

97. *Qui si nihil gesseras dignum honore, ubi exercitus, ubi sumptus? ... sin autem aliquid speraveras, cogitaras id quod imperatoris nomen, quod laureati fasces ... te commentatum esse declarant, quis te miserior etc.*

speraveras Bake: *sperare volueras* Ω

Bake's conjecture certainly avoids the objections to the manuscript reading which are pointed out by N., but is palaeographically somewhat implausible. Perhaps *sperare coeperas*; cf. Cluent. 36 *Oppianicus continuo sperare coepit etc.*

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THE LATE ANTIQUE TRADITION OF VARRO'S *ONOS LYRAS*

I

That we have lost almost all the main works of Marcus Terentius Varro is an unfortunate accident of literary textual transmission. Except for the *De re rustica* and the *De lingua Latina*, the modern reader sees his work through a glass darkly in the writings of a series of opponents and compilers. Instead of dealing with the more famous theological writings, this paper will examine a feature of the transmission of the *Menippeae* in the hope that at least one example of a different approach to the fragments of these works may generate interest in a new way of reconstructing lost material.

We owe the *Menippeae* mainly to the efforts of Nonius Marcellus, the 4th century African lexicographer¹). In them he found a rich source of rare vocabulary, and he cited them frequently. In all we have about six hundred fragments. Thanks to the ingenuity of Lindsay, it is often possible to apply his *lex* to Nonius's method of

1) Nonius's *floruit* is placed c. 323 A.D. on the basis of CIL VIII 4878, an inscription from Thubursicum Numidarum. The subscription to the *De compendiosa doctrina* calls him *peripateticus Tubursicensis*. If one does not accept the identification of the donor of the baths and our lexicographer, one may still establish that he worked after Gellius and before Priscian.

working in order to determine the correct order of the fragments within a given *satura*²).

But how later were the *Menippeae* extant in complete form? This is an interesting question. The citations that are not from Nonius are all from grammarians or commentators. Gellius, Charisius, Probus, Servius, Philargyrius, and Priscian. Thus it is often unclear whether a grammarian had actually read Varro, and then excerpted him, or whether the works had been lost long before, and the writer was merely using well-known quotations or *ravio-ra* that had descended separately as part of a lexicographical tradition. In the late 4th century Jerome was able to tell us that there were one hundred and fifty books of *Menippeae*³), but here again this could easily have been common scholarly knowledge.

A strange problem: the *Menippeae* were lively, quirky, and probably witty jeux d'esprit, yet they found their resting place in the dullest pages of the dullest of writers. If we believe that our grammarians read them whole, then we may assume that they survived at least until the beginning of the 6th century, a terminus provided by the life of Priscian⁴). But, if they were so amusing, was no one else reading them?

The late antique Varro was above all the Varro of the theological and the encyclopedic works. This is clear from Augustine's choice of Varro as prime pagan opponent in the *De civitate Dei*, as well as from a comment of Sidonius's (Ep. 2.9.4), listing the contents of a library: *licet quaequam volumina quorumpiam auctorum servarent in causis disparibus dicendi parilitatem: nam similis scientiae viri, hinc Augustinus hinc Varro, hinc Horatius hinc Prudentius lectitabantur*. The chiasmus plays off an old theologist and a new one, an old poet and a new one. This is clearly not the Varro of the *Menippeae*, but Augustine's learned rival. The same goes for the Varro we find taking part in the discussions of the anonymous *Contra philosophos*, a post-Augustinian text of uncertain date⁵). But Symmachus in 375 A.D. (Ep. 1.4) writes to his

2) W. M. Lindsay, Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin, Oxford 1901; F. Della Corte, Varrone, il terzo gran lume romano, Genova 1954, pp. 321 ff.

3) *saturarum Menippearum libros CL*; cf. F. Ritschl, Literarhistorisches, RhM 12 (1857) p. 151.

4) cf. Priscian 2 PLRE II p. 905.

