

THE COPA: AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is two-fold: firstly, to make a general study of the Copa with a view to determining, as far as is possible, its authorship and date, and, secondly, to attempt a detailed exegesis of its contents. The first Chapter contains an introduction to the MSS tradition of the Appendix Vergiliana, and a brief discussion of the statements of Donatus and Servius concerning Vergilian authorship of the poems. In Chapter 2 the question of the authorship of the Copa is considered. The views of various scholars, who use as tests of authenticity studies of content and style, vocabulary, metre and parallel passages, are discussed. Particular worth is assigned the evidence afforded by the historical references to the Copa. The Chapter concludes that there is a strong case for Vergilian authorship. A possible date for the Copa is the subject of Chapter 3. Although there are varying opinions on this problem, it is found that certain features of metre (the apparent avoidance of the dissyllabic pentameter ending, for example), vocabulary (such as the use of diminutives and the present participle) and the use made of literary sources tend to indicate a "pre-Eclogue" date for the poem, that is, a date around 47 B.C. Chapter 4 contains a discussion of Vergil's study of Epicurean philosophy under Siro at Naples. The possibility that the Copa was written under the influence of Epicureanism is suggested; it appears that the poet manipulates various aspects of the philosophy for humorous purposes. In the Commentary, emphasis is concentrated on textual and lexical problems. There follow three short appendices and a bibliography.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AC</u>	L'Antiquité Classique
<u>AJPh</u>	American Journal of Philology
<u>CJ</u>	The Classical Journal
<u>CPh</u>	Classical Philology
<u>CR</u>	Classical Review
<u>CQ</u>	Classical Quarterly
<u>Dictionnaire des Antiquités</u>	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <u>Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines</u> . Tomes 1-5, Graz 1962-63.
<u>HLB</u>	Harvard Library Bulletin
<u>HSCP</u>	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
<u>PhQ</u>	Philological Quarterly
<u>RhM</u>	Rheinisches Museum
<u>RPh</u>	Revue de Philologie
<u>SBAW</u>	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
<u>TAPA</u>	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association

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CHAPTER I

THE APPENDIX VERGILIANA

It has become customary to refer collectively to a group of poems, which have been handed down as the youthful works of Vergil, as the Appendix Vergiliana, a title first assigned to the collection in the 1573 edition of Joseph Scaliger.¹ The authenticity of these poems has been the subject of controversy for centuries.² Donatus, of the fourth century A.D., is the first ancient author to treat them as a collection; in his Life of Vergil he states that they belong to the poet's early literary "career": deinde Catalepton et Priapea et Epigrammata et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem cum esset annorum XVI.³ Servius, also writing in the fourth century, and probably basing his work on Donatus,⁴ attributes a slightly different list of works to Vergil. Without comment he includes the Aetna in his list, and adds the Copa, not mentioned in Donatus' account.⁵ One should note the uncertainty Servius expresses whether the number of the minor poems is seven or eight: scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos. Some critics believe that he is alluding to some dispute over the authorship of the Aetna and the Copa, while others think that Servius' uncertainty concerns the Epigrammata.⁶ E.K. Rand's theory is that Donatus actually intended to describe a collection of six minor poems: Culex, Ciris, Copa, Aetna, Dirae and Catalepton, and that one should take et Priapea et Epigrammata to refer not to separate poems but to two subsections of the Catalepton.

E.K. Rand further believes that such a collection of six minor poems might have existed in Suetonius' time, the first century A.D.⁷ The theory that Donatus based his Life of Vergil on a lost version by Suetonius has long been argued.⁸ If this theory is correct, and if the tradition

assigning the poems of the Appendix to Vergil does go back to Suetonius,⁹ we would then have a firmer historical base for Vergilian authorship.¹⁰ Whether or not the Suetonian tradition concerning the Appendix is correct, certain of the poems, at any rate, the Culex, the Copa and some of the Catalepton, are mentioned as Vergilian by other ancient authors. Lucan,¹¹ Statius¹² and Martial¹³ make reference to the Culex, Quintilian mentions Catalepton II,¹⁴ and Charisius, a contemporary of Donatus, attributes the Copa to Vergil.¹⁵

The tradition of the manuscripts, where the poems are grouped together under Vergil's name, cannot, by itself, be taken as proof of authenticity.¹⁶ F. Vollmer believes that there existed a very early Vergilian codex, which contained the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid, preceded by the six minor poems noted above.¹⁷ As time went on, however, other poems, probably not the work of Vergil, were added to the manuscript because in their subject matter they happened to resemble the Vergilian poems.¹⁸ The Moretum, for instance, was similar in parts to the Georgics in its portrayal of rural life; the Elegia in Maecenatem seemed to be a suitable addition to the Vergilian corpus, since it honoured Vergil's patron.¹⁹ If this is the case, it would not be unlikely that, as time passed, scribes forgot the circumstances surrounding the addition of each of these non-Vergilian poems, and Vergil's name was assigned to them all. Thus, the first manuscript we have in which these poems are treated as a collection, the catalogue of the library at Murbach, dated to 850 A.D., lists Dire, Ciris, Culicis, Catalapeion, Ethne, Priapeia, Copa, Moretum and Mecenas under Vergil's name.²⁰ In spite of the fact that the minor poems do stand together in certain of the manuscripts, one cannot,

on that basis, claim Vergilian authorship for them with any degree of certainty. In view of this, one should perhaps examine the question of authenticity through the information supplied by Suetonius, Donatus and Servius, and set aside the evidence of the later manuscripts.

There is also the question why, if the minor poems are authentic, the transmission of the manuscripts containing them has been so different from that of the corpus of Vergil's main works. E. Clift attempts to account for this by suggesting that, whereas Vergil's Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid were kept at the main state library at Rome, the Palatine library, during the Augustan period, his lesser works, the works of his youth, were relegated to the library of the Porticus Octaviae, which Augustus established in 23 B.C.²¹ A parallel might possibly be seen in the fact that the poems written by Caesar in his youth were not permitted to rest in the Palatine library, because they were considered unworthy of him.²² Perhaps Vergil's instruction to destroy all of his works which he himself had not perfected and published could have had something to do with the separate transmission of the minor poems. Because of the poet's wishes, it is possible that the minor poems were not published by Varius and Tucca along with the major works; perhaps they became the property of Vergil's associates, and for a considerable period were known only by them. "The doubtful elements in the transmission of the Vergilian corpus can thus be explained on the grounds of deferred publication and the partial fulfilment of the author's personal wishes in regard to the poems, without recourse of the assumption of deliberate falsification."²³

Although Donatus viewed the minor poems as Vergilian, many later scholars, and in particular the scholars of the nineteenth century, did not.

In that period, the poems were examined in a purely aesthetic light; if they did not seem to be in keeping with the style of Vergil's "mature" poetry, they were rejected. Modern scholars, unlike their nineteenth-century predecessors, are usually more willing to take ancient historical evidence into account. Indeed, there is a growing belief that, owing to the strong historical and manuscript tradition assigning the poems to Vergil, a vigorous attempt should be made to prove, as far as is possible, Vergilian authorship. Less approbation is now given those critics who deny that the Appendix is Vergilian simply because the style and content of the poems do not seem to suit Vergil's later poetry. Scholars now tend to believe that other, much more detailed examinations of the poems must be made, using different criteria from those of "good taste" and "appropriateness" in order to determine authenticity.

Notes

¹Publii Vergilii Maronis Appendix cum Supplemento Multorum Antehac Numquam Excussorum Poematium Veterum Poetarum (Lyons 1573).

²Donatus, Life of Vergil 19, for example, mentions that there is doubt concerning the authenticity of the Aetna: scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetna.

³Donatus, 17.

⁴See H.R. Upson, "Medieval Lives of Vergil," CPh 38 (1943) 103-11.

⁵Servius, Life of Vergil 14-15. E.K. Rand in "Young Virgil's Poetry," HSCP 30 (1919) 106, believes that, if Servius used Donatus, it is probable that the Copa was originally contained in Donatus' list, but that it later dropped out through scribal error.

⁶See Rand, 110 and n.1.

⁷Rand, 108.

⁸H. Nettleship, Ancient Lives of Vergil (Oxford 1879).

⁹M. Geer, "Non-Suetonian Passages in the Life of Vergil formerly ascribed to Donatus," TAPA 57 (1926) 107-115, believes, on the basis of Suetonian style, that the evidence concerning the Appendix does not originate with Suetonius, and thus is suspect. However, the possibility that the passage may not be Suetonian in style does not definitely prove that Donatus is not basing his remarks on information taken from Suetonius.

¹⁰Suetonius was librarian and secretary to the Emperor Hadrian. He is generally regarded as an accurate historian who does not fabricate information.

¹¹Lucan, quoted by Suetonius, Life of Lucan 1-2.

¹²Statius, Silvae 2.7, 70-74.

¹³Martial, Epigrams 8.56. 19-20; 14.185.

¹⁴Quintilian 8.3.28.

¹⁵Charisius I.15.

¹⁶These MSS date to the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.

¹⁷"Die Kleineren Gedichte Vergils," SBAW (1907) 335-74.

¹⁸It is possible to be dogmatic concerning the non-Vergilian authorship of certain of these poems; the Elegia in Maecenatem, for example, was written after the death of Maecenas and could not have been composed by Vergil.

¹⁹Rand, 111.

²⁰See M. Manitius, "Philologisches aus Alten Bibliothekskatalogen," RhM 47 (1892) 27-28.

²¹Latin Pseudepigrapha (Baltimore 1945) 123-128.

²²Suetonius, Life of Julius 56.

²³Clift, 128.

CHAPTER II

AUTHORSHIP

Although the Copa was accepted as Vergilian before the eighteenth century by such critics as Joseph Scaliger, in the course of more recent study and investigation its authenticity has been called into question. Most scholars have been unwilling to assign the poem to any particular poet; by studying certain elements of vocabulary, style and content in the Copa that appear to resemble elements present in the work of other poets, they find they must be satisfied with offering us a choice among a number of possible authors. Only a few scholars have felt sufficiently confident to attribute the Copa definitely to Vergil. If their confidence is firmly based on accurate and detailed study, their belief in the authenticity of the Copa should receive considerable attention. As we shall see, the evidence they offer in favour of Vergilian authorship is most persuasive. When studying the poem, scholars use basically the same methods of investigation. The poem is examined for its tone and style, and for its vocabulary, metre and imitative elements. And finally, the external criteria, the historical references to the poem, must be carefully studied, for they are perhaps the most significant test of authenticity that can be applied to the poem.

Many scholars have argued that the Copa is totally unlike anything written by Vergil, and for this reason is undoubtedly not his work. For instance, it is said that the Copa was written by someone who appreciated, and was able to characterize, a sensual woman, and it has been claimed that this would not fall within Vergil's sphere of interest.¹ This is a foolish

argument, since we do not know what Vergil's attitude toward women might have been when he was young. In any case, as I.E. Drabkin points out, the dramatic character of the Copa must not be overlooked; the content of the poem need not necessarily express the attitude of the poet.² In addition, we should remember that if the Copa is indeed a work of Vergil's youth, it would not be likely to exhibit the same "qualities of seriousness" as the later poetry.³

Another objection raised against Vergilian authorship of the Copa is that Vergil would not have frequented the tabernae, and certainly would not have written about them, because of their poor reputation.⁴ This is hardly a compelling objection, for the Copa need not represent an actual experience in the poet's life. On the other hand, there is undeniably much realistic detail in the poem. This quality has impressed G. McCracken: "The poem is a realistic description of something which the poet knew deeply, though the subject is not one which drew forth from him much subtlety.... If originality be characteristic of Vergil's touch, then the poem may well be his; but he is not characteristically an innovator."⁵ In any case, a taberna was designed to be a resting place for travellers, and as such would be visited by all types of people. Moreover, as Drabkin says, it would certainly "not be required that one partake of all the inducements." He adds, "It may further be said that it is not impossible for one to visit such a taberna and even go so far as to compose a jeu d'esprit thereon without sacrificing one's chances of being throughout life a man of the highest moral standards."⁶

Still another attitude held by those who do not consider the Copa to be Vergilian has been expressed by J.W. Mackail: "It is the work of a real poet,

but the touch and handling are totally unlike Vergil's."⁷ F. Pléssis, also, speaks of "l'âme virgilienne qui manque le plus à ce recueil composite,"⁸ and similarly, J. Hubaux states "on ne trouve guère non plus dans cette élégie la mélancholie en demi-teinte que Virgile a répandue dans toute son oeuvre."⁹ In rebuttal we may argue, however, that, if the Copa is indeed a work of Vergil's youth, it is not at all strange that it should exhibit qualities not found in the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid. The development of technique and style requires experimentation; the Copa may well be such an experiment.

