

TECHNICAL LANGUAGE IN TIBULLUS

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The aim of the paper is to illustrate that despite his overall stylistic *elegantia* Tibullus's language is by no means colourless and undifferentiated. His style is capable of considerable elaboration and variety which is all the more effective in contrast with his general purity of diction. In the excursus on cheese-making at II 3.41a-16, for example, T.'s use of technical terms puts him closer to Theocritus than to his Roman contemporaries in pastoral or elegy. The same delight in technical display, which may owe something to his patron Messalla's interest in the Latin language, can be seen in T.'s description of road-building at I 7.57-60 and in his frequent use elsewhere of technical terms connected with textiles and agriculture.

1. *Introduction*

In an earlier study on Tibullus and the language of Roman elegy¹ it was argued that while Tibullus is certainly more restrained than Propertius in his use of such features as diminutives, Greek loan-words and compound adjectives, nevertheless his *elegantia* does not imply a monotonous and undifferentiated style. His language is, on occasion, capable of considerable elaboration and variety which is all the more effective in contrast with his overall purity of diction. One area in which this variety is displayed is in the use of technical vocabulary. This is a feature of Tibullus's restrained Alexandrian *doctrina* which marks him out, to some extent, from his fellow elegists

¹ R. Maltby 1999, «Tibullus and the Language of Latin Elegy», in *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry: Proceedings of the British Academy* 93, 1999, pp. 377-398.

Propertius and Ovid. This paper will briefly explore Tibullus's exploitation of technical registers in the areas of cheese-making, road-building, spinning and weaving, and agriculture.

2. Cheese-making

2.3.14a-16 ipse deus solitus stabulis expellere uaccas 14a

.....	
et miscere nouo docuisse coagula lacte,	14b
lacteus et mixtis obriguisset liquor.	14c
tunc fiscella leui detexta est uimine iunci,	15
raraque per nexus est uia facta sero	16

The passage occurs as part of the only developed mythological allusion in Tibullus, the story of Apollo feeding the cattle of Admetus at II 3.11-32. As Murgatroyd has shown², the Alexandrian colouring in Tibullus's treatment of the myth is clearly marked both in style and in content. Apollo is stripped of all divine status, his actions and those of his sister, embarrassed at his plight, are humanised and the humorous and degrading aspects of his service are played up. There is particular humour in the application of the theme of the first inventor to the somewhat trivial invention of cheese-making and the incongruity of Apollo's involvement in this task is underlined by the accumulation of technical vocabulary³. The term *coagulum* 'rennet'⁴ is attested earlier only in Varro's description of cheese-making at *Rust.* II 11.4 *in lactis duos congios addunt coagulum magnitudine oleae, ut coeat*. The Thesaurus entry for *coagulum* in this technical sense *in caseo faciendo* shows that it occurs mainly in agricultural and medical writers in prose, but Tibullus is followed in verse by Ovid (though not in his amatory elegiac

² P.Murgatroyd 1994, *Tibullus: Elegies II, edited with introduction and commentary*. Oxford.

³ For the technical details of ancient cheese-making see *RE* X 1490.64-1492.48 (Kroll).

⁴ The rennet used to set milk in modern cheese making is an enzyme removed from the inner stomach lining of sucking animals such as calves and lambs. It is clear from passages such as Arist., *Met.* 381a6, Varro, *Rust.* II 11.4, Ov., *Met.* XIII 830, *Fast.* IV 545 that the ancients used not this liquid extract, but rather semi-solid curdled milk, removed from the stomach of the animal, which would contain the enzyme and when dissolved in milk (cf. *liquefacta* at *Met.* XIII 830 and *Fast.* IV 545) would cause it in turn to curdle, see further Gow on Theocr., *Id.* 7.16.

works) and Calpurnius⁵. The use of the verb *obrigesco* to denote the curdling of the milk occurs only here⁶. *Fiscella* in the general sense of a basket made from rushes occurs earlier in Varro *Rust.* II 2.14 and Virg. *Ecl.* 10.71. It is one of Tibullus's few diminutives⁷ and is obviously being used as the *terminus technicus* for the pliant reed basket employed in cheese-making for extracting the liquid whey from the solidifying curds, as in Colum. VII 8.3 *et confestim cum concreuit liquor, in fiscellas aut in calathos uel formas transferendus est*, a passage which also illustrates the technical use of *liquor* of the liquid milk prior to curdling.⁸ Again Tibullus is the first to describe the use of this type of basket in cheese-making in Latin verse and again he is followed by Ovid in a passage which appears to echo a number of the technical terms found here:⁹

Fast. 4.769-70 *ubera plena premam, referat mihi caseus aera,
dentque uiam liquido uimina rara sero.*
cf. in Tib. *uia* 16, *uimine* 15, *raraque* 16, *sero* 16.

The term *nexus* used of the interstices of the basket occurs only in Tib. II 3.16; earlier at Virg. *Georg.* III 423 it had been used of the coils of a snake. *Serum* in the sense of 'whey' had occurred earlier at Virg. *Georg.* 3.406 and is then picked up by Ovid at *Fast.* 4.770 (quoted above), later examples are restricted to technical prose writers¹⁰. The implications of this passage for Tibullan linguistic innovation are quite important.

The fact that there are no descriptions of cheese-making elsewhere in Roman elegy is perhaps not surprising. The nearest parallels in earlier Latin verse come, as is to be expected, from Virgilian pastoral and didactic, but

⁵ *ThLL* 3.1380.20ff. *in caseo faciendo*: Varro, *Rust.* II 11.4, Tib. II 3.14b, Ov., *Met.* XIII 830, *Fast.* IV 545, Calp., *Ecl.* 3.69, Colum. VII 8.2, Plin. *Nat.* XXX 144, Marcell., *Med.* 27.135, Planc., *Med.* 16.24, Cael. Aur., *Acut.* I 15.152.

⁶ See *OLD* s.v. 2

⁷ See R. Maltby 1999, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-8.

⁸ *fiscella* again in this sense at Colum. VII 8.6, cf. *fiscina* at *Copa* 17 *sunt et caseoli, quos iuncea fiscina siccat* and see *ThLL* 6.1.45ff. For a description of the *fiscella* and its use in cheese-making see J.M. Frayn, *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade in Italy during the Roman period* = ARCA 15, Liverpool., 1984, pp. 131-5.