5) ed. Diethard Aschoff, CC Series Latina 58. Varro appears in the third and fifth *disputationes*. This text is dated by Anspach (Anonymi Altercationes, Madrid 1942) to the second quarter of the 6th century after the execution of Boethius, but I

own father praising some epigrams he sent him, saying *studium quidem Menippeï Varronis imitatis, sed vincis ingenium*. Krahner⁶⁾ denies that all texts which call Varro 'Menippeus' go back to the *Menippeae*, or even have them in mind, but this seems unlikely in the case of Symmachus. His father has sent him what is essentially a prosimetrical letter (1.2) in which he says that he is imitating *Terentium, non comicum sed Reatinum*, the father of Roman erudition who added epigrams to his *Hebdomadon libri*. Symmachus the younger goes one step further, and brings in the prosimetrical character of the *Menippeae*. He also knows Varro as the author of the prosimetrical *saturae*. But these jejune rhetorical references do not go far.

Much work has been done in the past of the reconstruction of Menippus, using Varro, Lucian, Julian the Apostate, and Seneca. Notable in this field is the work of Helm⁷⁾. The basic assumption behind this scholarship was that all these works are 'Menippean' in form and content, and can therefore be used as valid testimony for lost works within the same genre. But Menippean writing in Latin did not end with Seneca. The late 5th century for one reason or another saw a renaissance of interest in the form⁸⁾. There are three late antique prosimetra that show unquestionable Menippean elements, not only in form, but also in content: Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Fulgentius's *Mythologiae*, and Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*. These three authors have not, so far as I know, been used to reconstruct Varro.

I shall be suggesting that it may be possible to prove that at least one *satura* of Varro's survived into the 6th century. To help to prove this I shall try to show the Varronian origin and conscious imitation in a number of passages in two of these late 5th and early 6th century authors.

There have been unsupported statements that Martianus was modelling his *De nuptiis* on the *Menippeae* of Varro, but no

find nothing in the text to support this. All we can tell is that it was written sometime after the *City of God*, from which it draws almost all its material.

6) L. Krahner, *Commentatio de Marco Varrone ex Marciani Capellae Satura supplendo*, Neubrandenburg 1846, p. 9.

7) R. Helm, *Lukian und Menipp*, Leipzig-Berlin 1906.

8) On the date of Martianus Capella see D. R. Shanzer, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 104 (1982) p. 111. For the date of Fulgentius still the best article is R. Helm, *Der Bischof Fulgentius und der Mythograph*, *RhM* 54 (1899) pp. 111-134. For the significance of the revival of the form see my forthcoming commentary on the *De nuptiis* Book I.

proof⁹). Almost all recent work on Martianus has concentrated on the important philosophical-religious matter that can be unearthed from the pages of the *De nuptiis*. Thus there has been little work on its genre aside from an excellent article by Lucio Cristante¹⁰).

K. Mras¹¹) (echoing Hirzel, but without attribution?) made what is still the most perceptive judgement on the literary aims of Martianus: that Martianus “den Versuch unternommen hat, Varro den Dichter mit Varro dem Forscher zu vereinigen.” Learned encyclopedic content and Menippean form. And it is very much Varro that Martianus thinks of, not one of the *recentiores* in the same genre. He must make a deliberate and heavy-handed departure from Varro's *Novem disciplinae* when he dismisses medicine and architecture¹²), who, on good Varronian principles, would have wanted to have had their say. The passage in question is one of the major programmatic sections in relation to the *disciplinae*. But there are also other important programmatic passages which relate to the form, *satura*, and not the learned content of the work.

