 símul duóna_e-¹ órum || ꝛ pórtant | ad nāvīs || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

Naev. 9.2 súmmī déum | rēgis || ꝛ frátrem | Neptūnum || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘

§ C.18 || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

§ C.18.1 || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

INSECURE

Naev. 38.1 Mariotti²⁷

símul ā-¹ trócia || próicerent | éxta || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘

²⁴ Andr. 28.2: on *anc(u)lābātur*, see Appendix A n27; on the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n11.

²⁵ Naev. 26.1: on *manūsque*, see Appendix B n17; on the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n18.

²⁶ Andr. 21: on *filia_(e)m*, Appendix A n1.

²⁷ Naev. 38.1: on *simul ātrōcia*, see Appendix A n12; on the colometry of the fragment, Appendix D n20.

APPENDIX D

PROPOSED SCANSIONS OF LATIN SATURNIAN LINES

Arranged by Text

§ D.0 Notes

Gathered in this appendix are all the Latin Saturnian verses used to formulate the meter proposed in ch.2 and referred to frequently in this study. The verses, with their proposed scansions, are arranged by text. For the sake of completeness, I include here corrupt and partial lines. I extend the use of the *obelus* or dagger (†), which conventionally signals corrupt words or sequences of words, to mark corrupt verses (Andr. 22, Naev. 43, and Elog. Cal.). Partial lines the length of at least two quarter-verses are included and marked with a “double obelus” (‡). See the notes in § A.0.

Literary verses are listed first in the following order: fragments from Andronicus’ and Naevius’ epics, verses from uncertain works of Naevius, Naevius’ epitaph, Appius Claudius Caecus’ sayings, the Metelli’s invective verse, and anonymous lines. Inscriptional poems with extant stones follow and are ordered by their *CIL* (vol.1, 2nd ed.) number, then those verses quoted by literary authors from inscriptions now lost. The dedication of the Faliscan Cooks and other isolated verses can be found in ch.3 (see the *Comparatio Numerorum et Index Locorum*).

- § D.1 **Livius Andronicus, *Odysseia* (Andr.)**
- Andr. 1 vírum míhī | Caména || ínsece | versútum ˈ u: ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u
sing to me, O Camena, of the cunning man
- ‡Andr. 2 páter | nóster | Sātúrnī || fílie | ... ˈ u: ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u u | ...
our father, son of Saturn
- Andr. 3 meā púera | quid vérbī ex || tūō ōre súprā | fūgit u: ˈ u u | u: ˈ u || ˈ u: ˈ u | ˈ u
my child, what sort of word has flown up out your mouth?
- Andr. 4 codd.¹
 neque énim | tē oblítus || sūm Lāértie | nóster u: ˈ u | ˈ u ˈ u || ˈ u ˈ u u | ˈ u
for I have not forgotten you either, our son of Laertes
- ‡Andr. 5 ínque mánum | surémit || hástam ... ˈ u: ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u: ...
and into (his) hand he took up a spear
- Andr. 6² argénteō | po(l)lúbrō || áureō | eclútrō u ˈ u u | u ˈ u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u
with a silver wash-basin, a golden washing vessel
- Andr. 7 túque míhi | nārrátō || ómnia | disértim ˈ u: ˈ u | u ˈ u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u
and tell me everything eloquently
- Andr. 8 Zander³
 mātrem (prócī) | prócítum || plúrimī | vēnērunt ˈ u: ˈ u | ˈ u u || ˈ u u | u ˈ u
very many suitors came to sue for (his) mother

¹ Andr. 4: on *neque enim*, see Appendix A n15.

² Andr. 6: **eclútrō** Morel, clearly from Greek ἔκλουτρον; *eglūtrō* codd., so Blänsdorf.

³ Andr. 8: on *(proct)*, see Appendix B n1.

(§ D.1 continued)

Andr. 9 Guenther⁴

⟨aut⟩ in Pýlum | dēvēniēns || aut íbī | omméntāns

˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘

either coming to Pylos or staying right there

Andr. 10⁵

ibídemque | vir sūmmus || adprímus | Patróclus

˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘

and in that same place the greatest man, most excellent Patroclus

Andr. 11

pártim érrant | nequíñont || Gráeciam | redíre

˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘

some wander, they are unable to return to Greece

Andr. 12

sáncta púer | Sātúrnī || fília | rēgína

˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘

holy child, Saturn's daughter, the queen

Andr. 13

ápud nýmpham At-¹ lántis || fíliam | Càlypsōnem

˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘

at the house of the nymph Calypso, Atlas's daughter

⁴ Andr. 9: on ⟨aut⟩ and *dēveniēns*, see Appendix B n6; on *aut ibī*, Appendix A n11. See also § 1.1.3. The verse translates Hom. *Od.* 2.317:

ἢ ἐ Πύλουδ' ἔλθων ἢ αὐτοῦ τῶδ' ἐνὶ δῆμῳ
either coming to Pylos or right here in this country

Leo prefers Hom. *Od.* 1.284–285:

πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Πύλον ἔλθῃ καὶ εἵρεο Νέστορα δῖου
κέιθεν δὲ Σπάρτηνδε παρὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαου

*first come to Pylos and ask divine Nestor,
and from there to Sparta to fair Menelaos*

and so reads the line as follows, in my scansion:

in Pýlum | dēvēniēns || ⟨h⟩aut íbī | omméntāns

˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘ || ˘˘˘˘˘ | ˘˘˘˘˘

you will come to Pylos, by no means staying there

denying that *ibī* could render *αὐτοῦ*. However, it is entirely possible that Andronicus was indeed using *ibī* in a non-standard sense to translate *αὐτοῦ* “‘just here or just there, Hom., etc.’” (*LSJ* s.v. *αὐτοῦ*, 283). Cf. *ibī manēns* (Andr. 15).

⁵ Andr. 10: on *Patroclus*, see Appendix A n10.