⁹ Cf. also Ovid, *Met.* XII 436 *fluit, ueluti concretum uimine querno/ lac solet, Copa* 17 (quoted in n.8 above) and Nemes., *Ecl.* II 33-4 *ipse ego nec iunco molli nec uimine lento/ perfeci calathos gendi lactis in usus*.

¹⁰ Cels. V 26.20e, Colum. VII 8.3, Plin., *Nat.* XXVIII 126, XXX 144.

even the most developed of these lacks the sustained use of technical language to be found in Tibullus. Compare Virgil's description of the two types of cheese to be made by the shepherd, one soft, to be sold the next day in the town, and the other to be coated in salt and preserved for the winter:

Georg. III 400-403:

quod surgente die mulsera horisque diurnis,
nocte premunt; quod iam tenebris et sole cadente,
sub lucem exportant calathis (adit oppida pastor);
aut parco sale contingunt hiemique reponunt.

Here it could be argued that *premunt* is being used in the technical sense when applied to pressing of whey out of the curds¹¹, but the only unambiguous technical term here is the Greek loan-word *calathus*, which we have seen above occurs in Columella VII 8.3 in the sense of a cheese-basket, equivalent to *fiscella* or *forma* and is here used for transporting the cheese to market. Cheese references in the *Eclogues* are even less technical: *Ecl.* 1.33-4 *quamuis .../ pinguis...premeretur caseus urbi*; 1.81 *pressi copia lactis*¹². Two further passages on plaiting baskets may look forward to Tibullus II 3.15, but again the technical language is not sustained and the use to which the baskets are to be put is not specified: *Ecl.* 2.71-2 *quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus, / uiminibus mollique paras detexere iunco ?*; *Ecl.* 10.71 *dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco*. In fact the nearest parallels for Tibullus's apparent delight in technical terminology in this context come not from Latin but from Greek verse. At *Odyssey* IX 246-7 there is a description of the Cyclops making cheese: αὐτίκα δ' ἤμισυ μὲν θρέψας λευκοῖο γάλακτος / πλεκτοῖς ἐν τάλαιοισιν ἀμηςάμενος κατέθηκεν "next he curdled half the white milk and gathered it in wicker baskets". Here τρέφω, like πήγνυμι, is the technical term for "setting" or "coagulating" cheese, while the πλεκτοὶ τάλαιοι are the Greek equivalent of Tibullus's *fiscella detexta uimine iunci*¹³. In the *Iliad* the swift effect of

¹¹ See *ThLL* 10.2.1173.62-4 and cf. Virg., *Ecl.* 1.81 *pressi copia lactis*, Calp., *Ecl.* 5.34-5 *premetur / mane quod occiduae mulsura redegerit horae*, Prud., *Cath.* III 70 *lac premitus calatho*.

¹² Cf. Eur., *Cyclops* πηκτοῦ γάλακτος τ' οὐ σπάνια τυρέύματα "and a goodly number of cheeses made of curdled milk".

¹³ For τρέφω, cf. [Theocr.] 25.106 ἄλλος τρέφε πίονα τύπον "another set the rich cheese" and for τάλαιοι of the wicker baskets used for pressing cheese, cf. Ar., *Ran.* 560,

fig-juice as a coagulant in cheese-making appears in a simile describing the speed of Paeëon's healing powers: *Iliad* V 902-3 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν / ὕγρὸν ἐόν, μάλα δ' ὦκα περιτρέφεται κυκόνωντι "as when fig-juice quickly thickens white milk that is liquid, but is quickly curdled as a man stirs it". In the Hellenistic period descriptions of cheese-making find their way into pastoral and, as in *Odyssey* IX and the Euripidean examples cited in nn. 11 and 12, the main context in which they occur is in the description of the Cyclops' pastoral life-style in Theocritus *Idyll* 11¹⁴.

The importance of this theme is foreshadowed in the Cyclops' opening description of pale Galatea as λευκοτέρα πακτῶς 20 "whiter than curdled milk"¹⁵. His "cheese racks" ταρσοὶ 37¹⁶ are heavy both in summer and winter. At 66 he asks Galatea to consent to join him in his rustic existence and τυρὸν πᾶσαι τάμισον δριμεῖαν ἐνεῖσα "to set cheese with drops of acid rennet". Here the term τάμιςος is the equivalent to Tibullus's *coagulum*, and had occurred earlier in *Id.* 7.16 where Lycidas's goat-skin is described as νέας ταμισοῖο ποτόσδον "reeking of fresh rennet".

Tibullus, then, would appear to be more willing than his fellow elegists, and even perhaps than Virgil, to reproduce in Latin this Greek love of technical vocabulary. The most obvious model, in this case, would appear to be Hellenistic Greek pastoral, but it would be tempting to see here also the influence of his Roman patron, who, apart from being a *Latini utique sermonis observator diligentissimus*¹⁷, is known to have composed pastoral and erotic verse in Greek¹⁸. What subtler display of Hellenistic *doctrina* than to

σχοινίοις τ' ἐν τεύχεσιν "in rush baskets", *AP* 9.567; at Eur., *Cyclops* 208 the Cyclops asks if the cheese has been pressed..

¹⁴ For Theocritus' knowledge and use of technical terminology from real-life pastoral contexts see Rossi, L.E., «Mondo pastorale e poesia bucolica di Maniera: L'idillio ottavo del corpus Teocriteo» *SIFC* 43, 1971, pp. 5-25, where Rossi uses this characteristic of Theocritus' style to distinguish between him and the author of *Idyll* 8. — My thanks are due to Francis Cairns for providing me with this reference.

¹⁵ Ovid reproduces the simile with a change of emphasis from paleness to softness in the Cyclops' address to Galatea at *Met.* XIII 796 *mollior et cycni plumis et lacte coacto*.

¹⁶ ταρσοὶ had also figured in Homer's description of the Cyclops at *Odyssey* V IV 219 ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βῆθον "his racks were laden with cheeses".