For discussion of the final metrum, and its Varronian etymology the reader is referred to Cristante¹³), but I would like to examine two earlier passages, clearly also programmatic in function, since they show us Martianus quarrelling with his muse, the rebarbative *Satura*, in a fashion reminiscent of Lucian's quarrel with Rhetoric and Dialogue in the *Bis accusatus*¹⁴). *Satura* speaks:

‘Ni fallor’, inquit, ‘Felix meus, plurimum affatimque olivi, quantumque palaestras perluere vel sponsi ipsius posset, superfluo perdidisti dispendiaque lini perflagrata cassum devorante Mulcifero, qui tot gymnasiorum ac tantorum heroum matrem Philosophiam non agnoscis, saltem cum per eam Iuppiter dudum caelitis consultum senatus tabulamque vulgaret cumque ad Philologiae concilianda

9) Recently W. H. Stahl, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, New York 1970, vol. I p.27: “Martianus's inspiration for his setting came from Varro's Menippean Satires, and from the Latin novelists who are influenced by Varro”.

10) L. Cristante, *La σφραγίς di Marziano Capella (σπουδογέλοιον: autobiografia e autoironia)*, *Latomus* 37 (1978) pp. 679–704.

11) K. Mras, *Neue Jahrb. Klass. Altertum* 33 (1914) p. 391.

12) cf. p.471.23 ff. cf. Vitruvius *De arch.* 7.4 for the *Novem disciplinae*. This is a jocular Martianeian apology for departure from the Varronian canon of nine.

13) *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 10) p. 695.

14) Lucian, *Bis acc.* 33.

consortia procum affatum conubialiter allegaret, ne tunc eam noscere potuisti? Sed quia nunc Arcadicum ac Midinum sapis praesertimque ex illo, quo desudatio curaue districtior tibi forensis rabulationis partibus illigata aciem industriae melioris obtudit, amisisse mihi videris et huius matronae memoriam et iam eiusdem germanam voluisse nescire.' (p. 287.9 ff. Dick)

In a later passage she speaks again. Martianus has just inserted an undignified poem about the sleeping Silenus:

'Ne tu', ait, 'Felix, vel Capella, vel quisquis es non minus sensus quam nominis pecudalis ... apage sis nec postidhaec nugales ausus lege hymeneia et culpae velamine licentis obnuberis! Saltem Prieneiae ausculta nihilum gravate sententiae et ni ὄνος λύρας, καιρὸν γνῶθι.' (p. 425.20 ff. Dick)

In the first passage Satura accuses Martianus of four offenses: wasting huge quantities of midnight oil, not recognising *Philosophia*, the mother of so many gymnasia and heroes, being an ass (*Arcadicum ac Midinum sapis*), and having his intellectual edge dulled by his duties as an advocate. The third accusation is repeated in the second passage through the use of the proverb ὄνος λύρας. It seems justifiable to take the two passages together, because they are the only two places in the middle of the work in which we change from the divine framework down to the author and Muse.

So far it has not been pointed out that, despite the fact that the Boethius passage is written in an minor key, there are remarkable similarities between the opening of the *De consolazione* and what we have here. *Philosophia* appears to Boethius in his cell, and her appearance is described with a full battery of *topoi* from the literature of epiphany¹⁵). The reader is expected to guess who the apparition is from the ornamentation of her robe, a *pi* and a *theta* to symbolise the two aspects of Philosophy, practical and theoretical. But Boethius himself is not told. In fact Boethius does not recognise his mistress *Philosophia* until she has dried his tears, and it is this gradual process of recognition that provides the main dramatic focus of the early chapters of the *De consolazione*. 'Agnoscis me? Quid taces?' (Cons. 1.2) and *ad cognoscendam medicantis faciem mentem recepi. Itaque ubi in eam deduxi oculos intuitumque defixi, respicio nutricem meam cuius ab adulescentia*

15) J. Gruber, *RhM* 112 (1969) pp. 166–168.

laribus obversatus fueram, Philosophiam. (1.3) Later on, when Philosophia accuses Boethius of not paying attention, she uses a phrase very similar to that of Satura: '*sentisne*', inquit, '*haec atque animo illabuntur tuo an ὄνος λύρας?*' (1.4) I would also suggest that a dead metaphor is intentionally revived later in the *Consolatio* (3.1) where Boethius describes the effects of Philosophia's song: *audiendi avidum stupentemque arrectis adhuc auribus carminis mulcedo defixerat.* The ass is now moving its ears (cf. Apuleius, *Met.* 7.13).