Many have pointed to the apparent Epicurean philosophy expressed in the Copa, and have said that this also is non-Vergilian. This opinion is held, for example, by R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma: "Especially the joyous strain of the poem, the frivolous character, the jovial way of looking at life, culminating in the last lines: "Enjoy to-day, to-morrow might be too late", is quite unlike Vergil."¹⁰ Drabkin, on the other hand, sees the philosophy of the Copa as simply an expression of a mood holding the poet momentarily in its grip, and maintains that we should not attempt to connect the poem too closely with Vergil's Epicurean studies, or with a possible reaction against those studies.¹¹ We must be careful, however, in our use of the philosophy of the poem as evidence either for or against authenticity; ironically, it is precisely the Epicurean atmosphere of the poem in which E. Clift sees the likelihood of its Vergilian authorship: "The light pastoral Epicurean humour is suitable to an early work of Vergil."¹²

The attempt to establish the literary genre of the Copa has also caused difficulty for those who consider the problem of the poem's authenticity. "It represents a confluence of literary tendencies in its form and a

confluence of emotional interests in the mind of the poet."¹³ The many elements present in the poem, the pastoral, erotic, Priapean, epigrammatic and mimetic characteristics, have led some to think that the Copa could not possibly be the work of Vergil. This is claimed on the grounds that the combination of these elements is clumsy, and would have been avoided by Vergil, who, in each of his poems, confines himself to a single genre. As has already been mentioned, however, the poem, if a product of Vergil's youth, could possibly be experimental, and further, as Drabkin points out, these elements are often found together in sophisticated poetry, such as the Roman elegy.¹⁴

Therefore, we cannot claim that the Copa is non-Vergilian on the basis of these "aesthetic" considerations of its content and form. If cogent evidence of authenticity can be found in studies of vocabulary, metre and parallel passages, then the poet's rather different "touch and handling" will not prove to be insurmountable obstacles.

The statistical approach to the problem of authenticity is an innovation of the twentieth century. Modern scholars have subjected the vocabulary and metre of the Copa to rigorous examination, and have compared the poem's lexical and metrical usages with those employed by other poets, in an attempt to decide upon Vergilian or non-Vergilian authorship. Although such studies do have a certain value if properly applied, statistics, as A. Ellegard has pointed out, are not valid unless they are applied under certain set conditions.¹⁵ First of all, the text in question must be of sufficient length in order to determine that it does indeed exhibit definite stylistic characteristics. Ellegard believes that a length of at least 10,000 words is necessary. Obviously, then, the Copa falls far below this

required number of words. Secondly, he shows, it is necessary to keep in mind that, if a poet changes his genre of poetry, he will also necessarily change his style of writing. We will see that it is most difficult to compare the Copa with another work, since it contains pastoral, epigrammatic, mimetic and dramatic elements. And thirdly, style will change with the passage of time. Some have claimed that the Copa was written by Vergil during his early "career"¹⁶ and we cannot discount this theory simply on the grounds that the poem is unlike Vergil's later works, the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid. We see that the Copa, on Ellegard's terms, cannot adequately meet statistical tests. However, as mentioned above, this fact has not prevented such tests from being made.

I.E. Drabkin has made a very careful and detailed study of the vocabulary in the Copa, in which he has made separate analyses of diminutives, words borrowed from the Greek, unusual words and words in unusual senses, and the non-Vergilian element.¹⁷ The Copa contains six diminutives (only one of them, asellus, is found in Vergil's acknowledged works), and Drabkin, in his first section, finds that the poem, in its use of unusual and new diminutives, is under Catullan influence.¹⁸ In his section concerning words borrowed from the Greek, Drabkin finds that the language of the Copa is strikingly marked by Greek words which have been directly transmitted into Latin. There are twenty-three such words in thirty-eight lines of verse (crotalo, calamos, topia, kalybae, cyathi and castaneae, for example), making a rate of sixty-one words to each one hundred verses. No known author seems to approach this proportion in his work. Catullus does not use many words of this type; his rate is ten words to each hundred verses. Vergil uses

fourteent~~to each~~ hundred verses, Propertius twelv~~to each~~ hundred verses and Ovid uses even less. Thus, no decisions can be made about authorship of the Copa on this basis.

In his discussion of unusual words Drabkin again finds evidence that aids the dating of the Copa, but, while limiting the range of possible authors, still leaves the question open. The poem seems to be close to Catullus and the Eclogues in the number of new words it uses, but in the unusual use of these words the poem appears to be much more influenced by Catullus than it is by the "mature" Vergil.

The first part of Drabkin's analysis of the non-Vergilian element in the Copa is directed to showing that, simply on the basis of the occurrence of "non-Vergilian words" in the poem, there is insufficient evidence to say that "the vocabulary of the Copa is less characteristic of Vergil than it is of any other known author of the period under consideration."¹⁹ There are thirty non-Vergilian words in the poem. There are thirty-eight non-Propertian, thirty-four non-Horatian and sixty-four non-Catullan words.²⁰ These statistics show the impossibility of claiming that in point of vocabulary the poem is more Propertian, Catullan or Horatian than Vergilian. In the second part of his discussion, Drabkin examines the non-Vergilian element in the poem in order to determine: "(1) which of the words in that element Vergil had no opportunity of using in his major works, by reason of the ideas these words express, or what words there are for which, though he might have done so, Vergil does not introduce synonyms, and (2) which of the words are traceable to the Catullan and neoteric style of composition, or are peculiar to the familiar or vulgar style and as such would be unsuited, in general, to the tone of the major works, but would quite fit the studied carelessness and colloquial banter of the Copa." Drabkin then makes a

detailed survey of the words that fall into these two classes. His conclusion is that "merely on the basis of the diction employed Vergil cannot be summarily excluded as the author of the Copa."²¹

Drabkin's careful examination of vocabulary leads him, it appears, to a more reasonable conclusion than that reached by H.R. Fairclough.²² The latter, basing his opinion solely on his lists of words in the Appendix Vergiliana that do not occur in Vergil's major works, finds that the non-Vergilian element is so great that not one line of the Appendix could have been written by Vergil. Concerning the Copa Fairclough writes "I admit that it is not unworthy of Vergil, but when I find in its 38 verses as many as 29 words foreign to Vergil as we know him, I become convinced that we must look elsewhere for the author."²³ Fairclough later suggests that the author of the Copa is Ovid, since he finds in the poem that many of the non-Vergilian words are Ovidian. However, F.W. Shipley, in his discussion of the authenticity of the Culex, shows the danger involved in this type of reasoning.²⁴ He makes a study of the vocabulary peculiar to each of Vergil's acknowledged works, the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid, and then, determining the proportion of those words which are found in Ovid also, offers the following results: Eclogues 66.9%, Georgics 58.9% and Aeneid 80.3%. The very high percentage of words peculiar to the Aeneid that are also used by Ovid reveals the impossibility of making a decision on authorship on the basis of word usage alone. The fallibility of Fairclough's line of reasoning is evident.

Drabkin's next section of statistical examination, "Syntax and Style," should be postponed to our discussion of the date of the Copa, since his findings reveal more about the possible time of composition of the poem than

they do about its authorship. He considers that the extensive use of the present participle in the poem tends to indicate a pre-Augustan date. Possibly all we can learn about the author from an enquiry into the syntax and style of the Copa is that he had "a flair for the unusual and the original."²⁵

When Drabkin discusses the metre of the Copa, he finds that the pentameter close and the frequency of elision in the pentameter²⁶ are basically the only significant metrical features in the poem. It seems that we can gain no concrete evidence concerning the author from the study of metre.²⁷ In certain of its metrical characteristics the Copa resembles Propertius; for example, frequent elision in the pentameter is found in Propertius 4.8, and, also, the position of adjectives and substantives in the Copa is similar to their positioning in Propertius. In its use of the caesura the poem resembles Lygdamus. All the hexameters in the Copa have a penthemimeral caesura, and Lygdamus, similarly, has only two out of 145 hexameters without a masculine caesura in the third foot. In many other features the Copa shows a similarity with Catullan technique. Some examples of this are the high percentage of lines that begin with a dactyl, the non-dissyllabic pentameter close and the frequency of elision in the pentameter.

Another method used by scholars in their attempt to resolve the problem of authorship is the examination of closely related passages. Sections of the Copa that appear to resemble in their style and diction passages in the acknowledged works of Vergil and other Augustan poets have been carefully studied in an effort to determine whether they provided the inspiration for those acknowledged works, or vice-versa. If the Copa could be proven to have drawn on the accepted works of Vergil, then it could not be claimed that Vergil was its author. However, if the works of Vergil could be shown to have drawn on the Copa, it is not at all impossible that Vergil could

have written the poem, since it is reasonable that he might draw upon his own work.

D.L. Drew has made two studies of the similarities existing between the Copa and certain acknowledged works of Vergil and Propertius, in order to determine whether or not the Copa could be the earlier work.²⁸ In his first article, Drew shows that Vergil's second Eclogue contains extensive imitations of Theocritus 11, and makes some use also of the other Theocritean poems, particularly Theocritus 7. He then proceeds to consider some of the resemblances between Eclogue 2 and the Copa, in order to discover whether Eclogue 2 imitates the Copa, or whether the Copa imitates Eclogue 2.²⁹ It is likely, he states, since the Copa is similar to Eclogue 2 only where Eclogue 2 follows Theocritus 7 and 11, that the Copa imitates Theocritus 7 and 11 directly, and is entirely independent of Eclogue 2. Drew provides a comprehensive list of the similarities between the Copa and Theocritus 7 and 11;³⁰ although certain of the resemblances may be due to the fact that the themes of the poems and the descriptions of rural attractions are similar, and are necessarily expressed in similar terms, some resemblances are so striking that direct imitation of Theocritus 7 and 11 by Copa's author cannot be denied. Consider, for example, how Copa 18-19:

Sunt autumnali cerea pruna die

Castaneaeque nuces et suave rubentia mala

compare with Theocritus 7.143-144, 146:

πάντ' ὥσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίνονος, ὥσδε δ' ὀπώρας.
 ὄχναι μὲν παρ ποσσί, παρὰ πλευραῖσι δὲ μάλα
 ὄρπακες βραβίλοισι καταβρίθοντες ἔραζε,

Copa 7, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23: sunt ... est ... sunt ... sunt ... sunt ... est ... sunt ... est with Theocritus 11.45-47:

ἐντὶ ... ἐντὶ ... ἔστι ... ἔστ' ... ἔστιν,

Copa 12, 27-28:

Et strepitans rauco murmure rivus aquae
Nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae
Nunc vepris in gelida sede lacerta latet,

with Theocritus 7.136-139:

αἴγειροι πελέαι τε· τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε.
τοῖ δὲ ποτὶ σκιαραῖς ὀροδαμνίσιν αἰθαλίωνες
τέττιγες λαλαγεῦντες ἔχον πόνον·

and Copa 29-30:

Si sapi's, aestivo recubans nunc prolue vitro
Seu vis crystalli ferre novos calices

with Theocritus 7.65-66, 69-70:

τὸν πελεατικὸν οἶνον ἀπὸ κρατῆρος ἀφυξῶ
πὰρ πυρὶ κεκλιμένος, κύαμον δέ τις ἐν πυρὶ φρυξεῖ.
καὶ πίομαι μαλακῶς μεμναμένος Ἀγεάνακτος
αὐταῖσιν κυλίκεσσι καὶ ἐς τρύγα χεῖλος ἐρείδων.

These comparisons are compelling evidence of the Copa's direct dependence upon the Theocritean poems. We see that, in general, Copa 5-14 resembles Theocritus 7, Copa 15-26 Theocritus 11, and Copa 27-32 Theocritus 7. This careful, paragraphic imitation of Theocritus tends to dispel any notion that the author of the Copa is following Theocritus through Eclogue 2; further, when we consider, as Drew does (76-77), the order of imitation of Theocritus 7 and 11 in Eclogue 2, we see that the possibility is extremely remote. There is less imitation of Theocritus 7 in Eclogue 2 than in the Copa, and

the similarities between Eclogue 2 and Theocritus 7 are not set in paragraphs as they are in the Copa, but rather are scattered throughout the poem. "It would thus be an incredible chance if Copa, imitating Ecl. II. and not Theoc. VII, direct, managed to come closer to the sequence of lines in Theoc. VII. than did Ecl. II."³¹

As additional evidence of direct imitation of Theocritus by the author of the Copa Drew cites examples in the poem of reproduction of Greek words by close Latin equivalents: Copa 19 mala = Theoc. 7.144 μάλα , Copa 30 calices = Theoc. 7.70 κυλίκεσσι . Especially notable, Drew feels, is the similarity between Copa 25: Huc Calybita veni: lassus iam sudat asellus, and Theocritus 11.42: ἄλλ' ἀφίκευσο ποθ' ἀμὲ καὶ ἐξεῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον "where sudat reproduces -ς οὐδὲν , and asell-, by transposing the same vowels and consonants, reproduces ἔλασσ- ."³² Moreover, in order to strengthen his case that the Copa is directly based on Theocritus 7 and 11, and is independent of Eclogue 2, Drew studies the general similarities between the Copa, the Eclogues and the Georgics. He finds that the only resemblances between the Copa, the Eclogues and the Georgics are found in passages where the Eclogues and Georgics imitate Theocritus 7 and 11.³³ "If we could maintain that Copa imitates Virgil," he claims "then we must suppose that the author of Copa, in imitating poems which range at large over the whole body of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, happened to select from those Virgilian poems only lines which imitated Theoc. VII. and XI. To suppose that is to push credibility to credulity."³⁴ Finally, Drew compares the parallel passages of the Copa and the Eclogues from the viewpoint of their adherence to their Theocritean source, and finds that, in general, the Copa follows the Greek more carefully. For example, he compares Copa 27-28

Nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae

Nunc vepris in gelida sede lacerta latet

with Eclogue 2. 8-9, 12-13

Nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant

Nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos

At mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustrō

Sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.