(§ D.1 continued)

- Andr. 14 útrum génu-¹ a_u amplóctēns || vírginem | ōráret ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
whether he might beseech the maiden, embracing her knees
- Andr. 15
 .1 íbī mánēns | sedētō || dónicum | vidēbis ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
remaining there stay until you see
- .2 mé carpéntō | vehéntem || † dómum | vēnisse ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ^ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
me come home riding by carriage
- Andr. 16 túmque rémōs | iússit || rèligáre | strúppīs || ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
and then he ordered them to fasten the oars with straps
- Andr. 17 símul ac lácrimās | dē ōre || noegéō | dētérsit ~: ˘: ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
at once he (Ulixes) wiped tears from his face with his tunic
- Andr. 18
 .1 námque núllum | pé(i)ius || mácerāt | hūmānum || ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
for no worse thing wears a human down
- .2 quámde máre | sáevom || vírēs cúĭ | sunt mágnae ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘
than the savage sea. Though he have great strength,
- ‡ .3⁶ tópper <...> | cōnfríngent || ìnportúnae | úndae ˘ ˘: ... | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
right then cruel waves will wreck (him) <...>
- Andr. 19 Mercúrius | cumque_éō || fílius | Lātónās ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘: ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Mercury and with him Latona's son

⁶ Andr. 18.3: **topper** <...> **cōnfríngent** (*tamen*) *topper cōnfríngent* Leo, Diehl, Morel; # *topper cōnfríngent* Blänsdorf. All other occurrences of *topper* are verse-initial and initial in “4 | 3 ||” cola (Andr. 24, 25; Naev. 60).

(§ D.1 continued)

†Andr. 22 Morel⁹

quóniam | audívi || † páucis | gāvīsī || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ^ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
when I heard, I rejoiced little

Andr. 23 quándō díēs | advéniet || quém prōfāta | Mórta_{est}

ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ
when the day comes which Morta has foretold

Andr. 24¹⁰ tópper cītī | ad áedīs || † vēnimus | Círcae

ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ^ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
right then we came quickly to the house of Circe

Andr. 25 tópper fácit | hóminēs || ut príus | fuérunt

ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
right then she makes them men as they were before

‡Andr. 26 ... | parcéntēs || práemodum | ...

ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ...
sparing beyond measure

‡Andr. 27 véstis púlla | purpúrea || ámpla ...

ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ ...
a garment white, bright, ample

Andr. 28¹¹

‡ .1 ... | cárnis
meat

... | ˊ ˊ

.2 Havet vínúmque | quód libábant || † ànc(u)lā-¹ bátur

ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ || ^ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
and wine was served, which they began to pour in libation

⁹ Andr. 22: † páucis Blänsdorf without obelus. As is, the verse would be the sole instantiation of the /ll o • ˊ | o • ˊ || ^ ˊ ˊ | o • ˊ / archetype (cf. §§ C.17 and C.20), which is predicted to be metrical. However, the corrupt third quarter-verse casts doubt on the shape of the whole line, so I have excluded the fragment from consideration.

¹⁰ Andr. 24: on *Circae*, see Appendix A n26.

¹¹ Andr. 28: on *anc(u)lābātur*, see Appendix A n27. Regarded as a single verse by Warmington, which is predicted to be unmetrical. It is also possible to read the fragment as two partial lines, obviating the need to adopt Havet's reading:

... cárnis || vínúmque | quód libábant
 ànc(l)ābātur | ...

... ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
 ˊ ˊ ˊ | ...

but cf. Andr. 34.3 and Naev. 26.2 Mariotti with verse-final pentasyllabic deponent forms.

(§ D.1 continued)

- ‡Andr. 29 ... dēque | mánibus || dextrābus | ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ...
and from their right hands
- Andr. 30 ígitur dēmum U-¹ líxī || cor fríxīt | práe pavóre ~ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
thus at last did Ulixes' heart grow cold from fear
- ‡Andr. 31 ... atque escās | habémus || menciónem | ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ...
and of food we take thought
- Andr. 34
 .2 símul duóna e-¹ órum || ˙ pórtant | ad nāvīs || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
at the same time they carry their goods to the ships
- .3 múlta áli-¹ a in ísdem || ˙ inseri-¹ núnTUR ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
many other things are placed in them
- ‡Andr. 36a¹² ... | vēcórde et || máleficā | vacérrā ... | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ~ ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
senseless and wicked post
- ‡Andr. 37 quae haec dáps est | quī fēstus || díēs ... ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ ...
what banquet is this, what festive day
- or quae haec dáps est | quī fēstus || díēs ... ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ ...
 or quae haec daps est quī fēstus | díēs ... ˊ ˊ ˊ — ˊ ˊ ˊ — ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ˊ ...

§ D.2 **Gnaeus Naevius, *Carmen Belli Punici* (Naev.)**

- Naev. 1 nóvem Ióvis | concórdēs || fíliae | sorórēs ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
Jupiter's nine daughters, like-minded sisters
- Naev. 3
 ‡ .1 ... || Mánius | Válerius ... || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ~ ˊ ˊ ˊ
Manius Valerius
- .2 cónsul pártē ex-¹ ércitī in || èxpediti-¹ ónem ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ || ˊ ˊ ˊ | ˊ ˊ ˊ
the consul led part of the army on a
- ‡ .3 dūcit ... ˊ ˊ ˊ ...
campaign

¹² Andr. 36a: unless the fragment comes from a comic work.