Philosophia's first indignant question (1.4) is followed by a long speech of Boethius in justification of the decision to follow an active political and forensic life that has brought him to this pass. Forensic distraction has clearly dulled his wits too.

What of the similarity between the two passages? Is this a case of Boethius adapting a theme straight from Martianus¹⁶)? This would certainly be possible, but not, I think, necessarily true. Instead I would suggest that even though Boethius is well acquainted with the *De nuptiis*, both authors have adapted a scene from a *satura* of Varro's that has come down to us only in fragments.

The first point to consider is how one might make the Varroian connection in the case of these two passages. Bolisani clearly thought that there was something Varronian about Martianus¹⁷), but he does not tell us what it was. There are two clues: Martianus refers to Varro, though admittedly not *Menippeus*, a little beyond the first passage I quoted (p. 288.8: *denique si Marcum Terentium paucosque Romuleos excipias consulares, nullus prorsus erit, cuius ista (= Paideia) limen intrarit*). The more obvious clue is the shared repetition of the Greek proverb ὄνος λύρας. We can not say that the proverb is unique to Varro: Otto gives references to a fragment of Menander, and Lucian¹⁸), but it is as the title of one of the *Menippeae* that the proverb makes its most notable *Latin* appearance.

The fragments of the *Onos* are to be found in Buecheler's edition of Petronius, fragments nr. 348–nr. 369. This is one of the better represented *saturae*, and reconstructions have been at-

16) For Boethius's certain knowledge of the *De nuptiis* cf. J. Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius de consolatione*, Berlin–New York 1978, p. 18, and – in much greater detail – my forthcoming commentary on *De nuptiis* I.

17) E. Bolisani, *Varrone Menippeo*, Padova 1936, p. LVI.

18) cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, p. 41, citing *Diog.* 7.33; Menander fr. 527 Kock; Lucian, *Adv. indoct.* 4; Jerome, *Epist.* 27.1.

tempted by Scaliger¹⁹) (jokingly), Popma²⁰), Vahlen²¹) (at length), Norden²²), and Bolisani²³). Currently Cèbe's edition of the fragments has not reached this satire.

Reconstructing a Varronian *satura* is a tricky business at the best of times, so I shall keep my remarks brief, and conservative. I shall not discuss whether any of the speakers reflects Varro's own viewpoint in particular. But certain obvious features emerge from a cursory examination of the fragments of the *Onos*. There are various first person singular verbs and imperatives, so someone clearly was giving a direct speech (cf. Frags. 348, 355, 356, 360). One person who gave a speech was clearly a *mousikos*. This is suggested by the parody of ritual exclusion in fragment 349, and in the poetic *diadoche* in fragment 356 which traces the ancestry of Pompilius right back to the Muses through the divinely-inspired Ennius. The second part of the *satura* almost certainly contained some sort of laudatory passage on *musica*, an exposition of the doctrine of *ethos* (cf. Frags. 363–365): men sing in the fields, the Galli tamed lions with their music, spectators in the theatres are affected by the music of the flute.

We may be reasonably sure that *mousike* in this *satura* was not restricted to 'music' in the modern sense of the word. Varro, no doubt, included the art of poetry as fragment 356 suggests.

For a more general discussion of the content of this *satura* the reader may look at the works of Vahlen, Norden, and Bolisani. For our present purposes fragment 349 is the most interesting.

*si quis μελωδεῖν δεινός ἐστ' ὄνος λύρας,
praesepibus se retineat forensibus.*

In the *Onos* we have some sort of dispute between a *mousikos* and an *amousoi*, but there has been little discussion of what sort of *amousoi* these were. Vahlen suggests²⁴): "Cavillatur autem Varro eam hominum nationem, quae spretis illius artis delenimentis in

19) Cited in Vahlen (*infra* n. 21) p. 10 *ludibunda manu*.