¹⁷ Seneca, *Contr* 2.4

¹⁸ See [Virg.], *Catalepton* 9.13ff., now generally accepted to refer to Messalla's literary

reproduce in Latin an interest in technical vocabulary that his patron may have shared with his Greek models? Before leaving this passage it is worth underlining the fact that nowhere in it is the word for cheese, *caseus*, mentioned. The term is extremely rare in verse before Tibullus¹⁹. It occurs once only in Tibullus at II 5.38 in a list of rustic gifts and is not found elsewhere in Love Elegy. In Ovid it is restricted to two occurrences in the *Fasti* (IV 371, 769), and its distribution in later verse suggests that it was not felt suitable for high-style genres²⁰. More frequently circumlocutions of the type *pressi copia lactis* (Virg., *Ecl.* 1.81), *lactis massa coacti* (Ov., *Met.* VIII 666) or *lac coactum* (Ov., *Met.* XIII 796) are found²¹. In the same way Tibullus's mention of *coagula* in 14b, and perhaps also of *sero* in 16, could serve to suggest *caseus*, without actually mentioning the word, by alluding to etymological derivations of *caseus* from *lac coactum* and *serum*²². Etymological play is clearly one of the elements in the *doctrina* of the passage, as the complex *lacte / lacteus ... liquor* in significant positions in lines 14b and 14c, hinting at the derivation of *lac* from *liquor* shows²³. Finally, after Tibullus had introduced the technicalities of cheese-making to Latin verse, this, like a number of other Tibullan innovations²⁴, was seized upon by Ovid, who has no fewer than six references to it in the *Fasti* and the *Metamor-*

compositions.

¹⁹ Only Plaut., *Poen.* 367, 390 (in both cases as a term of endearment), *Cap.* 851, frg. 1.103, Lucil. 484 M., Virg., *Ecl.* 1.34 (a rustic feature of the language of Tityrus?).

²⁰ *Copa* 17, *Moretum* 58, 99, Phaedrus 14.3, 10, Calp., *Ecl.* 2.70, Stat., *Silu.* IV 9.36, Mart. III 58.50, IV 46.11, XII 32.18, XIII 30.1, 32.1.

²¹ Further examples in Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 8.666.

²² Cf. Varro *Ling.* V 108 *caseus a coacto lacte ut coaxeus dictus* (6.43), Isid. *Etym.* XX 2.33 *caseum vocari quod careat serum, quasi careum: nam serum ei omne deducitur ut ponderibus arguatur*.

²³ Cf. Cassiod. *In Psalm.* 118.70 l. 1193A *lac dictum est a liquore* and see Murgatroyd ad loc. A similar play may be intended by the use of the phrase *lactis liquor* at Lucr. II 398, Manil. I 751, Sen. *Oed.* 566.

²⁴ See R. Maltby, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

*phoses*²⁵, though he obviously did not consider it an appropriate topic for amatory elegiac verse.

3. road-building²⁶

Tibullus I 7, like II 3, is a poem in which Alexandrian learning and mannerisms are once again very much to the fore. The elegy is a birthday poem for Messalla which also praises his patron for his military victories and thus combines the genres of genethliakon and epinikion. The date of composition must be shortly after Messalla's triumph over Aquitania in September 27 B.C. There are clear echoes from Callimachus frgs. 383 and 383 Pf., which were probably epinikia. Towards the end of the poem Messalla is praised for his repair of the *Via Latina* in the following terms:

I 7.57-60 nec taceat monumenta uiae quem Tuscula tellus
 candidaque antiquo detinet Alba Lare.
 namque opibus congesta tuis, hic glarea dura
 sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex.

The historical background is that in 27 B.C. Augustus himself undertook the repair of the *uia Flaminia* as far as Ariminum and assigned the repair of other roads to triumphing generals whose booty (cf. *opibus ... tuis* 59) was to pay for the work²⁷. The section of the *Via Latina* repaired by Messalla ran from Rome to Tusculum and the Alban Hills²⁸. Other parts of the road were repaired by C. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Arruntius²⁹. The couplet 59-60 is remarkable for the accumulation of technical language in relation to road-building. The most obvious interpretation is that the clauses introduced by

²⁵ *Fast.* IV 371 *candidus elisae miscetur caseus herbae*, 769-70 (quoted above), *Met.* XII 435-7 (in a simile) *cerebrum / molle fluit, ueluti concretum uimine querno / lac solet*, XIII 797 *mollior ... lacte coacto*, 829-30 (spoken by the Cyclops and based loosely on Hom. *Od.* V IV 246-9) *lac mihi semper adest niueum: pars inde bibenda / seruatur, partem liquefacta coagula durant*, X IV 273 *cum lacte coagula passum*.

²⁶ On Roman road-building techniques see *RE* 4.2.2547 (Bergier), Chevallier, R, *Les Voies Romaines*, Paris, 1972, pp. 89-90.

²⁷ Suet., *Aug.* 30 *quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur, desumpta sibi Flaminia uia Arimino tenus munienda, reliquas triumphalibus uiris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit*. Cf. Dio 53.22, *Mon. Anc. c.* 20, *CIL* XI 365.

²⁸ See the full discussion in G. McCracken, «Tibullus, Messalla and the Via Latina», *AJP* 53, 1932, pp. 344-352 and cf. Murgatroyd *ad loc.*, pp. 230-231.

²⁹ See *CIL* X 6895 (Sabinus) and *CIL* X 5055 (Arruntius). Sabinus triumphed from Spain in 28 B.C.

hic ... hic refer to the two main stages in road construction: namely the laying of the gravel (*glarea* 59) base and the fitting of the paving stones (*silex* 60) over the top³⁰. Alternatively *hic ... hic* could suggest that Messalla's section of the road had examples of two types of surface, the one consisting of compacted gravel, the other of closely joined slabs of volcanic rock. Both types are mentioned in Livy XLI 27.5 *censores uias sternendas silice in urbe, glarea extra urbem substruendas marginandasque primi omnium locauerunt*, which suggests that, at least at this early period (174 B.C.), the more expensive paved *silex* type was found mainly in the city, whereas country roads were made of *glarea*. It is possible that Messalla's section started off in Rome with *silex* and then used *glarea* once outside the city. In a letter to his brother Quintus, Cicero complains of a country road which had been repaired with sand or dust rather than gravel *ad Q.Fr. III 1.4 eo loco pulvis, non glarea iniecta est (sc. uiae)*. The two types are still being mentioned at Ulp. *Dig. XLIII 11.1.2 in uiam terrenam glaream inicere aut sternere uiam lapide, quae terrena sit*. There is no reference to road-making in verse before Tibullus. The term *glarea* occurs earlier in verse in Virgil *Georgics* II 212 of porous gravel, and then is not found until Calp., *Ecl.* 6.65 (describing the gravel of a river bed).³¹ All other cases of *silex* in elegy are restricted to metaphorical contexts of hard-heartedness or endurance³². The use of *glarea* and *silex* in connection with road building, and of the verb *sternere* in the technical sense of "laying" a road can all be paralleled from prose and inscriptions³³. Whereas for the technicalities of cheese-making it

³⁰ Most archaeological evidence suggests the roads consisted of a gravel base with a paved surface, see Chevallier *op.cit.*, p. 89 and cf. Vitruv. VII 1.1ff., Stat., *Silu.* IV 3.40-53 (quoted below).