These passages both combine Theocritus 7.22 and Theocritus 7.138-139, and Drew analyses their resemblance to Theocritus in the following way: "In ver. 28 Copa follows the form of Theocritus closer than does Ecl. II.9, for 'lacerta latet' corresponds exactly to $\tau\omicron\sigma\alpha\tilde{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$ ', whereas 'occultant spineta lacertos' slightly alters the form. Copa's 'in sede' corresponds to $\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\iota\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota$ ', whereas Virgil's 'spineta' is subject of 'occultant'.

'Viridis' is Virgil's own addition, whereas 'gelida' is (as likely as not) an echo of $\phi\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ of Theoc. VII.138. Copa, as Theocritus does, gives the adjective to the reptile's shelter, Virgil to the reptile itself."³⁵

The bearing on the question of priority and authorship of Drew's conclusion that the Copa follows Theocritus more closely than do the Eclogues is considered in his second article.³⁶ Drew first notes the general rule that "where two poets who consciously imitate a third poet depart from that poet (in the immediate context where they imitate him) in an identical manner, there we have a prima facie case to show that one of the two plagiarizing poets is imitating the other."³⁷ This principle is straightforward enough; however, the problem of deciding which of the two pieces of poetry in question is the earlier is indeed a difficult one, and is often impossible to solve. A decision on priority is particularly hard, also, when the possibility exists, as it does here, that both poems have been written by the

same author. And finally, as Drabkin remarks, "the interchange of ideas among poets of the period with which we are dealing was so free that it is often only by convention that a work can be ascribed to a single poet."³⁸ If determining only the authorship of a poem is such a problem, how much more arduous must it be to solve the question of priority. Nevertheless, various approaches to the problem have been developed, and it appears that Drew's approach, which we will look at shortly, is perhaps more valid than others. F. Skutsch³⁹ and F. Leo⁴⁰, for example, considering the question of priority between the Ciris and Vergil's accepted works, believe that the best guide is the appropriateness of given expressions to the context of the work, on the assumption that a work containing ill-fitting expressions and phrases is probably a poor copy of a more carefully composed work. However, this method of testing priority is not a reliable one. What is there to prevent one poet, when imitating an expression found in the work of a predecessor, from being able to fit that expression more neatly into the context of his own poem? The fact that one work is based on another does not imply that it will be necessarily less skillful than the work it imitates.

Drew's claim for the priority of the Copa over the Eclogues is based largely on the different use made in each of the Theocritean source. He shows that "i Theoc. VII. is the primary source for Copa: Theoc. VII. is a comparatively insignificant source for Eclogues II. ii. Theoc. VII. is only employed by Eclogues II. where Theoc. VII. is employed by Copa, and the reverse does not hold true."⁴¹ That the author of the Copa imitated the Eclogues is unlikely, since it would be most unusual that he would choose from the Eclogues, which have elements of inspiration taken from the

whole realm of Greek pastoral poetry, only those phrases and lines which are based on Theocritus 7 and 11. And further, with reference to fidelity to the Greek source, Drew expresses the belief that, when two poems are obviously related to one source, in all probability the earlier of the two poems will be more faithful to that source. However, as Drabkin comments, this test of priority, while valuable to a point, is not without its dangers. "The method is particularly hazardous in our case, since, as Drew admits, (II,38), Vergil and the author of the Copa each came to resemble Theocritus by direct use of Theocritus and not merely through the medium of the other. In fact, if the later of the two works imitates Theocritus directly, what, it might be asked, would prevent its author from seeking, or even from being constrained, by reason of lack of originality, to produce a closer imitation? Yet normally Drew's method ought to be helpful."⁴² Leaving the question of the priority of the Copa to be "a study in probabilities,"⁴³ Drew turns his attention to authorship, and the light that can be shed on the problem by the study of parallel passages. He argues that, if it is accepted that the Copa imitates Theocritus 7 directly, and that either the Copa imitates Eclogue 2 or Eclogue 2 imitates the Copa, then, firstly, it would be most unusual, if Eclogue 2 is prior, that the author of the Copa "should have been able to catch up the slight hints of Theoc. VII.62-64 and 144-146 given by Eclogues II.47-49 and 51-53 (not obviously at first sight following Theocritus VII.), and have thus been led to use their support in his own imitation of Theocritus":⁴⁴ secondly, he says, if the Copa is the prior poem, "it argues familiarity with the practice of Copa's author on the part of Virgil that he should have (in Eclogues II.48) been attracted to Theoc. VII. 62, the direct source of Copa's corresponding lines, though Virgil had at

the same time in mind Ecl.III.23."⁴⁵ Drabkin agrees with Drew that, in general, the Copa seems to predate the Eclogues, and, if this is in fact the case, then "there is raised immediately a strong presumption of Vergilian authorship, even if no great faith is reposed in the tradition of the Appendix."⁴⁶ Further, the method used in the Copa of adapting material from Theocritus appears to be very similar to that used in the Eclogues: "It was in all probability Virgil who set the fashion of that style the first, and if Copa is to be dated before Propertius, the rivals must have got very speedily to work if Virgil was not the author."⁴⁷ Indeed, the Copa and the Eclogues have several compositional features in common. For instance, just as Vergil often combines two passages from Theocritus into one, so does the Copa's author. Copa 11 Est et vappa, cado nuper defusa picato appears to combine Theocritus 7.65 τὸν πελεατικὸν οἶνον ἀπὸ κρατῆρος ἀφυσῶ and 7.147 τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ .

In addition, Drew believes, the way in which the Copa's author has reproduced the sound of Greek words by Latin words different in meaning⁴⁸ is a typical Vergilian mannerism.⁴⁹ Another feature of composition shared by the Copa and the Eclogues is their use of a combination of sources, of Theocritus and the Epigrammatists, Meleager in particular. J. Hubaux, studying the influence of Meleager on Vergil's Eclogues,⁵⁰ has shown convincingly that Eclogue 2, which imitates Theocritus 11 extensively, is also inspired by such epigrams as AP 12.127, 7.196, 12.84, 5-6, 5.147 and 12.117.⁵¹ The Copa's author, similarly, while basing much of his work directly on Theocritus, appears also to have made use of several of the epigrams of the Greek Anthology. Consider, for example, AP 7.223, a sepulchral epigram by Thyillus:⁵²

Ἡ κροτάλοις ὀρχηστρὶς Ἀρίστιον, ἡ περὶ πεύκας
 τῇ Κυβέλῃ πλοκάμους ῥῖψαι ἐπισταμένη,
 ἡ λωτῷ κερδέντι φορουμένη, ἡ τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς
 εἰδυῖ' ἀκρήτου χειλοποτεῖν κύλικας,
 ἐνθάδ' ὑπὸ πτελέαις ἀναπαύεται, οὐκέτ' ἔρωτι,
 οὐκέτι παννυχίδων τερπομένη καμάτοις.
 κῶμοι καὶ μανίαι, μέγα χαίρετε· κεῖθ' ἱερὰ θρίξ
 ἡ τὸ πρὶν στεφάνων ἄνθεσι κρυπτομένη.

Various features of this epigram are found also in the Copa: the castanet dancer, love, wine and music. Implied also in this epigram is the philosophy we find expressed in Copa 35-38: Enjoy life while you can; garlands of flowers will profit you nothing when you are dead. As well as this similarity in theme, we find that the language used in the epigram has some resemblance to the language of the Copa. For instance, the phrase ῥῖψαι ἐπισταμένη can be compared with docta movere (Copa 2). Also of note is an epigram by Automedon, AP 5.129, which praises an Asian dancing girl:⁵³

Τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίης ὀρχηστρίδα, τὴν κακοτέχνους
 σχήμασιν ἐξ ἀπαλῶν κινυμένην ὀνύχων,
 αἰνέω, οὐχ ὅτι πάντα παθαίνεται, οὐδ' ὅτι βάλλει
 τὰς ἀπαλὰς ἀπαλῶς ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε χέρας·
 ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τρίβακον περὶ πάσσαλον ὀρχήσασθαι
 οἶδε, καὶ οὐ φεύγει γηραλέας ῥυτίδας.
 γλωττίζει, κνίζει, περιλαμβάνει· ἦν δ' ἐπιρίψη
 τὸ σκέλος, ἐξ ᾧδου τὴν κορύνην ἀνάγει.

The Copa appears to echo certain of the words and phrases of this epigram also.⁵⁴ These two epigrams are by no means the only ones which may be

compared with the Copa; Drabkin (67, 68, 69 n. 141) has compiled an extensive list of other epigrams which resemble the Copa's theme, construction and diction. AP 5.72 by Palladas of Alexandria, for example, is an exhortation very much like that in the Copa, 37-38. "Enjoy wine and love; no one knows what tomorrow will bring":

Τοῦτο βίος, τοῦτ' αὐτό· τρυφῇ βίος. ἔρρετ' ἀνῖαι·
ζωῆς ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγος χρόνος. ἄρτι Λύαιος,
ἄρτι χοροί, στέφανοί τε φιλανθές, ἄρτι γυναῖκες·
σήμερον ἐσθλὰ πάθω· τὸ γὰρ αὔριον οὐδενὶ δῆλον.

In general, however, the epigrams that Drabkin lists (n. 141) cannot be cited as sure examples of passages which may either have influenced the Copa or have imitated it. Their similarity with the Copa is more probably due to the fact that they treat the same, well-known themes. If it is, in fact, true that the author of the Copa has based his poem on certain of the epigrams (AP 7.223 and 5.129 as discussed, for example) as well as on Theocritus, then his technique of combining these two sources is undeniably like the technique used by Vergil in the Eclogues.

Basing their studies of parallel passages on the techniques used by Vergil and the Copa's author in adapting the Theocritean source, and in combining Theocritus with certain of the epigrams of the Greek Anthology, Drew and Drabkin reach substantially the same conclusions. They agree that in all probability, as far as the test of fidelity to source is reliable, the Copa was composed before the Eclogues; further, on the basis of the Theocritean imitations in the poem, the occasional use of Vergilian "mannerisms," and the technique of using the epigrams side by side with the Greek pastoral

as inspiration, they agree that the Copa has been composed in a style that is quite Vergilian.

In addition to the parallels between the Copa and Vergil's Eclogues, there are also similarities between the Copa and certain of the elegies of Propertius. Drew, in his examination of these resemblances, states: "Propertius appears to have known of the Copa and to have imitated it, to judge by the number and nature of Copa echoes present in his works."⁵⁵ To support his belief, Drew has compiled a list of all the notable similarities between the Copa and the poems of Propertius (40-41). He finds a great deal of "imitation" of the Copa present in Propertius 4.8; Drabkin, on the other hand, who also makes a study of this question, states that few of the resemblances can be claimed to prove an imitative relationship between the Copa and Propertius. He says, more particularly, that all the imitations that Drew claims exist between the Copa and Propertius 4.8 should be eliminated from the list, since they result because the setting of both poems is a taberna,⁵⁶ and also that, if there were any true imitations between the two works, it would be impossible to determine which is the earlier. There are, however, two passages in Propertius that both critics agree deserve special attention, for they are rather similar to several lines of the Copa. The first is Propertius 3.13. 29-30:

nunc violas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre
lilia virgineos lucida per calathos

which is similar to Copa 15-16:

et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne
lilia vimineis attulit in calathis.

Drew believes that Propertius, thinking of Theocritus 11 and Eclogue 2, would quite naturally have turned also to the Copa, "especially if Copa was written by Virgil."⁵⁷ The Copa has virgineo...amne, followed by lilia vimineis attulit in calathis and Propertius, says Drew, wrote virgineos calathos instead of vimineos calathos, either because he did not remember the Copa's words precisely, or because he wished to surprise the reader. Drabkin, however, contends that the word virgineos in Propertius can be much more easily explained: "Verses 29-30 refer to the bringing of flowers by the young men to the maidens in the days before money spoiled the serene relations of lovers. The epithet virgineos is, then, equivalent to virginum and the reference is to the baskets of the maidens i.e. the baskets which the maidens had given to the young men to fill with flowers. This is a use of the adjective that is typical of Propertius."⁵⁸ Drabkin concludes that, in view of this, there is no basis for assuming Propertian imitation of the Copa in this instance. The second passage in Propertius that Drew and Drabkin study is 4.2.13-16:

prima mihi variat liuentibus uva racemis
et coma lactenti spicea fruge tumet.

Hic dulces cerasos, hic autumnalia pruna
 cernis et aestivo mora rubere die,

as it compares with Copa 18-22:

Sunt autumnali cerea pruna die
 Castanaeque nuces et suave rubentia mala,
 est hic munda Ceres, est Amor, est Bromius
 Sunt et mora cruenta et lentis uva racemis,
 et pendet iunco caeruleus cucumis.