20) M. Terenti Varronis operum quae extant nova editio ed. Ausonius Popma, Leiden 1601, p. 266–8 (text of *Onos*), and p. 663–4 (coniectanea).

21) J. Vahlen, In M. Terentii Varronis Saturarum Menippearum reliquias coniectanea, Leipzig 1858.

22) E. Norden, In Varronis saturas Menippeas observationes selectae (Diss. 1891), reprinted in E. Norden, Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum, Berlin 1966, pp. 1–87.

23) *op.cit.* *supra* n. 17.

24) Vahlen p. 3.

forensibus rebus vel venationibus vel aliis id genus occupationibus vitam degit.” There seems to be little evidence for the hunting²⁵) or other distractions, but there is also little doubt that he is correct about the *res forenses*. He is followed by Bolisani who is more conservative in his text²⁶):

*si quis melodiis diis est – ὄνος λύρας
praesepibus se retineat forensibus*

and translates: “Se v’è taluno che senta, come l’asino della lira, la divina armonia della musica, meglio che si stia tra la chiusa del foro.” But he weakens the metaphor in the second line of the Latin in his note “*praesepia* – sed et omnia loca clausa et tuita dicta praesepia.”

I translate the Buecheler text: ‘If anyone is skilled at making music²⁷) like an ass listening to the lyre, let him keep to his forensic barnyard.’ Public figures, lawyers, frequenters of the forum, are to keep away – and this is the joke implicit in the parody of the Orphic *Diathēkai*²⁸): the professional life (traditionally far from *rusticitas*) is a barnyard as far as the devotees of the Muses are concerned. I suggest that the ThLL (6.1.1054.53) weakens the passage by seeing here a neutral use of ‘*forensis*’ to mean ‘*alienus*’ or ‘foreign’, and the expression is much more vivid and oxymoronic if taken literally. To support this interpretation one has only to consider the wide range of ‘barnyard metaphors’ for public life – usually connected with *canina eloquentia*²⁹).

If we take *forensis* in the Varro fragment literally, both the Boethius and the Martianus Capella interchanges can easily be seen as based on this passage. Both are men who have become over-involved in the *forum* (*forensis rabulatio* in Martianus, the Ostrogothic court for Boethius), both of them cannot recognise Philosophia (the true Musica in Boethius). Their wits have been dulled with excessive public activity; both of them are compared to the ass. The animal metaphor is present in both authors in

25) Presumably because of fragment 360.

26) Bolisani prints much less of the line in Greek, and takes a conjecture of Mercer’s.

27) The MSS. have *melodistonos*. The repetition μελωδεῖν δεινός could easily have engendered the haplography posited by Buecheler.

28) Orph. frag. 6.1 Abel.

29) cf. Cristante (*op.cit. supra* n. 10) p. 698. From Boethius one might add Cons. 1.4 *Palatinae canes* and 1.5 *continuat dolore delatravi* with an additional reminiscence of Hom. Od. 20.13.

another form. Satura chooses this moment to accuse Martianus of being *non minus sensus quam nominis pecudalis*³⁰), and Boethius, it is implied through the language of the *De consolatio*, has lost his *rectus status*³¹), and upward gaze, the defining characteristics of the *animal bipes rationale*. A major metrum that follows the stages of Boethius's mental salvation uses the image of men turned into beasts by the enchantress Circe³²). Fragment 350 also supports the theory that the *amouos* was a forensic one:

*quibus suam delectet ipse amusiam
et aviditatem speribus lactet suis*

Perhaps an *ambitiosus* with a public career. For 'high hopes' the reader is referred to Cèbe on the *Aborigines*³³). *Satura Menippea* is a genre that is most difficult to define. But any study of all our texts make it clear that there are greater similarities of theme and topos³⁴) than there are of form. Length, 'seriousness', proportion of prose and poetry all seem to have been variable, and even the regularity and schematization of the form seem to have evolved, becoming most rigid in the late work of Boethius³⁵). In this case the existence of various themes and expressions in the fragments of the *Onos* helps us to make better sense of generic scenes in Martianus and Boethius. In both cases there is a deliberate evocation of a famous Menippean passage – with a difference: the unregenerate beast does not respond to *Mousike*, music, or poetry, but in deliberate polemic, to *Philosophia*.