(§ D.2 continued)

Naev. 5

- ‡ .1 ... || ambōrum | uxōrēs ... || ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡
the wives of both
- .2 nóctū Tróiād | exībant || cápitibus | opértīs ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ~ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡
left Troy by night, with heads covered
- .3 fléntēs ámbae_a-¹ beúntēs || lácrimīs | cum múltīs ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡
both weeping with many tears as they departed

Naev. 6

- .1 éōrum séctam | sequúntur || † múltī | mortálēs ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡
many mortals follow their path
- .2 múltī áli-¹ ī Tróiā || † strénuī | vírī ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
many other men of vigor from Troy
- .3 úbī fóras | cum áurō || † íllic | exībant ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
when they went out from there with gold

Naev. 8

- .1 ínérant | sígna_expréssa || quómo- | Titáni ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
there were on (it) images portrayed how Titans,
- .2 bicórporēs | Gigántēs || † mágnī-¹ que Atlántēs ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
two-bodied Giants and great Atlases
- .3 codd.¹³ Rúncus átque | Purpúreus || † fílii | Térrās ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
Runcus and Purpureus, Earth's sons

Naev. 9

- .1 sénex frétus | pietátei || déum àdlo-¹ cútus ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
the old man, relying on dutifulness, addressed the god
- .2 súmmī déum | régis || † frátrem | Neptúnūm ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡
Neptune, brother of the supreme king of the gods,
- ‡ .3 règnátōrem | márum || ... ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ || ...
ruler of the seas

¹³ Naev. 8.3: on *atque*, see Appendix B n7. On the scansion of the line, see Appendix C n22.

(§ D.2 continued)

- Naev. 10 silvícolae | hóminēs || † bélli-¹ que inértēs ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
people dwelling in the woods and unskilled in war
- Naev. 15 pátre[m] súde[m] | supré[m]um || óptumum | appéllat ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
calls his/her father, supreme (and) best
- Naev. 16 Scaliger¹⁴
súmme déum | rēgnātōr || quíanam | genuísti ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
O supreme ruler of the gods, why have you begotten
- Naev. 18 éi vēnit | in méntem || hóminum | fortúnās ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
it comes/came into his mind that people's fortunes
- Naev. 19¹⁵ púlchraque | <vása> ex áurō || véstemque | citrósam ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
and fine <vessels> (made) of gold and a garment smelling of citrus
- Naev. 20
.1 blándē et dóctē | percóntāt || Aenéa | quō páctō ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
with charm and cunning she inquires earnestly how Aeneas
- ‡.2 Tróiam úrbem | líquerit || ... ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ...
left the city (of) Troy
- Naev. 21 iámque eíus méntem | fortúna || fécerat | quiétem ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
and fortune had already made his mind calm
- Naev. 22 príma incédit | Céreris || Prósérpina | púer ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Proserpina, Ceres' child, first stepped
- Naev. 23 codd.¹⁶
mágnam dómum | décoremque || † Dítem | vexárant ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
they had traveled to Dis, to (his) great and elegant home

¹⁴ Naev. 16: see Appendix C n5 on *genuisti* and the scansion of the line.

¹⁵ Naev. 19: on <*vása*>, see Appendix B n15.

¹⁶ Naev. 23: on *Ditem vexarant*, see Appendix A n18.

(§ D.2 continued)

Naev. 24

- .1 codd.¹⁷ déinde póllēns | sagíttīs || ínclutus | arquítēnēns
then mighty with arrows, renowned bow-bearer
- .2 sánctus Ióve | prōgnátus || Pýthius | Apóllō
holy, sprung from Jupiter, Pythian Apollo

Naev. 25

- .1 póstquam ávem | aspéxīt || in témplō | Anchísa
after Anchises observed the bird in the temple
- .2 sácra in ménsā | Penátium || órđine | pōnúntur
the sacrifices are set in order on the altar of (his) household gods
- .3 ìmmolábāt | áuream || ꝥ víctimam | púlchram
he began to offer a golden victim, a fine one

Naev. 26¹⁸

- .1 Merula mánūsq̄ue | sūsum ad cáelum || ꝥ sústulit | súās
and he raised his hands up to heaven
- .2 Mariotti
 réx Amúlius | dívīs || ꝥ grātulā-¹ bātur
(and) King Amulius gave thanks to the gods

Naev. 31 férunt púlchrās | crētérrās || áureās | lepístās
they bring fine mixing bowls, golden goblets

Naev. 32 rēs dívās | ēdícit || ꝥ praedícit | cástūs
he declares divine matters, prescribes rules of chastity

Naev. 35 scópās átque | verbénās || ságmina | sūmpsérunt
shoots and foliage they took up as sacred tufts

¹⁷ Naev. 24.1: on *deinde*, see Appendix B n9.

¹⁸ Naev. 26: *suās* / *rēx Amúlius suās rēx* / *Amúlius* Blänsdorf. On *manūsq̄ue*, see Appendix B n17; on *dívīs grātulābātur*, Appendix C n23.

(§ D.2 continued)

Naev. 37 ¹⁹		
‡ .1 Thulin	... tránsit Mélitam <i>the Roman army</i>	... ' u ' u u
or	... tránsit Mélitam	... ' u ~ u
.2 codd.	Rōmānus exércitus ínsulam intégram <i>crosses to Malta; the untouched isle</i>	' u u ' u u u ' u u ' u u
.3	úrit populātur vástat rem hóstium concínnat <i>it burns, devastates, lays waste; the enemy's wealth it collects</i>	' u ; ~ u u ' u ' u u ' u u
Naev. 38 Mariotti		
.1 ²⁰	símul a- ¹ trócia próicerent éxta <i>as soon as they cast out the bloody entrails</i>	' u ; u ' u u u ' u u ' u
‡ .2	minìstrā- ¹ tórēs ... <i>the attendants</i>	u ~ u ' u ; ...
or	mìni ¹ trātórēs ...	~ u ' u ...
Naev. 39		
.1	vírum práetōr ádvenīt áuspiciāt auspícium <i>the leader of the men comes, he takes favorable</i>	' u ; ' u ' u u ' u u u ~ u
‡ .2	prósperum <i>auspices</i>	
‡ Naev. 40	... eām cárnem victóribus dánunt <i>that meat they give to the victors</i>	... u ; ' u u ' u u ' u
‡ Naev. 41	vìcissátim vólvi victóriam ... <i>that victory revolves in turns</i>	' u ' u ' u u ' u u ...

¹⁹ Naev. 37: .1–2 regarded as a single verse by Blänsdorf. On *Rōmānus exercitus* (.2), see Appendix B n20; on *integram*, Appendix A n9; on *populātur vastat* (.3), Appendix B n13.