³¹ There is one late verse example connected with road-construction at Auson. 399.15 *iteratarum qua trita uiarum / fert ... ad Blauiam*.

³² Hard-heartedness: Tib. I 1.64, Prop. I 9.31, Ov., *Am.* I 11.9, III 6.59. Endurance: Prop. II 25.16, Ov., *Am.* I 15.31, *Ars* III 91, *Epist.* 10.109-110. The only exception is the description of Niobe's turning into a stone at Ov., *Am.* III 12.31.

³³ For *glarea* see *ThLL* 6.2.2035.31-42 *ad uias sternendas* and cf. *CIL* I².808 (=6.3824).9 <*uia gla*>*rea sternenda*, *CIL* X 6824 *imp. Caesar Nerva ... uiam a Tripontio ad Forum Appi ex glarea silice sternendam sua pecunia incohauit*. For *silex* cf. Liv. X 43.4, XXXVIII 28.3, XLI 27.5, 27.7, *ILS* 5825, *CIL* X 6824. For *sterno* Liv. X 23.13, 43.4 (*perstrata*), XXXVIII 28.3, XLI 27.5, 27.7, *ILS* 5822, 5834, 5861, *CIL* VI 3824, X 6824, Suet., *Diu. Aug.* 30, Ulp., *Dig. XLIII 11.1.2*.

was suggested Tibullus may have looked to Greek sources for inspiration, in the case of the specifically Roman activity of road-building it is the contemporary Roman historian Livy who seems to provide the closest parallels for Tibullan usage³⁴. As a serving soldier Tibullus himself may actually have witnessed such operations at first hand³⁵. The combination of *silex* and *glarea* in Liv. XLI 27.5 has already been mentioned. A further interesting Livian parallel, this time for the idea of the road as a memorial *monumenta viae* (57), can be found in the description of Appius Claudius's road-building at Liv. IX 25.9 *memoriae tamen felicioris ad posteros nomen Appi, quod uiam muniuit et aquam in urbem duxit*.³⁶ As for future poetic treatments of road-making, it was not Ovid whom Tibullus inspired on this occasion but rather Statius, who in *Siluae* IV 3 gives the most detailed account to survive in Roman literature of the phases of road-construction. The road in question is Domitian's *Via Domitiana* which was constructed in 95 AD and ran along the marshy coast-line from Sinuessa to Pozzuoli:

Statius, *Siluae* IV 3.40-55
 hic primus labor incohare sulcos
 et rescindere limites et alto
 egestu penitus cauare terras;
 mox haustas aliter replere fossas
 et summo gremium parare dorso,
 ne nutent sola, ne maligna sedes
 det pressis dubium cubile saxis;
 tunc umbonibus hinc et hinc coactis
 et crebris iter alligare gomphis.
 o quanta pariter manus laborant!
 hi caedunt nemus exuuntque montis,
 hi ferro scolopas trabesque leuant;
 illic saxa ligant opusque texunt
 cocto puluere sordidoque tofo;
 hi siccant bibulas manu lacunas

³⁴ There are no fewer than nine road-building references in Livy: V IV 29.5, 43.25, X 23.13, 43.4, XXXVIII 28.3, XXXV IV 2.10, XL IV 6, XLI 27.5, 7.

³⁵ For the army's involvement in road-making, cf. Liv. XXXV IV 2.10 (187 B.C.) (*Aemilius*) *exercitum in agrum Gallicum duxit uiamque a Placentia ut Flaminiae committeret Ariminum perduxit*.

³⁶ Cf. Cic., *Mil.* 18.37 *uiam Appiam, monumentum sui nominis, nece Papiri cruentauit* (of Appius Claudius's descendant, Clodius).

et longe fluuios agunt minores³⁷.

There are no direct echoes of Tibullus although Statius could have taken from him the idea of treating such a subject in verse. The passage obviously outdoes Tibullus in technical detail and language and in this respect it is a typical product of its age, when poets could draw on an impressive body of learned compilations and treatises and had no compunction about tricking out their verse with such material. The phrase *rescindere limites*, according to Coleman *ad loc.*, refers to the “cutting back” of an original track and the widening and clearing of the vegetation and topsoil to a width of 16-20m. The material in between was then hollowed out to provide a firm foundation (*gremium*). This trench was then filled with other material (43), which was built up into a camber *summo ...dorso* (44). This surface was covered by paving stones *saxa* (46, 52), held in place by a kerb *umbo* (47). Other wedge-shaped stones *gomphi* (48) were jammed in to secure both the kerb and the paving. Finally a mortar made of baked sand and volcanic ash *sordidus tofus* (53) was used to bind the stones together.³⁸

It remains to point out that, as with the passage on cheese-making, so also with Tibullus's description of road-making, technical language goes closely together with etymological learning. The etymology of *Alba in candida* is a clear-cut case³⁹ while in 57-8 Cairns⁴⁰ suggests an as yet unexplained complex of etymologies based on Etruscan.

The only verbal echo of Tib. I 7.57-60 in later verse is to be found in the Pseudo-Virgilian *Catalepton* 9. Interestingly this was also a poem of praise for Messalla on the occasion of his Aquitanian triumph. The verse occurs not in a description of road-making but in a list of the hardships of military campaigning suffered by Messalla: 45-6 *immoderata pati iam sidera iamque*

³⁷ Text after K.M.Coleman, *Statius Silvae IV*. Oxford, 1988.