The two critics agree here that these two passages do stand in an "imitative relationship," and, on the basis of fidelity to source, that the Copa is the earlier piece. "It is Propertius who is the imitator of Copa since he retains some and not all of the Theocritean features in Copa and alters others."⁵⁹ Drabkin believes, in fact, that this is the only instance in which actual imitation of the Copa by Propertius can be claimed. "Of all the Propertian resemblances in the Copa only those in 4.2 can with any confidence be ascribed to imitation, and in that case the evidence is for the priority of the Copa."⁶⁰ That the Copa has sunt...est...est...est...sunt, which parallels the Theocritean ἐντὶ...ἐντὶ...ἔστι...ἔστ'...ἔστιν, while Propertius changes this to hic...hic, and that Propertius writes pruna, which is present also in the Copa and the Theocritean source, but adds cerasos, are two reasons that led Drew and Drabkin to conclude that Propertius imitated the Copa here.

Before the studies just discussed were undertaken, other scholars, T. Birt and F. Keppler, for example, were most impressed by the resemblance of certain features of the Copa to the work of Propertius; in the epigrammatic and mimetic quality of the poem, in its metrical characteristics, particularly the positioning of adjectives and substantives, these critics saw a strong likelihood of Propertian authorship, and claimed that the Copa was more like the work of Propertius than it was like Vergil's. Modern criticism, in countering this theory, has made the observation that this resemblance of style and tone between the work of Propertius and the Copa is due simply to the fact that the Copa's author and Propertius were both influenced by Catullus and the Alexandrians.⁶¹ Further, in view of what we have seen of the Copa's resemblance to Vergil's Eclogues in its diction and use of source,

it would seem much more reliable at this point to assign the poem to Vergil than to Propertius.

It is in the external criteria, the historical references to the Copa, that we may perhaps find the most useful indications of the poem's authenticity. The Copa is attributed to Vergil in the account of Servius, but it is omitted from Donatus' list.⁶² Thus it is much more difficult to attempt to establish the authenticity of the poem on the basis of these two biographical sources than it is to do so for the other poems conventionally attributed to Vergil's youth, which are attested in both sources.⁶³ Some critics, such as R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma, use the absence of the poem from Donatus' list as evidence that it is non-Vergilian: "I agree with Professor Büchner that the Copa cannot be Virgil's; the title is not included in Donatus' list and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that the poem was inserted into the App. Verg. between Suetonius and Servius who does mention it."⁶⁴ This opinion is shared by others, A. Rostagni for example.⁶⁵ On the other hand, scholars like E.K. Rand, on the grounds that Donatus is the direct source of Servius, have undertaken to prove that the inclusion of the Copa in Servius' list makes it likely that it was also originally present in Donatus. Noting that E. Baehrens was willing to supply et copam between cirim and et culicem in Donatus' list,⁶⁶ Rand agrees that, in such a position, "with similar syllables both preceding and following, the words might easily have fallen out in the archetype from which all our manuscripts are proved to have descended."⁶⁷ He notes that, in similar fashion, M, one of the Y manuscripts, left out et diras item cirim. Also of importance, Rand believes, is the fact that all the other manuscripts of the Y group, E, R, A, B, and P, have cirimus instead of cirim. He suggests that this resulted when a scribe, having mistakenly omitted et copam from the archetypal

manuscript, later wrote the words into the margin and added a sign referring to them above the m of cirim. The scribe of Y might have misunderstood this reference sign and believed it to be the compendium for "us," and thus would have written out the word cirimus, which remains in all the manuscripts derived from his.⁶⁸

Servius' statement scripsit etiam septem sive octo libros hos, may have some bearing on the question.⁶⁹ That some consider the remark to refer to the disputed authorship of the Copa or the Aetna has already been mentioned.⁷⁰ However, as Drabkin claims, the remark probably does not refer to the Copa because the phrase septem sive octo libros hos does not mean 'seven or eight of the following libri', but rather 'the seven or eight following libri'. It is most likely that the phrase is simply an expression of uncertainty about exactly how many libri are included in the works that are named.⁷¹ Servius may have thought that the titles Epigrammata and Catalepton belonged to the same poem,⁷² or else that, as well as the Culex, Ciris, Aetna, Catalepton, Epigrammata and Priapea, there was a seventh book, made up of the Dirae, Copa and Moretum.⁷³

If Servius did include the Copa in his list because it was originally also included in Donatus' account, as Baehrens and Rand maintain, then the Copa would be entitled to share, with the other poems mentioned by Donatus, in the reliability of the Suetonian tradition.⁷⁴ As far as the Copa is concerned, in any case, proof of authenticity need not rest with Donatus and Servius alone. We have already seen that the Copa is ascribed to Vergil in the Murbach Catalogue c. 850.⁷⁵ It is also included, along with the other poems of the Appendix, under Vergil's name, in all the important manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷⁶ These, admittedly, because

of their late date, are probably in no way conclusive evidence. There is, however, earlier evidence than the manuscript tradition, a passage in the work of a fourth-century grammarian, Charisius, which may be of some importance in the question of the authenticity of the Copa. It is found in Book I, Chapter 15, "De Extremitatibus Nominum et Diversis Quaestionibus: 'O littera terminantur tam masculina quam feminina, sed o correpta nominativo, circumducta vero genitivo, veluti Cato Catonis, Cicero Ciceronis, Nero Neronis, Iuno Iunonis, regio regionis; communia cupo cuponis, fullo fullonis; quamvis Vergilius librum suum Cupam inscripserit item correpta o nominativo, mutata in i genetivo, ordo ordinis, cardo cardinis....'"⁷⁷ It should be noted that there has been some debate concerning the clause quamvis...inscripserit; it is thought by some to be a later interpolation,⁷⁸ since

(1) the discussion concerns nouns ending in o, and thus the clause is not entirely pertinent

(2) Priscian, a sixth-century grammarian, discusses similar material but makes no reference to copa or cupa, 6.17: "Et sciendum, quod quinque inveniuntur in o terminantia, quae faciunt in a feminina: 'leo leaena' vel 'lea', 'draco dracaena', 'leno lena', 'caupo caupona' quod significat tam ipsam tabernam quam mulierem. Lucilius in III: Caupona hic tamen una Syra. 'strabo' etiam 'straba' facit....'"⁷⁹

(3) If Charisius knew of cupa cupae, there would have been no reason for him to call cupo cuponis common gender.⁸⁰

Drabkin believes that the clause may stand as Charisius', however, since these objections are not strong enough to compel us to accept that the clause is a later addition. He emphasizes the danger of arguing from

Priscian's silence. While allowing that the mention of the alternative form to cupo is possibly not as relevant in the passage from Charisius as is lea in Priscian's comment, he says that it is "not out of place."⁸¹ Finally, just because we have no certain cases where cupo, caupo or copo is feminine, Drabkin declares that this does not justify a belief that Charisius did not possess evidence which allowed him to call cupo cuponis of common gender. This particular issue, however, must remain without a solution. It may well be true that, if Charisius did write the sentence, he may have remarked on the Cupa, which he obviously believed to be Vergil's, simply because he was aware of it from his general reading and believed it pertained to his discussion.⁸²

The problem of Charisius' sources for this passage is a complicated, yet important one, for there is the possibility that they are earlier than Suetonius. K. Barwick; for instance, believes that Charisius I. 15 is derived from three sources, Pansa, Palaemon (second century A.D.) and Caper (second century A.D.); Charisius 63.8-30 (Keil), which contains the passage with which we are concerned, was drawn directly, he conjectures, from Caper, who in turn possibly based his work on Libri Dubii Sermonis, a lost work of Pliny the Elder.⁸³ H. Keil, on the other hand, believes that the source of the chapter is Julius Romanus, who also used the Elder Pliny as his source.⁸⁴ Too much, however, should not be made of these suggestions, which are really little more than conjectures.

Apart from the reference to the Copa that we find in Charisius, Nemesian, a pastoral poet writing at the end of the third century, quotes line 31 of the Copa (hic age pampinea fessus requiesce sub umbra) almost verbatim in his Eclogue 4.46: hic age pampinea mecum requiesce sub umbra. Nemesian's

source is primarily Vergil, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that he quoted from the Copa because he believed it to be Vergilian.⁸⁵ There is, finally, some late evidence concerning the Copa. In the ninth-century prosodic dictionary of Micon, Copa 17 is cited as Vergil's,⁸⁶ and in various collections of Vergilian proverbs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Copa 37-38 are quoted.⁸⁷ Because of the late date of these collections, however, they are probably of little worth in determining the authorship of the Copa.

Studies of the authenticity of the Copa, based on the consideration of the poem's style and content, on the examination of its vocabulary and metre and on the evaluation of parallel passages and the poet's use of sources, have revealed strong indications of Vergilian authorship. These indications are strengthened by the evidence of the manuscripts and by the statements of Servius and Charisius that the Copa is the work of Vergil.

Notes

- ¹ T. Birt, for instance, in Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils (Leipzig 1910) 10, says "Die Copa war das Werk eines erstklassigen Dichters, aber eines Frauenliebhabers. Den Ton natürlich-frischer erotischer Sinnlichkeit in der Lust am Weibe, wie er in der Copa erklingt, kennt Vergil in der Tat sonst nirgends."
- ² He gives Eclogues 6.26 and Aeneid 4.31-34 as examples of two passages where Vergil evinces the same ability for erotic characterization.
- ³ The Copa (New York 1930) 70.
- ⁴ See, for example, H. Weuster, De Auctore et Locis Aliquot Copae, Quae Vulgo Dicitur, Vergilianae (Munster 1875) 8-9: "Quis est igitur, qui arbitretur hominem tam magni purique animi toto, ut dicitur, pectore summa colorum venustate depinxisse cauponas quae illo quidem tempore non frequentabantur nisi a perditissimo quoque?"
- ⁵ "The Originality of the Copa," CJ 28 (1933) 125.
- ⁶ Drabkin, 71.
- ⁷ "Virgil and Virgilianism," CR 22 (1908) 65.
- ⁸ La Poésie Latine (Paris 1909) 268.
- ⁹ Le Réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile (Université de Liège 1927) 121.
- ¹⁰ "On Dating the Copa," Mnemosyne 11 (1958) 332.
- ¹¹ Drabkin, 71. E.K. Rand (HSCP 30[1919] 178) has a different opinion: "Copa is an Epicurean document of a sort, though not, like the sixth Eclogue as allegorized by Servius, a text of Epicurean dogma. Epicurean philosophy,

as its founder preached it, stands nearer to monasticism than to riotous pleasure. Perhaps, indeed, the poem marks Virgil's reaction from Epicurean science, when, offensus materia, he turned again to the sheer joy of living and of art."

¹²Clift, 124 n. 7.

¹³Rand, 177-178.

¹⁴See Drabkin, 37 n. 85, for a survey of the various elements to be found in Roman elegiac poetry.

¹⁵A Statistical Method for Determining Authorship: The Junius Letters 1769-1772 (Gothenburg 1962).

¹⁶Rand, for example.

¹⁷Drabkin, 5-24.

¹⁸Catullus used many diminutives and also invented some. See Drabkin, 5 n.14.

¹⁹Drabkin, 16.

²⁰See Drabkin, 15 nn. 42, 43 and 44, for lists of these words.

²¹Drabkin, 17.

²²"The poems of the Appendix Vergiliana," TAPA 53 (1922) 5-34.

²³Fairclough, 26.

²⁴"Ovidian Vocabulary and the Culex Question," TAPA 57 (1926) 261-74.

²⁵Drabkin, 35.

²⁶Both of which he believes indicate Catullan influence, or, at least, a date for the poem earlier than Propertius II and Tibullus I.

²⁷W.G.D. Butcher, however, in "The Caesura in Vergil, and its Bearing on the Authenticity of the Pseudo-Vergiliana," CQ 8 (1914) 128, having examined Vergil's use of the caesura and applied the results to the Appendix, states that "The caesurae are exactly what we should expect from Vergil at a period just before the Eclogues."

²⁸"The Copa I," CQ 17 (1923) 73-81 and "The Copa II," CQ 19 (1925) 37-42.

²⁹As examples of this resemblance we may compare Copa 15-19:

et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne
 lilia vimineis attulit in calathis.
 sunt et caseoli, quos iunceae fiscina siccant,
 sunt autumnali cerea pruna die,
 castaneaeque nuges et suave rubentia mala,

with Eclogue 2.45-46: tibi lilia plenis/ ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis,
tibi candida Nais, and Eclogue 2.51-53:

Ipsa ego cana legam tenera lanugine mala
 castaneasque nuges, mea quas Amaryllis amabat;
 addam cerea pruna.

There are several minor resemblances also; note, for instance, Copa 25:
huc Calybita veni: lassus iam sudat asellus and Eclogue 2.45: huc ades, o
formose puer: tibi lilia plenis; compare also Copa 13-14, 15, 35: croceo
violae de flore corollae/sertaque purpurea lutea mixta rosa, ... libata ...
bene olentia sarta with Eclogue 2.47-50: violae ... carpens ... bene olentis
 ... luteola.