²⁰ Naev. 38: *exta* / *ministratōres* Mariotti; regarded as a single verse by Morel and Blänsdorf. On *simul atrōcia*, see Appendix A n12. The usual reading of the fragment as a single verse requires three instances of resolution, as well as one synizesis and one caesural bridge, so:

símul atrōcia | próicerent || éxta mìnì¹trā-¹ tórēs ~ u ' u | u ~ u || ' u ; ~ u | ' u

No other literary Saturnian requires five operations of three scansional licenses.

(§ D.2 continued)

- ‡Naev. 49 fámes ácer | augéscit || hóstibus | ...
sharp hunger increases for the enemy
- Naev. 50²³
 .1 sésēque_éi | períre || mávolunt | ibídem
they prefer that they perish right there
 .2 quám cum stúprō | redíre_ad || súōs pōpu- | lárīs
than to return with dishonor to their countrymen
- Naev. 51
 .1 sīn illōs | déserant || fortíssimōs | vírōs
whether they should abandon those bravest men
 .2 mágnūm stúprūm | pópulō || fíerī | per géntīs
that great dishonor there would be for the people throughout the nations
- Naev. 52 plérique_óm̄nēs | subigúntur || sub únūm | iūdícium
the majority are all subject under one judgment
- Naev. 54²⁴ símul álijs | aljún̄de || rúmi)tant | intér <sē>
at the same time they spread reports among themselves, one from another
- Naev. 55 Morel²⁵
 átque príus | páriet || lucústa | Lúcam bóvem
and before locust brings forth Lucanian ox
- Naev. 56²⁶ quo)d brúti | nec sátis || & <sardáre | quēunt>
which the dull can neither sufficiently understand
- Naev. 59 mágnae métūs | tumúltus || péctora | póssidet
disquiet of great dread holds their hearts

²³ Naev. 50: on *ei* (.1), see Appendix B n3 and Appendix C n2; on *populāris* (.2), Appendix A n20; on the scansion of .2, Appendix C n19.

²⁴ Naev. 54: on the security of the whole line, see Appendix C n3.

²⁵ Naev. 55: on the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix C n20.

²⁶ Naev. 56: on the security of the whole line, see Appendix C n30.

(§ D.2 continued)

Naev. 60 Havet²⁷

⟨tópper saevī⟩ | capésset || † flámmam | Volcánī
right then it lays hold of savage Vulcan's flame

§ D.3 Gnaeus Naevius, unknown works (Naev.)

Naev. 61²⁸ quíanam | Sātúrniūm || pópulum | pepulísti
why have you struck Saturn's people

Naev. 62 cum tú ar- | quítenēns || sagíttis | póllēns déa
when you, bow-bearer, goddess mighty with arrows

Naev. 64²⁹

.1 cōnferre queant ratem aerātam
they could turn (their) bark with bronze fittings

.2 quī per liquidum mare sūdantēs
who go sweating and sitting

.3 eūnt atque sedentēs ...
through the smooth sea

Naev. 68 ápud empóri- | um in cámpō || hóstiūm | prō móene
near the market in the field before the enemy's wall

§ D.4 Naevius' epitaph (Epigr. Naev.)

.1 ìmmortālēs | mortālēs || sī fóret | fās flére
if it were right for immortals to weep for mortals

.2 flérent dívae | Caménae || Náevium | poētā
the divine Camenae would weep for Naevius the poet

.3 ítaque póstquam | est Órchī || tráditus | thēsáurō
and so after he was handed over to Orchus' hoard

²⁷ Naev. 60: on ⟨topper saevi⟩, see Appendix B n10.

²⁸ Naev. 61: see Appendix B n18 for the first colon and Appendix A n5 for the second. On the colometry of the fragment, see Appendix C n12.

²⁹ Naev. 64: anapestic quaternarii from a dramatic work (Spengel apud Strzelecki 1964: 30).

(§ D.4 continued)

.4 oblīti | sunt Rōmae || lóquier línguā | Latínā ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
they forgot at Rome (how) to speak the Latin language

§ D.5 **Appius Claudius Caecus, sayings (App.)**

App. 1

‡.1 ... <áe>quĩ | ánimĩ || ‡ cómpotem | esse ... ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
... to be in control of a level mind,

.2 nē quid fráudis | stúprique || ferócia | páriat ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
let fierceness bring forth no deceit or dishonor

App. 2

.1 Fleckeisen³⁰

amícum | cum vídēs || oblíscere | míseriās ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
when you see a friend, forget your woes

.2 inímícus | sí_ es comméntus || ‡ nec líbēns | áequē ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
even if you are (his) enemy, contrived and unwilling, (forget them) likewise

§ D.6 **Miscellaneous literary verses**

Metell. in Naev.

málum dábunt | Metélli || Náeviō | poétae ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
the Metelli will punish Naevius the poet

Incertorum 3

religéntem | ésse_ opórtet || religiósus | nē fúās ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
it is proper to be devout, lest you be superstitious

Incertorum 5

òccursátrix | artíficum || pérdita | spintúrnix ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
attacker of the cunning, reckless eagle-owl

³⁰ App. 2.1: on *obliscere*, see Appendix B n11; on the scansion of the line, Appendix C n14.

§ D.7 **CIL 7, Lucius Scipio Barbatus' epitaph**

CORNELIVS · LVCIVS · SCIPIO · BARBATVS · GNAIVOD · PATRE
 PROGNAVTVS · FORTIS · VIR · SAPIENSQVE — QVOIVS FORMA · VIRTVTEI · PARISVMA
 FVIT — CONSOL · CENSOR · AIDILIS · QVEI · FVIT · APVD · VOS — TAVRASIA · CISAVNA
 SAMNIO · CEPIT · SVBIGIT · OMNE · LOVCANA · OPSIDESQVE ABDOVCIT

- .1 Cornélius | Lúcius || Scípiō | Barbátus ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus
- .2 Gnáivōd pátre | prōgnátus || fórtis vir | sápiēnsque ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
sprung from (his) father Gnaeus, brave man and wise,
- .3 quóius fóрма | virtútei || parí(s)suma | fűit ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
whose beauty was most like (his) virtue,
- .4 cōnsol cēnsōr | aidílis || quei fűit | apúd vōs ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘
who was aedile, censor, consul among you,
- .5 Taurásia(m) | Cisáuna(m) || † Sámnio(m) | cēpit ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ^ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
he captured Taurasia, Cisauna, Samnium,
- .6 súbigit ómne(m) | Loucána(m) || ópsidēs-¹ que_ ab dóucit ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
he subjugates all Lucania and leads away hostages.