³⁸ See the useful stylised cross-section in Coleman *op. cit.*, p. 114 fig. 3

³⁹ See Murgatroyd *ad loc.* and cf. Maltby *LALÉ s.v. Alba*, J. J. O'Hara, *True Names. Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*. Michigan, 1996; M. Paschalis *Virgil's Aeneid. Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, Oxford, 1997, and Maltby forthcoming.

⁴⁰ Francis Cairns, «Ancient “Etymology” and Tibullus», *PCPS* 42, 1996, p. 41 points to the coincidence of *tura Lari* in I 3.34 and *Tuscula tellus / ... Lare* here in 57-8 as evidence of possible Etruscan based etymologies. *tus* lies behind the ancient etymologies of *Tusculum*, *Tusci* and *Tuscia* (see Maltby *LALÉ s.vv.*) and *Lar* was thought in antiquity to be an Etruscan word (*ibid. s.v. Lars*).

calores, / sternere uel dura posse super silice. In 46 *sternere* and *silice* recall *sternitur* and *silex* in the same *sedes* in Tibullus 60, while *dura* recalls *dura* in 59. The use of *sternere* in this passage is odd and some such object as *uestem* or *uellus* or *te ad dormiendum* must be supplied as it stands⁴¹. Another possibility is that the text is corrupt and could contain some garbled reference to road-making.

4. *Spinning and Weaving*⁴²

References to spinning and weaving in Greek and Latin poetry are numerous, both in literal contexts⁴³ and used metaphorically as an image for poetic composition.⁴⁴ Spinning had been the archetypal activity of the faithful wife from the time of Homer's Penelope.⁴⁵ In Latin literature this theme is found in Ter., *Heaut.* 275ff. and in Livy's description of the faithful Lucretia at I 57.7ff⁴⁶. Tibullus's first use of the spinning motif belongs to this tradition. At I 3.86ff. he imagines himself returning unexpectedly from a military campaign and finding Delia in the company of her maids and an old nurse, who tells stories as they spin:

I 3.85-8 haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna
 deducat plena stamina longa colu,
 ac circa, gravibus pensis affixa, puella
 paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.

⁴¹ See Westendorp Boerma *ad loc.* vol. 2, p. 23

⁴² For the technical details of ancient spinning and weaving see Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* I 293-4, J.P.Wild (1970) *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*, Cambridge, D.Strong and D. Brown (ed.) (1976), *Roman Crafts*, London, pp. 170-2, J.Wilson (1938) *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, Baltimore, pp. 14ff.

⁴³ Cf. Hom. *Il.* III 125-6 (Helen), *Od.* X 221ff. (Circe), XIII 107-8 (the nymphs) etc. The most developed description in Latin before Tib. is of the Parcae at Cat. 64.311-22, cf. Lucr. V. 1350-1360, Virg., *Georg.* I 285-6, 293-4, IV 348-9. In elegy outside Tib. references to spinning and weaving occur at Prop. I 3.41, III 6.15-16, 11.20, 15.15, IV 3.33, VII 40-41, V IV 47-8, Ov., *Am.* I 13.23-4, *Ars* I 691-5, *Epist.* III 70, 75-6, V IV 73-80, XV IV 49, 197.

⁴⁴ For the metaphor in Greek Literature see J.M.Snyder (1980), "The Web of song: Weaving imagery in Homer and the Lyric poets" *Clas. Journ.* 76, pp. 193-6, J.Scheid and J.Svenbro (1996) *The Craft of Zeus. Myths of Weaving and Fabric*, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 111f. and for Latin see Fedeli on Prop. I 16.41, S. Kyriakidis (1998), *Narrative structure and Poetics in the Aeneid*, Bari, pp. 96-102, *ThLL* 5.1.282.55-76 on *deducere*.

⁴⁵ Hom. *Od.* XV IV 138-50.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ter., *Heaut.* 286 *textentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus*, Liv. I 57.9 *nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantis ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inueniunt*.

Not all the Tibullan passages on spinning are equally technical in their language and only I 6.77-80 and II 1.61-6 contain technical terms which are rare elsewhere in verse.

Parallels for the present passage I 3.85-8 can be found in Catullus's description of the Fates spinning at 64.311-3:

laeua colum molli lana retinebat amictum,
dextera tum leuiter deducens fila supinis
formabat digitis.

The *colus* 'distaff' full of wool to be spun was held in the left hand, while the right 'drew out' *deducere* the 'threads' *stamina* (Tibullus) or *fila* (Catullus). The *pensum* was the 'stint' of wool to be spun by a maid in a day. Most of the vocabulary related to spinning in this passage can be paralleled from elsewhere in elegy and was probably not considered particularly unusual for this genre.⁴⁷ Propertius twice treats the theme of the mistress weaving in the absence of her lover. At I 3.41 Cynthia describes her activity as follows: *nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum*. As Fedeli argues ad loc. Cynthia, like Penelope, must have been weaving rather than spinning, which was a task for the servants. In such contexts the term *stamen* < *stare* has the technical sense of the vertical thread or warp. At III 6.15-16 it is clear that the maids spin while the mistress weaves: *tristis erat domus, et tristes sua pensa ministrae / carpebant, medio nebat ipsa loco*.

A more developed and technically detailed account of spinning and weaving occurs next in the description of the impoverished life of the faithless mistress in old age at I 6.77-80:

at quae fida fuit nulli, post uicta senecta
ducit inops tremula stamina torta manu
firmaque conductis adnectit licia telis
tractaque de niueo uellere ducta putat.