We may note that Drew does concede the possibility that both the author of the Copa and the author of Eclogue 2 are following some translation of

Theocritus, but he shows that this is unlikely, since we know that Vergil, in many other passages in the Eclogues, directly imitates Theocritus' Greek by the use of Graeco-Latin puns and by metrical reproductions. Further, the supposed translation would have been a rather unusual combination of literal imitation and free interpretation of the Theocritean poems, with the occasional use of features not present in the Greek, such as the phrase castanaeque nuces of Copa 19 and Eclogue 2.52.

³⁰Drew, 75-76.

³¹Drew, 77.

³²Drew, loc. cit.

³³Drew, 78.

³⁴Drew, loc. cit.

³⁵Drew, 79.

³⁶CQ 19 (1925) 37-42.

³⁷Drew, 37.

³⁸Drabkin, 48.

³⁹Aus Vergils Frühzeit (Leipzig 1906).

⁴⁰"Vergil und die Ciris," Hermes 37 (1902) 14-55.

⁴¹Drew, 38.

⁴²Drabkin, 50.

⁴³Drew, 38.

⁴⁴Drew, 39.

⁴⁵Drew, loc. cit.

⁴⁶Drabkin, 58.

⁴⁷Drew, 39.

⁴⁸See above, **Chapter 2, 17.**

⁴⁹Drew cites Aulus Gellius 13.27 as support for his idea that Vergil customarily used the trick of reproducing Greek sounds with Latin words (Drew, 40). Drabkin does not agree that Gellius' comment provides much reliable evidence. He mentions the possibility that the Copa's reproduction of the sounds of certain portions of Theocritus' Greek is accidental (Drabkin, 61 n. 131).

⁵⁰"Virgile et Méléagre de Gadara," Le Musée Belge 25 (1921) 149-163.

⁵¹See Drabkin, 59, for a more complete list of features common to Eclogue 2 and the epigrams.

⁵²Thyillus, as Drabkin notes (60), is probably referred to by Cicero, Ad Atticum, around 61 B.C. Thus the epigram might quite possibly have been written before the Copa, and could have been a source of inspiration for it.

⁵³Automedon's precise date is uncertain. Drabkin believes that the epigram very possibly was familiar to the Copa's author.

⁵⁴For example, lasciva may be an echo of κακοτέχνους σχήμασιν, and crispum of ἐξ ἀπαλῶν κινυμένην ὀνύχων.

⁵⁵"The Copa II," 40.

⁵⁶Drabkin, 63.

⁵⁷Drew, 41.

⁵⁸Drabkin, 65-66.

⁵⁹Drew, 40.

⁶⁰Drabkin, 66.

⁶¹Keppler, in Ueber Copa (Leipzig 1908), ultimately rejects Propertian authorship of the Copa on the grounds that a poet of any social standing would not write a poem which concerns a dancing girl and her tavern of ill-repute. He assigns the work instead to Cynthia, since Propertius says that the girl possesses some poetic skill (see, for example, 1.2. 27-30); he further suggests the possibility that Propertius might have helped Cynthia with the Copa's composition, hence the poem's resemblance to parts of Propertius' work. While Keppler's theory is undeniably delightful, it is, however, most improbable.

⁶²Donatus, Life of Vergil 17: deinde Catalepton et Priapea et Epigrammata et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem.

⁶³These are the Catalepton, Priapea, Epigrammata, Dirae, Ciris and Culex. The Aetna is included in Servius' list: Donatus mentions it in his account, but says that there is doubt concerning its authorship.

⁶⁴R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma, 332.

⁶⁵A. Rostagni, Virgilio Minore (Rome 1933) 26-27.

⁶⁶E. Baehrens, Poetae Latini Minores, II (Leipzig 1880) 4.

⁶⁷Rand, 109.

⁶⁸Rand, loc. cit.

⁶⁹Life of Vergil 14.

⁷⁰See above, Chapter 1, 1.

⁷¹Drabkin, 76.

⁷²This is maintained by Rand.

⁷³Drabkin, 77.

⁷⁴Discussed above. See Chapter 1, 2.

⁷⁵See Chapter 1, loc. cit.

⁷⁶The following are the manuscripts used by Vollmer, Poetae Latini Minores (Leipzig 1910), when compiling his text for the Appendix: S, F, L (which is composed of W B ε A T) and m (one of the two components of M).

⁷⁷H. Keil, Grammatici Latini (Hildesheim 1961) I, 63.8.

⁷⁸See C.G. Heyne, Vergilius Maro (Leipzig 1800) and K.D. Ilgen, Animadversiones Philologicae et Criticae in Carmen Virgilianum quod Copa Inscribitur (Pforta 1820) 5, 17.

⁷⁹Keil, II, 209.6.

⁸⁰See Ilgen, 17.

⁸¹Drabkin, 79.

⁸²Drabkin, 80.

⁸³"Remmius Palaemon und Die Romische Ars Grammatica," Philologus 15 (1922) 132, 192.

⁸⁴Keil, I, Praefatio, XLVIII.

⁸⁵See Drabkin, 78 n. 172.

⁸⁶See Rand, 174.

⁸⁷See F. Vollmer, SBAW (1907) 349 n. 6 and "P. Vergilii Maronis Iuvenalis Ludi Libellus," SBAW (1908) 18-20.

CHAPTER III

DATE

Scholars have long debated the question of the Copa's date. In 1890 F. Bücheler stated that the work clearly imitated Propertius, Book 4, and therefore was to be dated shortly after 16-15 B.C.;¹ his theory was accepted by K. Mras,² U. von Wilamowitz Moellendorff,³ F. Leo⁴ and J. Hubaux.⁵ G. Curcio saw in the colloquial language of the poem a certain resemblance to Horace's Satires, and placed it around 30 B.C.⁶ C. Morelli, in 1912, expressed the view that the Copa was written shortly after Tibullus I.3, thus about 28 B.C.⁷ D.L. Drew, as we have seen, undertook to place the Copa before the date of the Eclogues, that is, before 42 B.C.⁸, and in this he was followed by I.E. Drabkin.⁹ Karl Büchner, basing his views on the language and style of the Copa, and claiming, as we shall see, that certain of the Copa's lines, namely those that appear to evince Propertian imitation, have been interpolated, placed the date of composition between Catullus and Vergil.¹⁰ His theory has recently been questioned by R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma, who has returned to the opinion stated previously by Bücheler, that the Copa was written after Vergil and Propertius, around 16 B.C.¹¹

It thus appears that the dating of the Copa, in view of the lack of any concrete historical assertion as to the time of its composition, must remain a study in probabilities. One method used in the attempt to assign a date has been the study of parallel passages. We have already encountered some of the difficulties involved in this approach in our review of the question of authorship; that this method of investigation is to a large extent

subjective will become all the more apparent here. Drew, as we have seen, bases his theory that the Copa is to be dated before Vergil's Eclogues on what he calls "fidelity to source";¹² on examining the use made of the principal source, Theocritus, by the Copa's author, and comparing this to the use made of Theocritus by Vergil, particularly in Eclogue 2, Drew finds that, on the whole, the Copa follows the Greek model more closely than does Eclogue 2. This, Drew contends, is evidence that the Copa is the earlier work. Drabkin has made a careful study of the evidence presented by Drew, and, while offering only a few minor objections to Drew's arguments, in the main eagerly accepts his conclusions as to date.¹³ We may note, however, that the same material can be used to support opposite conclusions. To illustrate this, we may compare the opinions of Drew and Westendorp Boerma on Copa 15-19 and Eclogue 2, 45-50. Drew cites these two passages as one of the major examples of Eclogue 2's dependence upon and imitation of the Copa. His view is based, as we have seen, on the belief that Copa 15-19 follows the source, Theocritus 11, far more closely than does Eclogue 2.45-50, and that the Copa, accordingly, is the earlier piece, available for imitation by Vergil.¹⁴ However, when Westendorp Boerma studies the similarities between these two passages, he looks not so much at the precise words used in each, or their possible relation to the precise words of the source, but rather at the content of each passage and the over-all style.¹⁵ He finds that the Nymphs and Naiads who bring fruit and flowers fit very well into the pastoral atmosphere of Eclogue 2; on the other hand, he says, "how does a nymph Achelois gathering lilies from the riverside fit into the Copa, where the same flowers and fruit are sometimes literally named? We should not

forget that a dancing gipsy is talking here to a shabby and tired traveler on his donkey before a smoke-grimed inn. It is clear that for these grandiloquent and therefore slightly misplaced lines of the Copa, the beautiful scene of the 2nd Eclogue was the source of inspiration."¹⁶ The Copa should not, then, in the opinion of Westendorp Boerma, be dated before the Eclogues. Similarly, he does not agree with Drew and Drabkin that the resemblances between the Copa and the work of Propertius are the result of imitation by Propertius.¹⁷ He believes that the exact opposite is true: the Copa's author depended considerably upon Propertius. He compares, for example, Propertius 4.8.37 (Lygdamus ad cyathos, vitrique aestiva supellex) with Copa 29 (aestivo...nunc prolue vitro): "I think von Wilamowitz was quite right in saying that only a reader of Prop. IV,8,37 could understand the strange expression in Copa 29,"¹⁸ and Propertius 3.13.30: lilia virgineos lucida per calathos with Copa 16: lilia vimineis attulit in calathis. As we have noted already, this latter example of resemblance is one which Drew believes particularly reveals Propertian imitation of the Copa.¹⁹ Although I do not agree with certain points of Westendorp Boerma's judgment (I do not think, for instance, that Copa 15-19 are "grandiloquent and misplaced" lines) what this discussion makes clear, I believe, is that the use of parallel passages as a means of dating is hazardous, in that it is subject to the viewpoint of the scholar using this method. Indeed, Copa 18-19 and 21-22, which are strikingly similar to Propertius 4.2.13-16, have been the cause of particularly vehement disagreement among scholars. Drew cites these passages as an instance of Propertian imitation of the Copa,²⁰ and Drabkin, as we have noted, believes that this is the only place where we can claim Propertian dependence upon the Copa with any degree of certainty.²¹

Westendorp Boerma, on the other hand, feels again that the reverse is true: "these parallels can only be explained in a satisfactory way, if we assume that the poet of the Copa had a vivid admiration for Propertius' elegies."²² He is led to conclude that the Copa was written after 16 B.C. on the basis of the very same lines that Drew and Drabkin use to prove that the Copa was earlier than Propertius. K. Büchner, wishing to place the Copa in the period between Catullus and Vergil's Eclogues, has advanced the theory that the difficult lines 18, 19, 21 and 22 of the Copa (which, as we have seen, have been taken to indicate imitation of Propertius by Copa's author) have been inserted into the poem by an interpolator, who "mit bereitliegenden Formeln der Vergil und Properz an dieser dazu einladenden Stelle munter weiter gedichtet hat."²³ Among Büchner's reasons for theorizing interpolation in the Copa are the following:²⁴

(a) The lines in question contain a contradiction: on a summer day (Copa 5 aestivo...pulvere, Copa 29 aestivo...vitro) fall-fruits lie in view, plums, chestnuts (Copa 18 and 19), grapes and cucumbers (Copa 21 and 22). And then, in Copa 21, along with the autumn grapes come summer mulberries.

I would oppose Büchner's reasoning here on the grounds that, in an unusual and fanciful poem such as the Copa, there is positively no reason why a poet should make in his work only such statements as are scientifically correct. The girl is speaking in a rhetorical fashion; it is not remarkable that, in her desire to present a totally alluring picture of the taberna, she should mention autumn fruits along with those of summer.

(b) If Copa 18-19 and 21-22 are removed, the line of thought becomes much smoother; the cheeses mentioned in Copa 17 go more naturally together with the bread (Ceres, Copa 20), and the gods (Ceres Amor, Bromius and

Priapus [tuguri custos]) stand together in a group. Further, the possible awkwardness of the series of nouns mentioned in Copa 18, 19, 21 and 22 would be removed.

Here again I do not agree with Büchner. To remove Copa 18-19 and 21-22 does not appear to me to clarify the line of thought: simplifying the poem's construction by grouping similar elements together is not necessarily an improvement. It is true that the piling up of the names of fruits in Copa 18-22 is perhaps not the most skillful compositional technique that could be used here; but this might be explained, possibly, if the poem were indeed the work of a young and inexperienced poet.²⁵

(c) The caesuras throughout the poem are quite regular; the poet uses the penthemimeral caesura plus hephthemimeral caesura or bucolic diaeresis. However, Copa 19 has the penthemimeral caesura plus a trochaic caesura in the fourth foot.

This exception is due, Büchner feels, to the fact that this line has been interpolated. This argument is also not particularly convincing; the caesuras in the Copa's hexameters are not so precisely regular that line 19 stands out as remarkable (see Copa 15 and 21, for instance).²⁶ One should, therefore, be wary of using the theory of interpolation as a means of removing a difficult passage from a poem. It appears to be the easy way out. We ought, rather, to try as earnestly as possible to deal with the poem as it stands, to make sense, if possible, out of inaccuracies, before we resort to emendation and to theories of later insertion of lines and phrases.