II

It has been suggested that the *Onos* may have contained other more interesting material. In 1925 J. J. Savage published an adespotic scholium in a Paris manuscript³⁶). In 1927 the material

30) p. 425.21/22 Dick.

31) Cons. 1 m. 2. 26–7.

32) Cons. 1 m. 3 *passim*. cf. Cons. 1.6 for the definition of man which Boethius, at the beginning of the *Consolatio*, has temporarily forgotten.

33) J.-P. Cèbe, Varron. *Satires Menippées*: édition, traduction et commentaire I, Rome 1972, p. 26 ff.

34) cf. Mras (*op.cit. supra* n.11) *passim* for the effectiveness of this approach.

35) cf. chart in Gruber (*op.cit. supra* n. 16) p. 16b fold-out.

36) J. J. Savage, Some unpublished scholia on Virgil, TAPA 56 (1925) pp. 234–6.

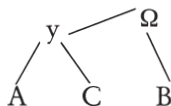
found in the scholium was discussed by A. D. Nock, and connected with the *Onos* of Varro in two short articles³⁷). Since those days, however, C. E. Murgia has discovered two more manuscripts containing the gloss, and has published a transcription of the short text³⁸). I have been able to consult microfilms of the two Paris manuscripts, and Professor H. D. Jocelyn very kindly collated the Laurentian manuscript for me when he was in Florence, so I have re-edited the gloss with a brief negative apparatus.

- 1 *Orpheus enim secundum fabulas descendit ad inferos*
ad revocandam animam coniugis. Re autem vera quibusdam
carminibus voluit eam revocare. Quod quia implere non
potuit fingitur a poetis receptam perdidisse dura
 5 *lege Plutonis. Quod iste ostendit cum dicit 'arcessere'*
id est 'evocare'. Dicunt tamen quidam liram Orphei
cum VII cordis fuisse et celum VII zonas habere unde
Orpheo theologia assignatur. Varro autem dicit librum
Orphei de revocanda anima Liram nominari et negantur
 10 *animae sine cithara posse ascendere.*

A = Paris. B.N. lat. 7930 B = Paris. B.N. lat. 2059 C = Florent. Laurent. Med. Pal. 69

1 *enim* om. A 3 *voluit revocare animam coniugis sue* AC 4 *receptam coniugem perd.* B *receptam uxorem perd.* C 5 *ipse* C 6 *quidam tamen* C 7 *centum cordis* B *habere zonas* A *septem de Orpheo theologia signatur* C 8 *Orpheo* om. A *Varro tamen* C 9 *vocanda* A *evocanda* C 10 *sine cithara* in C

These three manuscripts are all independent witnesses to the text. It is not possible that Med. Pal. 69 was copied from either of the other two, nor could any one of them have been copied from another. On the basis a common error in line 3 it seems likely that A and C share a common hyparchetype. The most economical explanation of the relationship of the texts (for this gloss alone) is the following:



37) A. D. Nock, *The Lyra of Orpheus*, CR 41 (1927) pp. 169–71, and *Varro and Orpheus*, CR 43 (1929) p. 60 ff.

38) C. E. Murgia, *Prolegomena to Servius 5: The Manuscripts*, Berkeley 1975, pp. 141–143. See also J. J. Savage in HSCP 43 (1932) p. 118 for another collation of MS. Med. Pal. 69. I follow Jocelyn's more recent collation, because of Savage's errors in transcribing A and B.

Thus the reading of either A or C plus the reading of B should establish the text of the archetype.