Each of lines 78-80 describes a different process. Line 78, like I 3.86, describes the "drawing out" *ducit* and "twisting" *torta* of threads from the

⁴⁷ For *deducere* in this context see ThLL 5.1.279.69-76 and cf. Ov., *Am.* I 14.7 (of a spider spinning its web). For *stamen*, cf. Tib. I 6.78, I 7.2, Lygd. [Tib.] III 3.36, Prop. I 3.41, Ov., *Ars* I 695, *Epist.* 3.76, V IV 79, XV IV 49, 197. For *colus*, see ThLL 3.1743.45ff. and cf. Tib. II 1.63, Prop. I 4.72, IV 9.48, Ov., *Epist.* 3.76. For *pensum* see ThLL 10.1.1048. 7-60 and cf. Tib. II 1.10, 63, Prop. III 6.15, 11.20, IV 3.33, 7.41, 9.48, III 15.15.

wool on the distaff. For the use of *ducere* in place of the more common *deducere* here see *ThLL* 5.1.2147.17-19 and cf. Lygd. [Tib.] III 3.36 (of the Fates) *stamina ... ducunt*. For the twisting of the thread implied in *torta*, cf. Cat. 64. 312-14 *dextera tum leuiter deducens fila supinis / formabat digitis, tum prono in pollice torquens / libratum tereti uersabat turbine fusum*. Line 79 describes the fixing *adnectit* of the vertical warp-threads *licia* (here equivalent to *stamina*) to the crossbeam *iugum* (not mentioned) of the loom *tela*. This was the first task of the weaver before beginning the actual weaving process by passing the horizontal weft-threads through them by means of the shuttle. The line has no parallel in elegy and goes back to Virg. *Georg.* I 285-6 which states that the seventeenth day is lucky for *...licia telae / addere* “fixing the warp-threads to the loom”⁴⁸. In this and the following line Tibullus once again departs from the norms of elegiac diction to display his taste for technical language. Examples of *licium* in this context are collected by *ThLL* 7.2.1373.77-1374.11. Before Tibullus and Virgil it occurs only at Lucil. 681 M. in what appears to be a list of the possessions of a frugal wife of old *cribrum, incerniculum, lucernam, laterem in telam, licium* “a riddle, a sieve, a lamp, a weight for the loom and thread”⁴⁹. The use of *firmus* = ‘strong’, applied to wool or textiles, is found elsewhere only in Varro and Pliny⁵⁰. The participle *conductus* = “hired” occurs elsewhere in elegy only in Ovid *Amores* 1.10; once in a legal context (37) *conducti ... testes*, and once with reference to a hired prostitute (44) *conducto ... toro*. The verb *adnecto* ‘attach’ is described by *ThLL* as *uerbum in uariis artibus technicum*⁵¹. It occurs in verse before Tibullus only twice. Once in a nautical context in Cicero, *Carm. frg.* 69.4 *nauem ... adnectunt nauitae*, and once in Lucretius III 688 of the connection between the soul and the body *neque ... adnecti potuisse putandumst*. After Tibullus it is not found again in verse

⁴⁸ Virgil in turn is elaborating on a more general statement in Hes. *Op.* 799 that on the tenth day τῇ δ' ἴστων στήσαιτο γυνὴ προβάλοιτό τε ἔργον “on that day the woman should fix up her loom and set out her work”.

⁴⁹ On the meaning “loom weight” for the disputed *laterem* in this passage see the discussion of Tib. II 1.66 *a pulso tela sonat latere* below.

⁵⁰ See *ThLL* 6.1.815.12-13 and cf. Varro, *Ling.* V IV 39 *quod in usu (sc. lana) firmior sit*, Plin. *Nat.* XXXV 150 *uestes firmiores usibus fiunt*.

⁵¹ See *ThLL* 1.777.81-2. It occurs mainly in technical prose writers on medicine and agriculture from Varro on, *ibid.* 778. 1-52.

until Statius⁵². In the context of weaving the closest parallel is Pliny's description of the spider weaving its web at *Nat.* XI 81 *circinato orbe subtemina adnectens*. Verse 81 describes the logically prior operation of cleaning the wool before spinning. The term *tractum* describing a "flock" of wool drawn out from the fleece prior to spinning is found elsewhere only at Varro, *Men.* 325 of a small wool-worker who takes his flocks by hand to the dyer *denique etiam suis manibus lanæ tracta ministrasset infectori*. The participle *ducta* here seems to be used in a slightly different sense from 78, where the reference was to "drawing out" threads from the wool on the distaff. Here the reference must be to "pulling out" flocks of wool from the fleece, or possibly to the drawing of the flocks through the hands to soften them before cleaning⁵³. Finally the verb *putat* in its literal sense of "clean" is rare, being used of wool elsewhere only at Titin., *Com.* 22-3 *da pensam lanam: qui non reddet temperi / putatam recte, facito ut multetur malo* and Varro, *Rust.* II 2.18 *ne lana ... recte possit uel lauari ac putari*. It may be significant that the destitute woman described in this section is not employed in weaving itself, but only in the more mundane preparatory tasks of cleaning and spinning the wool and setting up the loom.

Tibullus's next spinning reference is to the Fates spinning the thread of Messalla's future life at I 7.1-2: *Parcae, fatalia nentes / stamina*. This recalls the theme of Cat. 64.311ff. and is imitated by Lygdamus at [Tib.] III 3.35-6 *tristesque sorores / stamina quae ducunt quaeque futura neunt*. As always in Tibullus, *stamina* is used here in its general sense of "thread", rather than in the technical sense of "warp". At II 1.9-10 Tibullus asks the women to rest from their spinning in order to honour the deity on a festival day: *omnia sint operata deo: non audeat ulla / lanificam pensis imposuisse manum*. A Tibullan innovation here is the adjectival use of the compound *lanificus*⁵⁴, which is picked up by Ovid in his imitation of the line at *Am.* I 13.23-4 (of Dawn) *tu, cum feminei possint cessare labores / lanificam reuocas ad sua pensa manum*. Later in the same poem Tibullus develops further the spinning and weaving theme with characteristic technical elaboration:

⁵² Stat., *Silu.* III 2.27, 5.109.

⁵³ Cf. Ov., *Epist.* 3.70 *est mihi, quae lanæ molliat, apta manus*. On the preparation, softening and cleaning of wool prior to spinning see Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* vol. 4, Leiden, 1956, pp. 21, 81.

⁵⁴ See *ThLL* 7.2.929.67ff.

2.1.61-6 rure etiam teneris curam exhibitura puellis
 molle gerit tergo lucida uellus ouis;
 hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque,
 fusus et appposito pollice uersat opus:
 atque aliqua adsiduae textrix operata Mineruae
 cantat, et a pulso tela sonat latere.