§ D.8 **CIL 9, epitaph of the son of Lucius Scipio Barbatus**

HONC · OINO · PLOIRVME · COSENTIONT · R[
 DVONORO · OPTVMO · FVISE · VIRO
 LVCIOM · SCIPIONE · FILIOS · BARBATI
 CONSOL · CENSOR · AIDILIS · HIC · FVET · A[
 HEC · CEPIT · CORSICA · ALERIAQVE · VRBE
 DEDET · TEMPESTATEBVS · AIDE · MERETO

- .1³¹ honc óino(m) | plóirume(i) || cō(n)séntiont | R[ómae || ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
This one very many at Rome agree
- .2 dūonóro(m) | óptumo(m) || † fűí(s)se | víro(m) || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ^ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
was the best man of the good
- .3 Lúciom | Scípiōne(m) || fílios | Barbátī ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
Lucius Scipio. The son of Barbatus

³¹ CIL 9.1: on R[ómae, see Appendix A n21; on the scansion of the line, Appendix C n28.

(§ D.8 continued)

CIL 9

- .4 cónsol cénsōr | aidílis || hic fūēt | a[púd vōs ˘ ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘: ˘
he was aedile, censor, consul among you.
- .5³² hec cēpit | Cór(s)ica(m) || Aléria(m)- | que úrbe(m) || ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
He captured Corsica and the city (of) Aleria.
- .6 dédet Tēmpes-¹ tátebus || ð áide(m) | méretō ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
He gave the Storm-gods a temple rightly.

§ D.9

CIL 10, Publius Scipio's epitaph

QVEI · APICE · INSIGNE · DIAL[IS · FL]AMINIS · GESISTEI
 MORS · PERFEC[IT ·]TVA · VT · ESSENT · OMNIA
 BREVIA · HONOS · FAMA · VIRTVSQVE
 GLORIA · ATQV[E] · IN · GENIVM QVIBVS SEI
 IN · LONGA LICV[I]SET · TIBE VTIER · VITA
 FACILE · FACTEIS [-] SVPERASES · GLORIAM
 MAIORVM QVARE · LVBENS · TE · INGREMIV
 SCIPIO · RECIPIIT TERRA · PVBLI
 PROGNAVTVM · PVBLIO · CORNELI

- .1 quei ápice(m) insigne | Diális || fláminis | ge(s)sístei ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
You who wore the apex as an emblem of Jupiter's High Priest,
- .2 mórs perfécit | tva ut éssent || ómnia | brévia ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘: ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
death made it so that all that are yours be brief:
- .3 hónōs fáma | vírtūsque || glória at-¹ que ingénium ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
honor, fame, and virtue, glory and talent.
- .4 quíbu^s sei in lóngā | licuí(s)et || tibe(i)útier | víta ˘: ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
Had you been allowed to enjoy them in long life,
- .5 fácale fácteis | superá(s)sēs || glóriam | ma(i)iórum ˘: ˘: ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
you would have easily surpassed (your) ancestors' glory.

³² CIL 9.5: on Aléria(m)-, see Appendix A n22.

(§ D.9 continued)

CIL 10

- .6 quārē lúbēns | tē in grémiu(m) || Scípiō | récipit
Because of this, Scipio into (his) bosom gladly receives you
- .7 térrā Públī | prōgnátum || Públiō | Cornéli
sprung from Publius, in the earth, O Publius Cornelius.

§ D.10 CIL 11, Lucius Scipio's epitaph

L · CORNELIVS · CN · F · CN · N · SCIPIO · MAGNA · SAPIENTIA
MVLTA SVQVE · VIRTVTES · AETATE · QVOM · PARVA
POSIDET · HOC · SAX SVM · QVOIEI · VITA · DEFECIT · NON
HONOS · HONORE · IS · HIC · SITVS · QVEI · NVNQVAM
VICTVS · EST · VIRTVTEI · ANNOS · GNATVS · XX · IS
LOÇEIS · M[AN]DATVS · NE · QVAIRATIS · HONORE
QVEI · MINVS · SIT · MAND[ATVS]

- .1 mágna(m) sàpi-¹ éntiam || múltasque | virtútēs
Great wisdom and many virtues
- .2³³ àe(vi)tāte | quom párvā || pó(s)idet | hoc sáxsum
along with a short lifetime this stone holds.
- .3 quóiei víta | dēfécit || nōn hónōs | honóre(m)
For whom life, not honor, lacked office,
- .4 ís hīc sítus | quei núnquam || víctus est | virtútei
he is laid here, who was never conquered in virtue.
- .5 ánnōs gnátus | (vígíntī) || ís lóceis | mandátus
Twenty years of age he (was) entrusted to that region,
- .6 né quairátis | honóre(m) || quei mínus sit | mandátus
lest you ask after (his) office, why it was not entrusted (to him).

³³ CIL 11.2: on *ae(vi)tāte*, see Appendix B n5.

§ D.11 **CIL 1202, Marcus Caecilius' epitaph**

HOC · EST · FACTVM · MONVMEN TVM
 MAARCO · CAICILIO
 HOSPES · GRATVM · EST · QVOM · APVD
 MEAS [·] RESTITISTEI · SEEDES
 BENE · REM · GERAS · ET · VALEAS
 DORMI AS · SINE · QVRA

- .1 hó(c)c est fáctum | monuméntum || Máarcō Cai-^l ciliō
This monument was made for Marcus Caecilius.
- .2 hóspe(s)s grátum est | quom apud meās || rēstitístei | séedēs
Stranger, it is welcome that you have stopped at my dwelling.
- .3 béne rem gérās | et váleās || dórmiās | sine qūrā
May you accomplish well and fare well, may you sleep without care.