It seems that the study of parallel passages cannot provide us with any conclusive evidence for dating the poem. The other elements of internal

evidence, vocabulary, style and metre, with one or two exceptions, shed little light on the problem. As has already been noted in Chapter 2, Drabkin makes a thorough review of the language and style of the poem. In his study of vocabulary, he expresses with more than a little confidence his belief that the Copa should be dated to the period following Catullus, but before the Eclogues. He claims, for instance, that the six diminutives found in the poem reveal Catullan influence; two of them, Surisca and caseoli, occur nowhere else, and it is known that Catullus was a "coiner" of diminutives. By making up new words, the Copa's author is perhaps trying to imitate Catullan style. As Drabkin rightly admits, however, the period of "Catullan influence" on Latin poetry cannot be precisely dated. Nevertheless, the period would most likely be close to the floruit of Catullus, since there is no indication that he established a late school, or was used as a "text book," as was Vergil. Thus, I feel that here the poem exhibits a characteristic that places it much nearer to the time of Vergil's youth than to the time of, for instance, Propertius. Drabkin agrees, stating, on the grounds that the coinage and use of unusual diminutives "were generally avoided in the subsequent period," that the Copa should hence be placed "before Vergilian influence, i.e. before the date of the Eclogues."²⁷ It is true that there would be nothing to prevent the Copa's author, should he have been writing after Vergil's time, from disregarding the prevalent style and trying his hand at the "coinage" of words, but to accept that this was the case here is to make an assumption for which we have no basis.

The unusual words found in the Copa provide only slight evidence for dating. Drabkin feels that they too indicate an early date for the poem since they reflect, as do the diminutives, the style current at the time of Catullus: "In view of these facts there is a fair probability that the writer of the Copa was governed by practices in vogue at the time of Catullus and the νεώτεροι, rather than by those which first made themselves felt not long before the appearance of the Eclogues, became firmer under Vergilian influence, and reached their height under Tibullan influence, continuing throughout the period we are studying, i.e. through the Ovidian period. In saying that this indication of Catullan or neoteric influence is a fair bit of evidence for dating the Copa before the Eclogues, I rely again on the relative improbability of an Augustan poet's composing in the spirit of an earlier date."²⁸ Drabkin is here trying to support his view that Vergil composed the Copa at an early age, under the influence of Catullus, before he had perfected his own style. We should note here, however, that since, as is generally acknowledged, Vergil was considerably influenced by the work of Catullus, it is not impossible that he would make use of certain Catullan stylistic features at a date after the composition of the Eclogues.²⁹

When he considers the syntax and style of the Copa, Drabkin is compelled to admit at the outset that here again these offer no sure evidence for dating. He says, however, that in the style are one or two indications that tend to support a pre-Augustan date.³⁰ He notes first the frequent use of the nominative present participle; the hexameter poets writing before the Augustan period, Lucretius and Catullus, for example, tended to use the present participle more often than the poets of the Augustan period. And further, as Rand also points out, the use of participles and adjectives in

combination to describe one noun (Copa 1-4, for example, where Surisca, redimita, docta, ebria, and excutiens all refer to copa) is more characteristic of Lucretius and Catullus than it is of the Augustan poets.³¹

Secondly, Drabkin discusses what he calls the remarkable character of Copa 7: "an enumeration filling the line, with asyndeton (if we view topia et kalybae as one idea in the series), is certainly far more frequent in the writers from Plautus to Lucretius and Catullus than in Augustan poetry, and it is in particular a favorite of Lucretius. ...In the Augustan Age this device seems to have been avoided, as unpoetic, I suppose."³² As he admits, however, this is only a small piece of evidence for a "pre-Eclogue" date.

Because of the shortness of the Copa, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions on dating on the basis of its metrical characteristics. Nevertheless, Drabkin offers several possible criteria for dating.³³ One of these, which I feel is particularly important, is the pentameter ending. The Copa's author, in his apparent indifference to the dissyllabic ending of the pentameter, does not appear to use the metrical technique adopted and developed by Propertius as early as his first book.³⁴ "As a matter of probability, the nature of the pentameter close found in the Copa points to Catullan influence on metric, at any rate to a date before the publication of Propertius II and Tibullus I, i.e. before 26 B.C. There is greater probability of this than that a poet of the admitted ability of the author of the Copa should lag behind in the matter of a metrical development of this sort."³⁵ I agree that it does not seem likely that a poet writing after Propertius would abandon a more skillful compositional technique for an earlier, less competent one.

The number of elisions in the pentameter also puts the Copa nearer to the time of Catullus than of Propertius, Drabkin claims. In the Copa's nineteen pentameters are nine instances of elision; further, Copa 8 and 26 have two elisions each. The poems of Catullus have many instances of such multiple elision;³⁶ this feature is much less common in Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid. The frequency of elision in the hexameter (in the Copa's nineteen hexameters there are seven elisions) is also more indicative of Catullan influence than it is of the other elegiac poets. However, the Copa is too short a poem to make such evidence of any real worth, says Drabkin. The best he can say of the metrical evidence is that it tends to confirm the pre-Eclogue date for the Copa that was suggested to him by his study of the poem's vocabulary. I believe, however, that the matter of the scarcity of the dissyllabic pentameter ending in the poem is much more important than Drabkin feels it to be. It affords us a noteworthy indication of the early (i.e. in the period of Catullan influence) date of the poem.

Those who wish to attribute the Copa to Vergil have taken considerable interest in the question when Vergil could have composed the poem. If we believe the information offered by Vergil's biographers, Donatus and Servius, it seems that Vergil was writing the poems now contained in the Appendix at an early age, before he undertook the composition of the Eclogues: poeticam puer adhuc auspicatus in Ballistam...distichon fecit... deinde Catalepton et Priapea et Epigrammata et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem cum esset annorum XVI... mox cum res Romanas incohasset offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit.³⁷ In attempting to place the Copa among Vergil's early work on the basis of the accounts of Donatus and Servius, we are, of course, faced with the problem we have considered in Chapter 2:³⁸ why is the Copa

missing from Donatus' account, and can it be attributed to Vergil purely on the grounds that Servius adds it to his list of the poet's early works? If we can accept the theory of such scholars as Rand, that the words et copam originally stood between cirim and et culicem in Donatus' account, then we may also accept that the poem was written by Vergil around the age of sixteen. Although some scholars maintain that the phrase cum esset annorum XVI refers only to the writing of the Culex, since it directly follows et culicem, this is not necessarily the case. Rather, the temporal clause cum ...XVI modifies the main verb fecit, which is to be taken not only with culicem, but also with all the other nouns of the sentence, from catalepton to culicem. Further, the reference to age sixteen does not need to be precise; it could simply indicate the age at which the second stage of Vergil's work began. On the basis of biographical evidence, the writing of the Copa could have occurred any time between Vergil's sixteenth and twenty-eighth year, when he is reported by Probus to have begun the Eclogues. Donatus tells us that Vergil, having received the toga virilis,³⁹ stayed for a time in Milan and inde paulo post transiit in urbem. We do not know how long the poet remained at Milan; nevertheless, he was probably in Rome by the age of sixteen. His first years there were occupied by the learning of rhetoric; presumably, engrossed in serious and demanding study, he would not have undertaken the composition of the Copa during this early period. In any case, if we wish to adhere to the theory that the Copa was written before the Eclogues, we could place it between 54 and 42 B.C. However, as Drabkin notes, it would perhaps be more reasonable to put the terminus at 46 or 45 B.C. instead of 42 B.C.; Vergil would presumably have been engaged in the writing of the Eclogues by 42 B.C., and, since they show greater

stylistic development and skill than does the Copa, it is most unlikely that the Copa would have been written at the same time.

Some have thought that the tone and setting of the Copa strongly suggest that it was written by Vergil at Naples, during the time when he studied Epicurean philosophy under Siro, the period lasting approximately from 48 B.C. until the time of Siro's death in 42 B.C.⁴⁰ N. DeWitt, for example, places the poem in 45 B.C. and accompanies this conjecture with a most romanticized account of Vergil's situation and psychological mood: "It is not difficult to find the place of the Copa in the poet's career. It belongs to the period when he was living in cultured leisure following the teaching of Epicurus. The worldly hopes he set his heart upon have turned to ashes. Selfish ambitions have now become a part of the past. On his shoulders rests the load of no burdensome responsibility.... The Copa falls in the first year of the author's residence in Campania, and must have been written before the Ides of March. He was never so tranquil in mind, never so carefree afterwards.... When the Copa came from his hand he was not yet a marked man.... He was coming and going as he pleased, strolling unheeded through quaint streets and quiet countrysides..."⁴¹ DeWitt cites Copa 13-16

Sunt etiam croceo violae de flore corollae
sertaque purpurea lutea mixta rosa,
et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne
lilia vimineis attulit in calathis,

as evidence that the poem belongs to this idealized picture of Vergil's life in Naples: "Down the valley to the east and the south of Naples flowed the river Sebethus, much revered by the ancient Neapolitans, who adopted for the symbol of their coinage the figure of a bull with a human head, probably

the river god, whether the Achelous or the Sebethus makes no difference to us. A daughter of the river god, the nymph Sebethis, became by Telon of Capri the mother of Oebalus, the first king of Naples.... The river, therefore, of the Copa from whose virgin waters the maiden has plucked the white lilies, will be the Sebethus, and the whole myth is suggested to us in the name that Virgil gives to the maiden, Achelois."⁴² DeWitt has certainly gone to great pains to establish Naples as the setting of the Copa; while his description of Vergil's life there is extravagant, the basic idea may well be sound.

The Copa has been assigned to other periods of Vergil's literary career: T. Frank places its composition between the Eclogues and the Georgics: "The years that followed the publication of the Eclogues seem to have been a season of reading, traveling, observing and brooding.... The Rome of his own day was too feverish, it soon drove him back to his garden villa near Naples During these few years Vergil seems to have written but little. We have, however, a strange poem of thirty-eight lines, the Copa, ... which should perhaps be assigned to this period."⁴³ Such attempts to place the Copa in Vergil's career are full of interest, and the theory that the Copa was composed at Naples appears to have some value when we consider the poem's setting and tone. It is true, nonetheless, that scholars are guessing when they place the work at one period of Vergil's life or another; indeed, even if they feel certain that the poem is Vergil's, they must surely be aware, if only biographical considerations are taken into account, that Vergil could quite reasonably have written the poem at any period in his life. But when the style of the poem is considered, a style which is not in all respects skillful, if Vergil is indeed the author, it would appear

more likely that he wrote the Copa before the Eclogues rather than after.

R. Radford has attempted to bring the date of the Copa down to the time of Ovid, to approximately 16 B.C. Ovid wrote the poems of the Vergilian Appendix, Radford claims, at a time when his father's disapproval of his literary activity forced him to disguise his work through anonymity and the use of pseudonyms.⁴⁴ Drabkin disagrees strongly with this: "Various considerations of internal evidence point to the conclusion that the whole Appendix, if Ovid is the author, does not come in the natural course of the poet's development, but is a deliberate forgery, an attempt to pass the work off as Vergil's. Features connected with the publication of the poems and certain elements of the poems themselves make this, however, a very uninviting hypothesis."⁴⁵ In fact, as we have seen, the style of the Copa, and its metrical technique in particular, differ markedly from that of the later elegiac poets, Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid, and seem to be much closer to the technique of Catullus. This is a point that Drabkin stresses in his objection to Radford's hypothesis: "If this Ovidian authorship is true, Ovid wrote the poem in a style far different from that which he had by that time developed as his normal style. Regardless of the date of publication of the first edition of the Amores, we may assert that the composition of that work was begun long before 16 B.C. Even if we take Radford's own selection (II.169) of fourteen elegies that best reveal the work of the first version of the Amores, we find the dissyllabic pentameter close fully operative, we find a marked difference in the matter of elision, particularly in the pentameter, and we find the percentage of dactylic beginnings (though one should not stress this feature in so short a poem as the Copa)

materially greater in the fourteen elegies than in the Copa, to mention a few of the metrical aspects of the poems."⁴⁶ Radford, in his rebuttal, attributes Drabkin's attitude and comments to a general neglect of Ovid:⁴⁷

"It is to this general neglect of the poet that we largely ascribe the singular indifference to Ovid and ignorance of Ovid which appears throughout Drabkin's thesis."⁴⁸ In general Radford repeats arguments he has presented previously; he makes a few other comments, however; "his [Drabkin's] whole position is overthrown by a single important word-form in Copa (vs. 15) which he has failed to observe: "et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne." For Vergil, who uses the regular amni five times, has the new form amne only once near the close of his life (Aen. xi.457), and then within the verse, i.e. from metrical necessity. (This is the first occurrence of amne in extant Latin poetry, and belongs to about 20 B.C.). To use the new form without metrical necessity, i.e., at the close of the verse, is the height of modernity and of the Ovidian style (Met. xi.51: xiii.801; Trist. iii.10.27)."⁴⁹ We should note here, however, that Aeneid 11 was not necessarily composed at the end of Vergil's career. Radford mentions also the resemblance between Copa 17-19 and Ovid, Meta. 13.812 and 814-19,⁵⁰ and states that this also is evidence in favour of Ovidian authorship. As we have noted, however, dependence upon parallel passages for dating is hazardous.