The phrase *femineus labor* occurs here for the first time. The adjective is rare and probably elevated in tone. It is used in a similar context with reference to Camilla in the *Aeneid* VII 805-6: *non illa colo calathisque Minervae / femineas adsueta manus*. It is echoed in the same couplet of Ovid in which he picks up the adjective *lanificus* from 10 in *Amores* I 13.23-4 (quoted above). For *pensum* and *colus* see n.47. The delayed *et* in 64 is typical of such passages of Alexandrian *doctrina* and can be paralleled in the description of Apollo working for Admetus with which this paper began⁵⁵. The *fusus* is the spindle onto which the twisted yarn was spun. It occurs first in a line of Lucretius in which technical terms from spinning and weaving are accumulated: V 1351 *insilia ac fusi radii scapique sonantes*. This comes from a passage on the development of textile trades V 1350-60, which describes how these were originally men's work 1354-5 *et facere ante viros lanam natura coegit / quam muliebre genus*. If Tibullus had this in mind it would give added point to his *femineus labor*. Spindles are mentioned most often in the context of the spinning Fates as in Cat. 64.327ff. and Virg., *Ecl.* 4.46. The word *fusus* occurs here only in Tibullus and is not found in Propertius. In Ovidian erotic elegy it is found in *Ars* I 695, *Epist.* 12.4 and 18.37⁵⁶. The phrase *appposito pollice* refers to the fact that the down-turned thumb of the right hand set the spindle in motion, cf. Cat. 64.313-4 *tum prono in pollice torquens / libratum tereti uersabat turbine fustum*⁵⁷. For *opus* in the technical sense of the product of spinning or weaving, equivalent to the Greek *œrgon* (see n.48), cf. Cat. 64.315 *decerpens aequabat semper opus dens*, Tib. I 3.88 above⁵⁸. The very rare *textrix* in 65 (which appears in A and, as the *lectio difficilior*, must be preferred to *textis* of the later MSS), occurs here for the

⁵⁵ Tib. II 3.22 *uenit et a templis irrita turba domum*

⁵⁶ For full details see *ThLL* 6.1.1661. 17-63

⁵⁷ Cf. also Ov., *Met.* VI 22 *leui teretem uersabat pollice fustum*, *Eleg. in Maec.* 1.73 *torsisti pollice fusos*.

⁵⁸ Further examples in *ThLL* 9.2.847.25-52.

first time and is not found again until Mart. IV 19.1. Finally the reference in 66 *a pulso tela sonat latere* must be to the noise made by the *terra cotta* weights which were attached to bunches of *stamina* or “warp-threads” at the bottom to keep them tight⁵⁹. When the comb (*pecten*), which was used to press the threads of the weft together, was brought down firmly⁶⁰, the loom, *tela*, would sound out as the weights (*latere* must be poetic singular for plural) knocked together. The only other occurrence of *later* in this sense is at Lucil. 681 M. *laterem in telam* discussed above⁶¹. In this final passage, as in I 6.78-80, Tibullus is clearly displaying his *doctrina* by intentionally accumulating rare and technical words in Alexandrian fashion.

Before leaving textiles one further example of Tibullus’ use of technical language in this area should be mentioned. At II 3.53-4 he expresses the wish that Nemesis should wear fine Coan silk: *illa gerat uestes tenues quas femina Coa / texuit, auratas disposuitque uias*. This expensive and almost transparent silk from Cos appears to have been fashionable with the demi-monde in the time of Augustus and is frequently mentioned in elegy⁶², what is unusual here is Tibullus’ use of *uias* in the technical sense of stripes (the normal word for which would be *uirgae*) and of the verb *disponere* for the arrangement of the stripes in the silk. There is no clear parallel for *disponere* in this sense, but a clue that *uia* was the technical word for stripes comes, as Murgatroyd shows ad loc., from Servius’ explanation of *uirgatis lucent sagulis* “they glitter in striped cloaks” (of the Gauls) at Virg., *Aen.* VIII 660 with *quae habebant in uirgarum modum deductas uias*.

5. Agricultural terms

Unlike Propertius and Ovid, who were essentially urban poets, Tibullus, at least in his first book, lays great stress on the importance of country pursuits to his elegiac ideal.

As a consequence his elegies contain a number of words and phrases concerning agriculture, which, although not restricted to technical prose

⁵⁹ Cf. Senec. *Epist.* 90.20, where the weights are called *pondera*, and see Murgatroyd ad loc. and Mynors on Virg., *Georg.* I 293-4.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ov., *Met.* VI 57-8 ... *inter stamina ductum / percusso pauunt insecti pectine dentes*. Fast. III 820 ... *et rarum pectine denset opus*.

⁶¹ See ThLL 7.2.1000.47-53.

⁶² Cf. Tib. II 4.29, Prop. I 2.1f., II 1.5, IV 2.23, 5.23, Ov., *Ars* II 298.

writers, would nevertheless be more at home in the writings of Varro, Pliny the elder or Columella than in the works of his fellow elegists. It should suffice simply to list some of the more striking examples. At I 1.8 the phrase *grandia poma* is used to refer to “sturdy” fruit trees. As can be seen from the *ThLL* article⁶³ *grandis* is the standard adjective for “big” when referring to corn, fruit, trees and vegetables in technical writings on agriculture from Varro to Palladius. Other examples of its application to trees occur at Varro, *Rust.* III 5.12, Paul., *Dig.* VII 1.11 and Pallad. I 6.9. For *pomum* referring to the tree rather than the fruit (cf. II 1.43 *tum consita pomus*) parallels can be found in prose at Cato, *Agr.* 133.1, Varro, *Rust.* I 31.5 and in verse at Lucr. V 1377, Virg., *Georg.* II 426, and Ov., *Met.* XIII 719. It is not found elsewhere in elegy. At I 3.62 *floret odoratis terra benigna rosis* Tibullus describes the rich earth of Elysium with the phrase *terra benigna*. Here the adjective *benignus* in its etymological sense of “fertile” (<*bene* + *gigno*) appears to be the technical term for soil that produces abundant crops⁶⁴, cf. Plin., *Nat.* XVIII 1 *benigna tellure proueniunt*, cf. XXIII 2 *tamquam parum benigna fertilique*. It occurs in verse in this sense first in Tibullus and then at Ov., *Am.* I 10.56 *praebeat Alcinoi poma benignus ager*. Lygd. [Tib.] III 3.6 *et magnas messes terra benigna daret* with *terra benigna* in the same *sedes* as in Tibullus probably echoes I 3.62. Its opposite *malignus* had already occurred in Virg., *Georg.* II 179 *collesque maligni*. Another Tibullan epithet normally found in agricultural writers is *nouellus*⁶⁵, referring to the young of animals e.g. Varro, *Rust.* I 20.2 *nouellos iuuencos*. At II 2.22 Tibullus transfers the term to the crowd of young children that he wishes for Cornutus after his marriage: *ludat et ante tuos turba nouella pedes*. The reason for this rather strange epithet here is perhaps that Tibullus is inspired by a passage of Lucretius, where the subject is calves: I 259-61 *hinc noua proles* (cf. Tib. II 2.21 *prolemque ministret*) / *artubus infirmis teneras lasciua per herbas / ludit lacte mero mentes percussa nouellas*. It is subsequently used in verse by Ovid of a lamb at *Ars.* I 118 and of a young bull at *Pont.* III 7.16. Although horse-riding is not specifically a rustic pursuit, it is convenient to list under this heading Tibullus’ use of the phrase *angustis ... habenis* of the