§ D.12 **CIL 1531, Marcus & Publius Vertulius' dedication**

M · P · VERTVLEIEIS · C · F ·
 QVOD · RE · SVA · DIFĒIDENS · ASPER
 AFLEICTA PARENS · TIMENS
 HEIC · VOVIT · VOTO · HOC
 SOLVTO [D]EÇVMA · FACTA
 POLOVCTA · LEIBEREIS LVBEN
 TES · DONV · DANVNT
 HERCOLEI · MAXSVME
 MERETO · SEMOL · TE
 ORANT · SE · VOTI · CREBRO
 CONDEMNES

- .1 quód rē súā | di(f)féidēns || áasper | affléictā
Because, distrusting, bitter from his ruined wealth,
- .2 párēns tímēns | heic vóvit || vótō hōc | solútō
(their) fearful parent vowed (it) here. The vow having been fulfilled,
- .3 décumā fáctā | po(l)lóuctā || léibereis | lubéntēs
the tithe-offering having been made, (his) children willingly

(§ D.12 continued)

CIL 1531

- .4 dōnu(m) dánunt | Hércolei || máxsumē | méretō ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
give a gift to Hercules most rightly.
- .5 sémol tē_órant | sē vóti || † crébrō | condémnēs ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ || ^ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
At the same time they beseech you to censure them repeatedly for their vow.

§ D.13 **Aulus Atilius Calatinus' epitaph (Elog. Cal.)³⁴**

- †.1 †hunc únun† | plúrimae || cōséntiunt | géntēs || ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
this one very many clans agree
- †.2 pópulī | primárium || † fúisse | vírum ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ^ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘
was a distinguished man of the people

§ D.14 **Verses quoted from lost inscriptions**

Tab. Glab. fúndit fúgat | prōstérnit || máximās | legiōnēs ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
he routs, puts to flight, lays low the greatest legions

Incertorum 6

súmmās ópēs | quī régum || régiās | refrégit ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
the greatest wealth, who broke open kings' palaces

Incertorum 7

mágnum númerum | triúmphāt || hóstibus | dēvictīs ˘ ˘:˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ || ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ | ˘ ˘ ˘
he triumphs over a great number, the enemy having been subdued

³⁴ Elog. Cal.: .1: †hunc **onum**† *unicum* Madvig's correction of Cicero, *Cato Maior de Senectute* 17.61 codd.; *unō cum* Ernesti's correction of Cicero, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 2.116–117 codd.; *unum cum* García Calvo apud Kruschwitz 2002a: 221; *unō com-* Havet apud Kruschwitz 2002a: 221. The first line is usually restored on the basis of *hunc oino(m)* (CIL 7.1). The comparison with CIL 7 confirms suspicions that the entire text of Elog. Cal. has been modernized, and older spelling must be restored throughout, so Kruschwitz's <OINO QVOM> after García Calvo, but he dares no other restoration. Nor do I. As is, the modernized rendering of the text is metrical but only by coincidence.

APPENDIX E

TEST OF THE PROPOSED SATURNIAN METER AGAINST PROSE

§ E.0 Notes

The meter proposed in ch.2 was subjected to a test on two pieces of continuous prose that are roughly contemporaneous with Saturnian poetry. Continuous clauses and sentences from Cato, *De Agri Cultura* praefatio.1–1.7 (§ E.1) and *CIL* 581, the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, from after the salutatory formula to the end (§ E.2), were “scanned” into “half-verses” without violent enjambment. The procedure and results are discussed in § 2.7.1. Hypometrical or unmetrical sequences are enclosed in “C D,” and quasi-half-verses and full “lines,” which are numbered for reference, are transcribed and scanned according to the conventions set out in pp.xvii–xx. I forego English translations.

§ E.1 Cato, *De Agri Cultura* praefatio.1–1.7

.1	ést intérdum praestāre	∴ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
	C mèrcātūrīs rem quāerere D	
	C nīsi tām periculōsum sit D	
.2	et ítem fēnerārī	∴ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
	C sī tām honéstum sit D	
.3	& maiórēs nóstri	^ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
.4	& sic hàbu- ¹ érunť	^ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪
.5	et íta in légibus	∴ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪
.6–7	pòsivérunt fúrem dúplī còndem- ¹ nārī	∴ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∴ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪
.8	& fēnerā- ¹ tórem	^ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪
	C quadrúplī D	
.9–10	quàntō peiōrem cívem & existi- ¹ mārĩnt	∴ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ^ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
.11	& fēnerā- ¹ tórem	^ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪
.12–13	quam fúrem hinc lícet & existi- ¹ māre	∴ ∴ ∪ ∴ ∴ ∪ ^ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
.14	& et vírum bónum	^ ∴ ∴ ∪ ∪ ∪
	C quóm laudābant D	

(§ E.1 continued)