The first part of the gloss, that is from *Orpheus* to *evocare*, is based on parallel material to be found in Servius. The two glosses are conveniently presented side by side in Savage's first transcription³⁹). Our gloss makes completely explicit what is only implied in Servius: in the first sentence of the gloss is a simple statement of *fabula recepta*. The next sentence moves on from this point (note *re autem vera*) to give a demythologising interpretation: Orpheus did not actually descend, but tried to call up Eurydice's soul with *carmina* – here unquestionably 'charms', not 'musical songs'. Because he did not succeed, the poets have attempted to gloss over his failure, saying that he had her, and then lost her.

There are a number of earlier parallels for the theory that Orpheus was a necromancer, but the necromancy is not connected with his quest for Eurydice⁴⁰). Obviously this goes one step beyond the criticism directed at the mythical harper by Plato in the *Symposium* 179 D. There he was a *malthakos* who did not dare die to go down to Hades; here he does not even go down to Hades alive. This rationalisation of the myth may be Servius's own contribution.

Finally the third interpretation, *dicunt tamen quidam*: namely that the myth must not be assigned either a literal or mythological interpretation, but a metaphysical one instead, *unde theologia assignatur*⁴¹). Finally Varro is cited, and it is this portion of the gloss that contains non-Servian material.

The content of the third section of the gloss is by no means unambiguous, and, to some extent, forces the editor to face the problem of choosing a reading. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is the meaning of *revocanda anima*. All three manuscripts have different readings: *vocanda* A, *revocanda* B, and *evocanda* C. I have

39) cf. Savage (*op.cit. supra* n. 36) p. 235–6.

40) For Orpheus as *magus et medicus* cf. Kern, *Orph. Frag.* p. 25; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* 8.7 p. 162: here note ὕψλας to summon the dead immediately before the mention of Orpheus's melodies.

41) The phrase is difficult to translate. I am assuming that this phrase means 'whence a "theologia" is attributed to Orpheus'. Since the number of strings on his lyre was consonant with the number of planets in the heavens, he was in a particularly good position to sing of heavenly things. On the definition of *theologus* see Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 18.14.

operated on the assumption that *revocanda* is the correct reading, and that C comes fairly close to it. Nock pinpoint the difficulty: does the glossator refer to the conjuring of spirits from Hades, or does he refer to the summoning back of the human soul through the heavenly spheres, often identified as the strings of a cosmic lyre? Nock settles for the first alternative⁴²).

I would disagree with him, and suggest that the statements of different sources are fairly clearly delineated in the gloss. There is a literal, a Euhemeristic, and a metaphysical interpretation in climactic order with the mystical one last. This glossator is not in agreement with Servius – hence the new material adduced to support the third explanation. The interpretations are clearly separated, and the Varronian statement goes with the third one, not the second. If the glossator had wanted the reader to think of it in connection with *carmina* or spells, he would have put it there.

It may be pleasant to speculate about the content of the lost *Onos*, but a certain degree of scepticism must be encouraged. This gloss does not say much. It informs us that somewhere Varro said that Orpheus's book on calling back the spirit was called the *Lyra*, and that someone (possibly Varro, but this is not certain) said that souls could not rise without a cithara. We cannot be completely sure whether the *Lyra* was concerned with the ascent of souls after death through the heavenly spheres, or with conjuring. In view of the *theologia* assigned to Orpheus, and its appearance in the second half of the gloss, separated from Servius's rationalising and the specific connection between the seven spheres of the heavens and the seven strings of the lyre, I would support the former alternative. But one can never be sure. One of the main difficulties in using material from scholia is the difficulty in separating layers of interpretation that are presented paratactically with loose connectives, e. g. in this gloss it is likely that *tamen* in line 6 indicates a real difference of opinion, but does the same apply to the *autem* of line 8? Should we translate 'Varro, on the other hand, says something different, namely that ...' or else, as a neutral indication of change of source, 'Varro, furthermore, says, ...'?

Nock supports his association of the new fragment with the *Onos* by comparing it to frag. 351:

*quam mobilem divum lyram sol harmoge
quadam gubernans motibus diis veget*

42) A. D. Nock, CR 41 (1927) p. 170.