It would seem, then, that, in spite of the many hypotheses that have been offered regarding the Copa's date, the problem remains without a definite solution. If Drew and Drabkin are correct on the issue of the resemblances between the Copa and Eclogue 2, then this would be valuable evidence in favour of a date for the Copa before 42 B.C. Further, when it comes to the

consideration of Vergil's career, and of a possible place for the Copa in it, we have evidence that tends to support a pre-Eclogue date for the poem. In addition, the metrical characteristics of the Copa, particularly the non-dissyllabic pentameter endings, are strong indications of a date around the period of Catullan influence. With this date, of course, comes the possibility that the Copa was indeed written by the young Vergil.

Notes.

- ¹"Coniectanea," RhM 45 (1890) 323-324.
- ²"Die Copa Sprachlich und Metrisch Untersuch," Wiener Studien 23 (1901) 252-268.
- ³Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos (Berlin 1924).
- ⁴Culex: Carmen Vergilio Ascriptum (Berlin 1891).
- ⁵Le Réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile.
- ⁶Poeti Latini Minori, II (Catania 1905).
- ⁷"Note Sulla Copa," Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica 19 (1912) 228-236.
- ⁸See above, Chapter 2, 15-21.
- ⁹See Chapter 2, 21-26.
- ¹⁰P. Vergilius Maro, Der Dichter der Römer (Stuttgart 1955) 135-143.
- ¹¹Mnemosyne 11 (1958) 331-338.
- ¹²"The Copa I," 73-81 and "The Copa II," 37-42.
- ¹³Drabkin, 47-69.
- ¹⁴"The Copa I," 73-81.
- ¹⁵Westendorp Boerma, 337.
- ¹⁶Westendorp Boerma, loc. cit.
- ¹⁷Westendorp Boerma, 334-335.
- ¹⁸Westendorp Boerma, 335.
- ¹⁹See Chapter 2, 24-25.

²⁰"The Copa II," 40-42.

²¹See Chapter 2, 25-26 and Drabkin, 64-66.

²²Westendorp Boerma, 336.

²³Büchner, 140.

²⁴Büchner, 138-140.

²⁵Westendorp Boerma (332) rejects the theory that the poet was young because of what he calls the metrical and technical skill of the poem: "And if it had been written by Vergil in his student-years, we should certainly have expected a strong influence of Catullus in language, in metrical peculiarities, in spirit, but nothing of the kind is present here. No, I think every one must feel certain now that the Copa is neither the work of the younger nor that of the later Vergil."

I believe that he is incorrect here. As we have seen in our discussion of authorship, where Drabkin's views on the statistical approach to the problem of authenticity are considered, and as we will see later in this chapter, there is a great deal in the vocabulary and meter of the Copa that betrays Catullan influence. See also Drabkin, 5-47.

Westendorp Boerma thinks that a more reasonable explanation would be that the poem was written in conscious imitation of Propertius: "they [the elegies of Propertius] still rang in his ears, when he wrote his poem and it is no wonder at all that he inserted fragments and expressions, not all of them felicitous, but even that is typical for an imitator."

²⁶We may note here that there are some examples of the same use of caesuras in Propertius as in Copa 19. Consider, for instance, Propertius 4.1.3, 19, 25, 91, 121, 139. This evidence alone, however, is too slight to justify

a claim for Propertian authorship.

²⁷Drabkin, 6.

²⁸Drabkin, 13.

²⁹For Catullan influence on Vergil see R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma, "Vergil's Debt to Catullus," Acta Classica 1 (1958) 51-63.

³⁰Drabkin, 24-35.

³¹Rand, 121-122.

³²Drabkin, 29.

³³Drabkin, 35-47.

³⁴Of the nineteen pentameters of the Copa, only eight have a dissyllabic ending. For statistics on Propertius' use of the dissyllabic pentameter ending, see H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber, The Elegies of Propertius, xv-xvi.

³⁵Drabkin, 37-38.

³⁶See Drabkin, 39.

³⁷Donatus, Life of Vergil 17-19.

³⁸See above, Chapter 2, 27-28.

³⁹Donatus (Life of Vergil 6) says that Vergil received the toga virilis at the age of seventeen: Initia aetatis Cremonae egit usque ad virilem togam, quam XVII anno natali suo accepit. It is necessary to emend the figure XVII to XV, however, since Donatus also tells us that this happened during the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, 55 B.C., when Vergil was fifteen years old: iisdem illis consulibus iterum duobus, quibus

erat natus. Further, fifteen was the customary age for one to receive the toga virilis.

⁴⁰H.W. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (Chicago 1927) 65-66, for example, dates the poem to approximately 45 B.C.

⁴¹Virgil's Biographia Litteraria (Toronto 1923) 69-70.

⁴²DeWitt, 68.

⁴³Vergil (New York 1922) 154.

⁴⁴Radford has published several articles on this subject: "The Juvenile Works of Ovid and the Spondaic Period of his Metrical Art," TAPA 51 (1920) 146-171: "The Priapea and the Vergilian Appendix," TAPA 52 (1921) 148-177: "The Language of the Pseudo-Vergilian Catalepton with Especial Reference to its Ovidian Characteristics," TAPA 54 (1923) 168-186: "Tibullus and Ovid," AJPh 44 (1923) 1-26, 230-259, 293-318; "The Ovidian Authorship of the Lygdamus Elegies," TAPA 57 (1926) 149-180: "Ovid's Carmina Furtiva," PhQ 7 (1928) 45-59.

⁴⁵Drabkin, 85-86.

⁴⁶Drabkin, 87.

⁴⁷CPh 26 (1931) 211-24.

⁴⁸Radford, 213.

⁴⁹Radford, loc. cit.

⁵⁰Ovid, Meta. 13, 812-820:

... sunt poma gravantia ramos,

sunt auro similes longis in vitibus uvae,

sunt et purpureae: tibi et has servamus et illas.
ipsa tuis manibus silvestri nata sub umbra
mollia fraga leges, ipsa autumnalia corna
prunaeque non solum nigro liventia suco,
verum etiam generosa novasque imitantia ceras.
nec tibi castaneae me coniuge, nec tibi deerunt
arbuti fetus: omnis tibi serviet arbor.

CHAPTER IV

EPICUREANISM IN THE COPA

It seems certain that for a period of his youth Vergil devoted himself to the study of Epicurean philosophy. There are various pieces of evidence to show that, having arrived in Rome in approximately 52 B.C. to study rhetoric, he left the city around 48 or 47 B.C. to pursue Epicurean studies in Naples under the guidance of the philosopher Siro. That Siro was indeed associated with the Epicurean school in Naples is attested by a fragment of a papyrus dealing with Epicureanism found in Herculaneum: ἐδ]όκει δ' ἐπ[ανελθεῖν] μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰς [τὴν Νεά]πολιν πρὸς τὸν [ἡμέτερο]ν Σίρωνα [κ]αὶ τὴν [περὶ αὐτ]ὸν ἐκεῖ διαίτη[σιν καὶ φι]λοσόφους ἐνεργ[ῆσαι συλλα]λίας Ἑρκλ[ανέωι τε συχνό]τε[ρον παρενδιατρῖψαι].¹

It is thought that Siro was well known in Rome between 50 and 45 B.C.²

There are several references to Siro in Cicero: in Academica 2.106 (written in 45 B.C., but set in 60 B.C.): falsi autem comprehendi nihil potest, et omnia meminit Siron Epicuri dogmata, in De Finibus 2.119 (also written in 45 B.C., but set in 50 B.C.): "habeo," inquit Torquatus, "ad quos ista referam, et quamquam aliquid ipse poteram, tamen invenire malo paratiores," "familiares nostros, credo, Sironem dicis et Philodemum, cum optimos viros tum homines doctissimos," and in Epistulae ad Familiares 6.11.2 (dated to 45 B.C.): Vestorius, noster familiaris, ad me scripsit te mihi maximas gratias agere. Haec praedicatio tua mihi valde grata est eaque te uti facile patior, cum apud alios tum mehercule apud Sironem, nostrum amicum.

That Vergil did study Epicureanism at Naples is attested in the Vitae. The vita of Probus tells us that he spent considerable time studying the philosophy, as did his friends Tucca, Varius and Quintilius: vixit pluribus annis liberali in otio, secutus Epicuri sectam, insigni concordia et familiaritate usus Quintili, Tuccae et Vari, and in the vita of Servius we read nam et Cremonae et Mediolani et Neapoli studuit. (We may note also Donatus Auctus, Vita Vergilii: audivit a Sirone praecepta Epicuri, cuius doctrinae socium habuit Varium.)³ Additional support is provided by Servius on Eclogue 6.13: nam vult exequi sectam Epicuream, quam didicerant tam Vergilius quam Varus docente Sirone, and on Aeneid 6.264: ex maiore autem parte Sironem, id est magistrum suum Epicureum sequitur. Two poems of the Catalepton, which are generally accepted as authentic, afford important evidence for Vergil's association with Siro. The first, Catalepton 5, which has been dated to approximately 47 B.C.,⁴ marks the period when Vergil gives up the study of rhetoric and sets out to pursue philosophy under Siro:

Nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus
 magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,
 vitamque ab omni vindicabimus cura.⁵

In the second poem, Catalepton 8, written probably around 42 or 41 B.C., Vergil has received possession of Siro's villa, after the philosopher's death, and plans to use it as a refuge for himself and his parents.⁶

The light-hearted Epicurean tone of the Copa makes it tempting to suppose that the poem was written by Vergil sometime during his study of philosophy at Naples. Mention will be made in the Commentary of various elements in the poem that strengthen the notion that its setting is Naples: we may

note, for example, the presence of the Syrian copa (many Greek and Eastern peoples lived in the city), the reference to the nymph Achelois, daughter of Achelous, who was also the father of Parthenope, a goddess worshipped in Naples, the mention of fine crystal cups which may well have been imported into nearby Puteoli (which was the main port for the trade from Alexandria). We may further suppose that, if the taberna described in the poem were located, not in the peaceful countryside, but rather in a bustling city like Naples, the shade and seclusion of the tavern garden would be all the more appealing to passers-by.

If we may accept that the Copa is the work of Vergil, written by him under the influence of his Epicurean studies, the next step is for us to consider the use made of Epicureanism in his poem. What we have in the Copa appears to be a rather superficial and light-hearted treatment of the Epicurean doctrine concerning pleasure. We see that the individual pleasures recommended to the traveller are, in themselves, innocent enough: the guest is told to enter the tavern garden and rest there in the shade, secluded from the turmoil of the world outside (we may compare here Lucretius 2.29-31:

cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae
non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant),

he is invited to partake of refreshment, to enjoy music, and to occupy himself with simple entertainment, a game of dice. Nowhere in the poem, however, is there a suggestion of moderation or temperance in the enjoyment of these pleasures: there is rather an atmosphere of over-indulgent luxuriousness, emphasized by the many delights and attractions described by the

hostess in philosophical terms. It might seem that Vergil is here reflecting not the teachings of Epicurus, but rather the hedonistic philosophy of Aristippus, the "carpe diem" idea. The exclamation pereat qui crastina curat (37) does not seem entirely in keeping with Epicurean teaching, which calls for a certain amount of planning in regard to the future; man must carefully choose some pleasures and avoid others, with thought about which will aid him the most in his search for the desired ἀταραξία. According to Epicurus, man should not fling caution to the winds and indulge himself according to his every whim. Further, the presentation of Death as a threatening character, who warns that man should live to the full before it is too late, is also rather contrary to Epicurean thought, which holds that Death is not to be feared, and that man should not conduct his life under pressure from the fear of dying.

It is important to recognize that the Copa is not a didactic poem. Vergil is here using Epicurean notions in a way that is unparalleled in earlier Latin literature, but that will be continued by Horace. The ideas are taken from the context of serious philosophical debate and are used to create a pleasing and, through its incongruity, humorous effect. The doctrines taught by the learned Siro are here manipulated, and put into the mouth of the copa lasciva: their intention is not to recommend moral rectitude, but rather the enjoyment of the physical pleasures of the taberna.

Notes

- ¹ Vol. Herc. 312, I 4,5 - 13². This fragment was deciphered by W. Crönert, Kolotes und Menedemus (1906) 125. For discussion, see also R.E.H. Westendorp Boerma, P. Vergili Maronis Libellus qui inscribitur Catalepton (Groningen 1949) 100, T. Birt, 17, E.K. Rand, 145 and T. Frank, "Virgil's Apprenticeship II," CPh 15 (1920) 107.
- ² See Birt, 17.
- ³ See E. Diehl, Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen (Bonn 1911) 79.
- ⁴ See Westendorp Boerma, 101-102, for a discussion of date; he dates the poem slightly later, to 45 B.C.
- ⁵ Catalepton 5, 8-10.
- ⁶ For a discussion of this poem, see Westendorp Boerma, 153-165.