.15	ð íta laudábant	ʌ ˈ u u ˈ u
.16	ð bónum_a-¹ grícolam	ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.17	bónumque colónum	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.18–19	amplíssimē laudārī exístimā-¹ bātur	u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.20–21	quī_íta laudā-¹ bātur mèrcatōrem_ autem strēnuum	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.22–23	stùdiōsumque réi quaerēndae_ex-¹ ístimō	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.24–25	vérum_ ut súpra díxi ð pericu-¹ lōsum	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.26	et càlami-¹ tōsum	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.27–28	at_ èx ag-¹ rícolís et vírī fortíssimī C et mílitēs ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.29	ð strēnu-¹ íssimī C gignúntur ⊃	ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.30	máximēque píus C quáestus stàbilíssimùsque cōnséquitur ⊃ C mínimēque_ ñvidiōsus ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.31	mínimēque mále C cògitántēs sunt ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.32–33	quī_ in_ éo stùdiō ð òccu-¹ pātī sunt	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.34	núnc ut_ àd rem rédeam	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.35–36	quód prōmísī_ ñn-¹ stitútum prínicipi-¹ um_ hoc_ érit	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.37	práedíum quóm parāre C cògitábis ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.38–39	síc in_ áni-¹ mō_ habétō útj_ nē cúpi-¹ dē_ émās	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.40–41	nēve_ ópera túa ð párcās víserē	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.42–43	ét_ nē sátis hábeās sémel_ cìrcu-¹ míre	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.44–45	quótjēns_ íbis tótiēns ð mágis placébit	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.46	ð quod_ bónum érit C vicíni ⊃	ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.47–48	quō páctō níteant id_ ánimu_m_ ad-¹ vértitō	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.49–50	in_ bónā regiōne bēne_ nitēre_ o-¹ portébit	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.51–52	ét_ uti_ éo_ ñn-¹ tróeās et_ cìrcu-¹ spíciās uti_ ñnde_ ex-¹ íre_ póssis uti_ bónum cáelum C hábeat ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.53	nē càlami-¹ tōsum_ síet C sólō_ bónō ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.54	suà_ virtúte váleat C sī_ póteris ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.55	sub_ rádice móntis C síet ⊃	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.56–57	in_ méridiem spéctet ð lócō salúbri	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u
.58–59	òperàri-¹ órum ð còpia síet	ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u ʌ ˈ u ˈ u u ˈ u

(§ E.1 continued)

.60–61	bónumque_a- ¹ quárium óppidum válidum	ˈbɔːnʊmˌkʷe aː ˈkʷaːriʊm ɔːpˌpiːdʊm vˌaːliːdʊm
.62	própe siet aut máre	ˈpɾoːpe siːet aʊt maːre
.63	aut ámnis quā nāvēs	aʊt aːmnis kʷaː naːvēs
.64–65	ámbulant aut vía C bóna célebrisque ⊃	aːmˌbʊlˌant aʊt viːa C boːna ceːleˌbriske ⊃
.66–67	siet ìn hīs ágrīs quí nōn saepe dóminōs C mútant ⊃	siːet ìn hiːs aːgriːs kʷiː noːn saepe doːmiːnoːs C muːtant ⊃
.68	quī ùn hīs ágrīs práedia	kʷiː uːn hiːs aːgriːs praːedia
.69–70	vēndíderint éos pígeat vèndidísse C úti béne ⊃	veːndiːderint eos piːgeat veːndiːdisse C uːti bene ⊃
.71	àedifi- ¹ cátum siet C cavētō ⊃	aːediːfi- ¹ caːtum siːet C caːveːtoː ⊃
.72–73	alijēnam disciplīnam temére contémnās	alijēnam disciːplīnam teːmere conˌteːmˌnaːs
.74–75	dē dóminō bónō colōnō bonóque	deː doːmiːnoː boːnoː coːloːnoː boːnoːque
.76–77	àedificā- ¹ tóre mélius emētur	aːediːfiːcaː- ¹ toːre meːlius emētur
.78–79	ad víllam cum véniēs ꝫ vidētō vása	ad viːllam cum veːniēs ꝫ viːdeːtoː vaːsa
.80–81	tórcula_et dólia ꝫ múltane síent	toːrculaː_et doːlia ꝫ muːltane siːent
.82–83	úbī nōn érunť scítō ꝫ prō ràti- ¹ ōne	uːbiː noːn eːrunť sciːtoː ꝫ proː raːti- ¹ one
.84–85	frúctum ésse_ĩns- ¹ truménti ꝫ nē mágnī siet	fructum eːsse_ĩns- ¹ trumenti ꝫ neː maːgniː siːet
.86–87	lócō bóno siet vidētō quam mínimi C ĩnstruménti ⊃	loːcoː boːno siːet viːdeːtoː quam miːnimi C ĩnstrumenti ⊃
.88	ꝫ sùmptu- ¹ ósusque	ꝫ suːmptu- ¹ osusque
.89–90	áger nē siet scítō idem_ágrum quod hóminem	aːger neː siːet sciːtoː idem_ágrum quod hoːminem
.91	quámvis quàestu- ¹ ósus C siet ⊃	kʷaːmvis kʷaːestu- ¹ osus C siːet ⊃
.92–93	sī sùmptu- ¹ ósus érit relínquī nōn múltum	siː suːmptu- ¹ osus eːrit reːliːnquī noːn muːltum
.94	práedium quod prímmum C siet ⊃ C sī mé rogábis sic ⊃	praːedium quod priːmmum C siːet ⊃ C siː meː roːgaːbis sic ⊃
.95–96	dícám dē_ómnibus ágrīs òptimóque lócō	diːcam deː_omnibus aːgriːs oːptimoːque loːcoː
.97–98	iúgera_ágrī céntum ꝫ vínea_est príma	iuːgera_ágrī ceːntum ꝫ viːnea_est priːma
.99	sī vínō bóno_et múltō_est C secúndo ⊃	siː viːnoː boːno_et muːltoː_est C seːcundoː ⊃
.100	lócō hórtus inrígus	loːcoː hoːrtus inriːgus
.101	tértiō salíctum	teːrtoː saliːctum
.102	ꝫ quártō olétum C quíntō prátum ⊃ C séxtō ⊃	ꝫ kʷaːrtoː oːleːtum C kʷiːntoː praːtum ⊃ C seːctoː ⊃
.103	cámpus frūmen- ¹ tārius C séptimō ⊃	caːmpus fruːmen- ¹ taːrius C seːptimoː ⊃
.104	ꝫ sílva cáedua	ꝫ siːlva caːdua

(§ E.2 continued)