A clear description of the cosmic lyre. To this it may be worth adding that in the *De nuptiis* Jupiter holds a nine-stringed version of precisely such an instrument⁴³), and there is a clear reference to this Pythagorean image in the passage which describes the *tonoi* through which Philologia must pass before she reaches the gods⁴⁴).

Given the context of our fragment, a Vergilian gloss on the power of Orpheus, it is highly likely that it came from some Varronian discussion of the power of music, a natural place to mention Orpheus. As Vahlen suggests⁴⁵) such a discussion certainly appeared in the *Onos*, an inescapable conclusion from examining the content of fragments 363–365. Nonetheless it is also important to remember that there were other places where Varro may have discussed the power of music, such as in the preface to the appropriate section of the *Novem disciplinae*. Here we must look to Martianus who has a long section on the doctrine of *ethos* in which he cites Varro to support the theory that inanimate objects are affected by music. Varro apparently had seen islands move⁴⁶).

Equally we must be very wary of concluding with Nock⁴⁷) that we now have a reference to a new Orphic treatise called the *Lyra* as well as a *terminus ante quem* for its composition. Let us suppose for a moment that the fragment does come from the *Onos*. The problem of who were the speakers, whether Varro himself appeared, and what his own attitude may have been is a difficult one. Clearly there was some straightforward praise of music's power, but there may also have been backhanded jokes delivered by another speaker, viz. the musical/sexual double-entendre in fragment 368⁴⁸), and we simply have too little to go on. Based on Varro's decision to be buried *Pythagorio modo*⁴⁹) we may well think that he had sympathies with that sect, but this does not tell us what was in the *Onos*. If we look at the context of the mention of the *Lyra*, a rationalisation of the Orpheus myth, we see another completely different interpretation, perhaps put in

43) p. 30.21.

44) p. 70.2 ff.

45) Vahlen (*op.cit. supra* n. 21) p. 15.

46) Martianus p. 493.20 ff. Nock, CR 43 (1929) p. 61 n. 1, cites Re rust. 3.17.4 on fish.

47) Nock, CR 41 (1927) p. 171.

48) Norden (*op.cit. supra* n. 22) p. 16.

49) Pliny, NH 35.160.

the mouth of a hostile speaker: 'Music is powerful,' says the first speaker, 'why, look, Orpheus called up his wife *Threicia fretus cithara*.' Speaker two: 'Oh, didn't you know, Orpheus was a necromancer, and the Orphic necromantic book was called the *Lyra*, or "lyre", so he did use a "lyre", but in a different sense from what you may think ...' Such a putative dialogue could easily have generated what we have in our gloss, and the answer would have been a sharp riposte for the *amouso*s or anti-Pythagorean – all a joke, in the learned spirit of the *satura Menippea*, but susceptible of literal interpretation by a clodhopping later commentator⁵⁰).

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KONTRASTIERENDE SZENENPAARE: INDIREKTE ‚PRÄSENZ DES AUTORS‘ IN VERGILS AENEIS

Für Georg Nicolaus Knauer zum 26. Februar 1986

Der umständlich umschreibende Titel, der diesen Ausführungen vorangeht, ist Ausdruck einer Verlegenheit. Für das hier erörterte poetische Verfahren scheint es keinen knappen und wirklich treffenden Terminus zu geben, und daran mag es liegen, daß viele wichtige Beispiele unbeachtet geblieben sind. Es empfiehlt sich, sogleich an einem konkreten Fall zu zeigen, worum es gehen soll. In den Versen 585–593 des achten Buches schildert Vergil, wie Aeneas und die ihm von Evander anvertrauten Arkader aus Pallanteum aufbrechen:

*Iamque adeo exierat portis equitatus apertis,
Aeneas inter primos et fidus Achates,
inde alii Troiae procures, ipse agmine Pallas*

50) I am most grateful to W. S. Anderson, H. D. Jocelyn, and C. E. Murgia for their criticisms of an earlier version of this article.