⁶³ *ThLL* 6.2.2182.12-57 under B *de frumentis, uiridibus, fructibus sim.*

⁶⁴ See *ThLL* 2.1904.22-46 *i.q. large praebens, copiosus, abundans, fertilis.*

⁶⁵ See *OLD* s.v. *novellus* 1 (a).

skilled young horse-rider at I 4.11-12 *hic placet angustis quod equum compescit habenas*. Here *angustis* is used in the active sense of ‘constraining’, referring to “tight” reins. The suspicion that this may be a technical term from horse-riding arises out of its use in a similar context by Varius Rufus (ap. Macrobian. VI 2.19) frg. 3 (Courtney): *quem non ille sinit lentae moderator habenae / qua uelit ire, sed angusto prius ore coercens/ insultare docet campis fingitque morando*. Here the adjective appears to be used in the passive sense of the horse’s mouth “held tight” by the reins and the bit⁶⁶. Returning finally to a more strictly agricultural context, Tibullus’s frequent references to the vintage often contain technical terms:

I 1.9-10 nec spes destituat sed frugum semper acervos
 praebeat et pleno pinguis musta lacu
 I 5.23-4 aut mihi seruabit plenis in lintribus uuas
 pressaque ueloci candida musta pede
 I 7.35-6 illi iucundos primum matura saporis
 expressa incultis uua dedit pedibus
 II 1.45 aurea tum pressos pedibus dedit uua liquores
 II 5.85-6 oblitus et musto feriet pede rusticus uuas
 dolia dum magni deficientque lacus

For the characterisation of the grape juice, *mustum*, as *pinguis* “rich”, cf. Manil. III 153, III 663, Colum. X 432. “White” juice *album mustum* is often referred to by Pliny, cf. *Nat.* X IV 78, 100, XVIII 102, XX IV 129 and the adjective *candidus* (as in I 5.24) is used of it at *Nat.* XXIII 29 *musta differentias habent naturales has, quod sunt candida aut nigra aut inter utrumque*. For *lacus* in the technical sense of a wine vat in I 9.10 and II 5.86⁶⁷ most of the parallels come from agricultural prose writers such as Cato, *Agr.*, Varro, *Rust.*, Pliny, *Nat.* and Columella. Examples in verse occur first in Tibullus, but not elsewhere in elegy, then in Manil. V 679, Ov., *Fast.* III 558, *Trist.* III 10.72, Mart. IV 44.2, VII 28.4, Sil. VII 211. *linter* is normally a hollowed-out log used as a boat (cf. Tib. II 5.34) but here in I 5.23 it is found in the technical sense of a trough in which grapes were transported or pressed at vintage time⁶⁸. The only parallels for its use in this sense are Cato, *Agr.*

⁶⁶ Unless with Courtney ad loc one accepts the correction of L. Torrentius ad Hor., *Carm.* I 10.6 of *orbe* for *ore*, cf. Ov., *Epist.* 3.80, *Met.* VI 226.

⁶⁷ See *ThLL* 7.2.863.76-864.44 and cf. Isid., *Etym.* XX 14.12 *lacus, quo liquatus profuat, quo ab uuis uel oliuis torquendo oleum uinumque exigitur*.

⁶⁸ See *ThLL* 7.2.1466.53-61. For a description see K.D.White, *Farm Equipment of the*

11.5 where two *luntres* are prescribed for each hundred *iugera* of vineyard and Virg., *Georg.* I 262 where the ploughman in winter *cauat arbore lintres*. For *exprimo* of pressing grapes in I 7.36 most of the parallels come again from Cato, *Agr.*, Varro, *Rust.* and Columella; Tibullus is the only verse author to use the verb in this context⁶⁹. At II 1.45 *aurea... uua*, referring to the golden colour of ripe white grapes, is unique; but *aureus* is used of apples in Virg., *Ecl.* 3.71 and 8.52 and of flowers at Plin. *Nat.* XXV 32. Finally *dolia* in II 5.86 are the large earthenware vessels in which the pressed grape juice was left to ferment and settle. It occurs again mainly in technical agricultural prose writers⁷⁰, cf. Cato, *Agr.* 113 *de lacu quam primum uinum in dolia indito*. Its use by Propertius at III 17.17-18 *dum modo purpureo spument mihi dolia musto, / et noua pressantis inquinat uua pedes*, seems to be inspired by a combined reminiscence of Tib. I 1.10 and II 5.85-6⁷¹.

I hope to have shown within the scope of this brief paper that Tibullus's occasional use of technical vocabulary is no mere accident of the subject matter of his elegies but arises from a genuine attempt to reproduce in Latin the lexical diversity of his Hellenistic Greek forerunners. This characteristic of Tibullan elegy is imitated to some degree by Ovid in his amatory elegiacs but is not a feature of the language of Propertius, whose style in other respects is admittedly more flamboyant.

Roman World, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 164-5.

⁶⁹ See *ThLL* 5.2.1782.73-80. For *presso* in this sense, cf. Tib. II 1.45, Prop. III 17.18 (quoted below).

⁷⁰ See *ThLL* 5.1.1833.44-1834.22.

⁷¹ A further verse usage at Aetna 267 *tumeant et dolia musto* is perhaps based on Prop. 3.17.17.