.30	nēve pe- ¹ cūniam	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.31–32	quísquam_eōrum co(m)móine[m h]ābuí(s)se vé(l)[l]et	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.33–34	nēve mágis- ¹ tráttum nēve prō mágis- ¹ tráttu[d] C nēque vírum ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.35–36	[nēque mú]jierem quísquam † fēcí(s)se vé(l)let C nēve post háč ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.37	intér sēd cōniourá(s)[se	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.38–39	nēv]e cōmvō- ¹ ví(s)se nēve cōnspon- ¹ dí(s)se	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.40	nēve comprōmē- ¹ sí(s)se C vé(l)let ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.41–42	nēve quísquam fidem intér sēd dedí(s)se C vé(l)let ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.43	† sácra_īn o(c)quóltōd	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.44	nē quísquam fēcí(s)se C vé(l)let ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.45	† nēve_īn póplicōd C nēve_īn preivátōd ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.46	† nēve_éxstrād úrbem	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.47	sácra quísquam fēcí(s)se C vé(l)let ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.48	nísei pr(aetōrem)_ur- ¹ bānum C àdié(s)set ⊃ C ísque ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.49	dē senātyos senténtiād C dúm nē mínus ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.50	† sènā- ¹ tóribus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.51	† (céntum) adé(s)sent C quom éa rēs ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.52	† cō(n)sole- ¹ rétur	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.53	iou(s)sí(s)sent cē[n]suére	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.54–55	hóminēs plous (quínque) òin(i)vórsei vírei	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.56–57	átque mú]jierēs sácra nē quísquam fēcí(s)se C vé(l)let ⊃ C nēve_intér ibi ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.58	† vírei plous duóbus	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.59–60	mùliér]ibus plous tríbus àrfuí(s)se vé(l)lent	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.61–62	nísei dē pr(ae- ¹ tóris) urbáni senātyosque C senténtiād ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.63	útei súprād scríptum_est C háice_utei_īn convèntiōnid ⊃	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘
.64–65	èxdecátis nē mínus † trínum noundínum	˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘

(§ E.2 continued)

.66	senátuosque senténtiam	u u u u u u u
.67–68	úte ⁱ sciéntēs e(s)sétis ēōrum sen- ⁱ téntia	u u u u u u u u u u u u u
.69	íta fúit séi quēs é(s)sent	u u u u u u
.70–71	quei _u arvórsu _m eād ⁱ fēcí(s)sent quam súprād scríptu _m est	u u u u u u u u u u u u
.72–73	éēis rem càpu- ⁱ tãlem faciéndam cènsuēre	u u u u u u u u u u u u
.74	átque _u te _i hóc(c)ce _u in tábolam	u u u u u u
.75	ahénam _u in- ⁱ cèiderētis	u u u u u u
.76	íta senátus áiquom	u u u u u u
.77	cénsuit úteique _u éam	u u u u u u
.78	fígier idubeátis	u u u u u u
.79–80	úbei fa- ⁱ cí(l)lumēd gnóscier pótisit C _u atque _u te _i D	u u u u u u u u u u u u
.81–82	éa Bã(c)c(h)ã- ⁱ nália † sei quã sunt éxstrād	u u u u u u u u u u u u
.83	quam séi quid íbei sáci _u est	u u u u u u
.84–85	íta _u te _i súprād scríptu _m est ñ diébus (décem)	u u u u u u u u u u u u
.86	quíbus vóbeis tabé(l)lai	u u u u u u
.87	dátai érun _t faciãtis	u u u u u u
.88–89	úte _i dismóta síent in ágrō Teurãñō	u u u u u u u u u u u u

COMPARATIO NUMERORUM ET INDEX LOCORUM

Concordances and Indices of Passages Discussed

I Latino-Faliscan

I.1 Latin

I.1.1 Fragmentary

BLÄNSDORF	MOREL	MERCADO
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I Abbreviations

I.1 Ancient authors and works

Andr.	Lucius Livius Andronicus [Andronicus], <i>Odysseia</i> (Blänsdorf 1995)
App.	Appius Claudius Caecus (Blänsdorf 1995)
Enn. <i>Ann. nSk</i>	Quintus Ennius [Ennius], <i>Annales</i> (Skutsch 1985)
Elog. Cal.	Auli Atilii Calatini elogium (Blänsdorf 1995)
Epigr. Naev.	Epitaphium Naevii (Blänsdorf 1995)
Hom. <i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> (Allen 1917)
Lucr.	Titus Lucretius Carus [Lucretius], <i>De Rerum Natura</i> (Bailey 1921)
Marcus	Gnaeus Marcus (Blänsdorf 1995)
Metell. in Naev.	Metellorum versus in Naevium (Blänsdorf 1995)
Naev.	Gnaeus Naevius [Naevius], <i>Carmen Belli Poenici</i> (Blänsdorf 1995)
Pl. <i>Cas.</i>	Titus Maccius Plautus [Plautus], <i>Casina</i> (Lindsay 1913a)
Pl. <i>Poen.</i>	Plautus, <i>Poenulus</i> (Lindsay 1913a)
Pl. <i>Ps.</i>	Plautus, <i>Pseudolus</i> (Lindsay 1913a)
Pl. <i>Truc.</i>	Plautus, <i>Truculentus</i> (Lindsay 1913a)
Tab. Glab.	Tabula Acilii Glabrionis (Blänsdorf 1995)
Ter. <i>Ad.</i>	Publius Terentius Afer [Terence], <i>Adelphi</i> (Kauer & Lindsay 1926)
Ter. <i>Eu.</i>	Terence, <i>Eunuchus</i> (Kauer & Lindsay 1926)

Ter. *Hau.* Terence, *Heauton Timorume-nos* (Kauer & Lindsay 1926)

Ter. *Hec.* Terence, *Hecyra* (Kauer & Lindsay 1926)

Ter. *Ph.* Terence, *Phormio* (Kauer & Lindsay 1926)

I.2 Text collections and reference works

AID Meyer 1913–1914

AL O'Donovan et al. 1865–1901

CI Solinas 1995

CIE Pauli et al. 1912

CIH Binchy 1978

CIL Mommsen et al. 1893–1986

Ernout-Meillet Ernout & Meillet 1985

Lewis & Short Lewis et al. 1879

LF Giacomelli 1963

LSJ Liddell, Scott, Jones, et al. 1940–1996

OLD Glare 1996

Ve Vetter 1953

Walde-Hofmann Walde & Hofmann 1938–1965

WOU Untermann 2000

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