CODICES

(From E.J. Kenney, Appendix Vergiliana [Oxford 1966] 79)

- G = Fragmentum Graeciense 1814, saec. ix
- M = consensus codicum mn:
m = Monacensis 305, saec. xi-xii
n = Monacensis 18059, saec. xi
- S = Stabulensis, nunc Parisinus 17177, saec. x
- F = Fiechtianus, nunc Mellicensis cim. 2, saec. x
- L = Iuvenalis Ludi qui dicitur libellus deperditus, cuius
tamen imaginem reddunt quinque codices ab eo deducti:
W = Trevirensis 1086, saec. ix-x
B = Bembinus, nunc Vaticanus 3252, saec. ix-x
E = Parisinus 8093, saec. x
A = Parisinus 7927, saec. x-xi
T = Parisinus 8069, saec. xi
- Ω = consensus codicum MSFL
- θ = codicum saec. xii-xiii exaratorum vel unus vel aliquot
- ς = codicum saec. xv exaratorum vel unus vel aliquot

COPA

(Readings that differ from E.J. Kenney's text are in italics)

Copa Surisca, caput Graeca redimita mitella,
 crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus,
 ebria fumosa saltat lasciva taberna
 ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos.
 quid iuvat aestivo defessum pulvere abesse 5
 quam potius bibulo decubuisse toro?
 sunt topia et kalybae, cyathi, rosa, tibia, chordae,
 et triclia umbrosis frigida harundinibus.
 en et Maenalio quae garrit dulce sub antro
 rustica pastoris fistula more sonat. 10
 est et vappa cado nuper defusa picato,
et strepitans rauco murmure rivus aquae.
 sunt etiam croceo violae de flore corollae,
 sertaque purpurea lutea mixta rosa,
 et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne 15
 lilia vimineis attulit in calathis.
 sunt et caseoli, quos iuncea fiscina siccatur,

1-14 Ω = M(=mn)SFL(=WBEAT) 15-17 Ω = M(=mn)SL(=WBEAT) Titulus: copa ΩG,
Servius: cupa Charisius 1 surisca G: furisca M: suirisca SL: Syrisca edd.
nonnulli graia θ 3 fumosa G (fu[])M: famosa SFL 5 abesse Ω: abisse Ilgen
 7 topia: GSWBem: tropia n: opia F: copia AT: obba Heinsius chalybes M:
 calibes SE: kalibes FBT: kalybae Reichenbach: calybae Scaliger: kelebes
Ellis: calices § 8 triclia Leo ex inscriptionibus: triclya M: tric[G:
 triaclia SL: triadia F umbrosis M: umbris SFL 10 more MA: in ore SFL 11
 defusa Ω: diffusa θ 12 et strepitans Ω G: est crepitans § : est trepitans
 W: est trepidans Heinsius 13 etiam croceo Ω: et cecropio §

sunt autumnali cerea pruna die
 castaneaeque nuces et suave rubentia mala,
 est hic munda Ceres, est Amor, est Bromius. 20
 sunt et mora cruenta et lentis uva racemis,
 et pendet iunco caeruleus cucumis.
 est tuguri custos armatus falce saligna,
 sed non et vasto est inguine terribilis.
huc calybita veni, lassus iam sudat casellus; 25
 parce illi, Vestae delictum est asinus.
 nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae,
 nunc varia in gelida sede lacerta latet.
 si sapis, aestivo recubans nunc prolue vitro,
 seu vis crystalli ferre novos calices. 30
 hic age pampinea fessus requiesce sub umbra
 et gravidum roseo necte caput strophica,
 formosum tenerae decerpens ora puellae.
 a pereat cui sunt prisca supercilia!
 quid cineri ingrato servas bene olentia sarta? 35
 anne coronato vis lapide *ista* tegi?
 pone merum et talos; pereat qui crastina curat.
 Mors aurem vellens 'vivite' ait, 'venio'.

18-38 Ω = M(=mm)SL(=WBEAT) 18 autumnali...die Ω: autumnalis deae § 24 et
 Ω: ex Ilgen 25 huc MW: huic SL chalybita M: calibita SL: calibina W:
 Cybelista Sillig: capalista Schenk1 lassus MSAT: fessus θ 26 Vestae I.
Vossius: vestrae Ω: nostrum θ : vestrum § delictum SL: deliciae M 28
 varia in M: vero in S: vere in L: verna in Heinsius: veprum Haupt:
 vepris in Ellis 29 nunc Ω : te θ , Scaliger 30 crystalli M: cristalle SL:
 cristallo θ 31 hic S: hec M: hia L 33 formosum Ω: formosus θ : formosa
 et tenerae, formosa interea Clausen: per morsum Ellis 36 ista Ω: ossa
Ilgen: olla, urna Ellis 37 talos L: tallos M: allos S

COMMENTARY

1 Copa Surisca caput Graeca redimita mitella.

copa: This unusual noun is the feminine counterpart of the masculine copo which is itself a variant, vernacular form of the noun caupo. The spelling copo is found occasionally in antiquity, in Cicero, Pro Cluentio 163, for example: Atque etiam, ut nobis renuntiatur, hominem multorum hospitum, Ambivium quendam, coponem de via Latina, subornatis, qui a Cluentio servisque eius in taberna sua manus adlatas esse dicat; it occurs also in Martial 13.11: haec ego coponi, non tibi, dona dedi. The use of copa instead of caupona or caupo to denote a female tavern keeper is very rare. (We may note that caupona used as the feminine correspondent of caupo, to indicate a female tavern keeper, is also rare; caupona with this meaning occurs only in Lucilius 128, and three times in Apuleius, in Metamorphoses 1.7, 1.8, and 1.21. Caupona is more regularly used to designate the place where the caupo works, that is, his tavern or inn. For the use of caupo to denote a woman, see T. Kleberg, Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine [Uppsala 1957] 3 n. 7.) The only certain instance of the occurrence of the noun copa is in our poem. There are two other passages where the word possibly is used, but in each case a textual problem is involved: Suetonius, Nero 27: ... dispositae per litora et ripas deversoriae tabernae parabantur insignes ganeae et matronarum institorio copas imitantium atque hinc inde hortantium ut appelleret (copas here is the reading taken by the editor, Maximilian Ihm; some of the leading manuscripts have locopas or iocopas), and Pliny, Nat. Hist. 34.90: Simon canem et sagittarium facit, Stratonicus caelator ille philosophos, copas uterque (where copas is an emendation, the reading of the manuscripts being scopas). Thus, since there is some doubt concerning the reading of copa in each of these passages, our

poem affords the only certain instance of the use of the word.

Interpretations of the word copa vary, as is particularly evident in various translations that have been made of the poem. To J. Lindsay (Latin Poetry in Verse Translation, ed. L.R. Lind [Boston 1957] 59), the copa is a "dancing-girl"; E.H. Blakeney (The Copa and the Moretum, Two Poems Attributed to Virgil [Winchester 1933] 7) describes her as a crotalistria, a "female castanet dancer." To W.C. Firebaugh (The Inns of Greece and Rome [Chicago 1923] 142) she is a "cabaret dancer"; others, I.E. Drabkin, for example, refer to her simply as the "hostess". Lewis and Short define copa as "a female tavern-keeper and castanet-dancer, who exhibited her arts in her ale-house"; the New Oxford Latin Dictionary describes the copa as "a woman who provides entertainment in taverns, a dancing girl." Since the occurrence of the word in our poem is the one certain instance of its use, we should not be surprised by this diversity of definition, which results from differing opinions concerning what is actually happening in the poem, what type of character the poem describes, and what her precise occupation is. To seek a more accurate definition we may start by comparing the noun with its masculine counterpart, caupo, a word used more widely, and whose meaning can therefore be determined. Caupo may be related to the Greek κάπηλος (see A. Ernout, Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine [Paris 1951] 107), but the two words are not strictly parallel. Κάπηλος, meaning a "retail dealer, petty tradesman," rarely has the meaning of "tavern keeper," whereas caupo almost always means this. In the Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum, caupo is variously defined as tabernarius (CGL II, 572,4), tabernarius in taberna (V,355,23), negociator qui vinum vendit (V,547,25), qui vinum cum aqua miscet (V,350,11), pessimum, qui de vino aquam facit (V,564,35). Most derivatives of

caupo, cauponarius, cauponicula, cauponius, cauponium, cauponula, caupuncula and copa, for instance, seem, in general, to share the sense of caupo, that of inn or tavern keeper. See T. Kleberg, 3-5, for a discussion of cauponor, cauponatus and cauponaticius, whose meanings differ, in some respects, from the sense of the root word.

Use of the word caupo in Latin literature shows that the term originally designated someone (usually male) who acts as the host of an establishment where travellers can be lodged, and where it is possible also to obtain food and wine. (See T. Kleberg, 5-6, for the pejorative sense that attached itself to caupo and caupona in later Latin literature [Isid. Orig. 10.58, for example]). The derivatives of caupo are too rarely used for any such determination to be made concerning them). The feminine copa, then, which we may assume basically parallels the sense of caupo, denotes a "hostess," someone responsible for welcoming travellers, and providing food and drink for clients of her establishment. For other mentions of women employed in taverns, we may note, for example, in addition to Lucilius 128 (caupona hic tamen una Syra), several Pompeian inscriptions: CIL IV, 1679 (where reference is made to a girl of Greek origin named Hedone), CIL IV, 7862-7864; CIL IV, 7866 and CIL IV, 7873. We may note that the women who work in the tabernae apparently do not enjoy good reputations. They are often looked upon as lascivious and morally corrupt, and it is even deemed necessary at times to draft special laws to deal with them, particularly as concerns adultery (see T. Kleberg, 81-82). The general public attitude seems to be that all women connected with taverns are little more than prostitutes; many of course are. Quite a few taverns provide such services. (Note, in this regard, Catullus 37.1, 11-14:

Salax taberna vosque contubernales, ...
 puella nam mi, quae meo sinu fugit,
 amata tantum quantum amabitur nulla,
 pro qua mihi sunt magna bella pugnata,
 consedit istic.

See also Horace, Epistles 1.14.21, and CIL IV, 2689.)

It is quite likely that the Syrian copa is in fact a courtesan, and that the taberna operates also as a lupanar (see Copa 23-24, 33). The fashion in which the copa is presented in the opening lines seems, indeed, a good indication of her profession. That she may well be a courtesan is also evident if we compare her description with a very similar, but rather more explicit, description of another dancing girl, in Priapea 27, an epigram of unknown date and authorship, written probably in imitation of the Copa. (Concerning its date, see C. Morelli, 228ff, who suggests dating Priapea 27 to the time of Ovid, because of the similarity between line four of the epigram and Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1.538, and line five and Ovid, Ex Ponto 4.539. But note also V. Buchheit, "Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum," Zetemata 28 [Munich 1962] 108-123, who states that, because of the apparent dependence of the carmina Priapea on Martial, the poems should be dated to the period following Martial [the terminus post quem for the poems he thus places at 100 A.D.].) Particularly noteworthy is the similarity between Copa 2 and the second line of the epigram:

Deliciae populi, magno notissima Circo
 Quintia, vibratas docta movere nates,
 Cymbala cum crotalis, pruriginis arma, Priapo
 Ponit et adducta tympana pulsa manu,
 Pro quibus, ut semper placeat spectantibus, orat
 Tentaque ad exemplum sit sua turba dei.

Surisca: an unusual diminutive adjective, taken from the Greek. This feminine form is not found elsewhere, but the masculine occurs in Terence, Adelphoe 763, Martial 5.70.2 and Ausonius, Epigrammata 87.1. In these passages the adjective is used as a proper noun: F. Leo claims that here, also, Surisca is the copa's name, which would of course reflect her nationality.

The fact that the poet calls the copa "Surisca" adds some intriguing connotations to the poem. Eastern peoples are regarded by the Romans as ideally suited to slavery. (Concerning this, note Cicero, De Provinciis Consularibus 10.5: Iam vero publicanos miseros tradidit in servitutem Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti, Livy 35.49.8: Suros omnes esse, haud paulo mancipiorum melius propter servilia ingenia quam militum genus, and Livy 36.17.5: hic Syri et Asiatici Graeci sunt, vilissima genera hominum et servituti nata. For discussion of this Roman prejudice, see A.N. Sherwin-White, Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome [Cambridge 1967], in particular, 72-76.) Syrians are thought to be effeminate, luxury-loving, debauched and cunning; it is believed that their prime concern is to indulge their wanton desires. (See Dio, 78.6.1a: τῆς Συρίας, ὅθεν πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, τὸ πανοῦργον ; Julian, Against the Galileans 116A: Δεγέσθω γάρ μοι . . . τίς αἰτία τοῦ Κελτοῦς μὲν εἶναι καὶ Περμανοῦς θρασεῖς, . . . ἀπολέμους δὲ καὶ τρυφηλοῦς Σύρους. Note also Herodian 2.10.7; 3.11.8; 4.8.7.) In Juvenal, we find the Syrians depicted as a despicable people, particularly hateful since, in the poet's opinion, they resemble the Greeks in character, and thus they too are responsible for the way in which Roman life is being "poisoned" by Greek influences. (See Satire 3.122-125.) The Greek and Syrian libertini are felt to be corrupting and degrading Roman society: note, in particular, Satire 3.62-66:

iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes,
 et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
 obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
 vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas:
 ite quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra!

Note also Satire 3.73-77:

ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
 promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ede, quid illum
 esse putes? quem vis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
 grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
 augur schoenobates medicus magus ...

In Satire 8.158-162, we find mentioned a tavern keeper, a Syrophoenix, who is portrayed as a fawning flatterer, offensively drenched in perfume:

sed cum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas
 obvius adsiduo Syrophoenix unctus amomo
 currit, Idymaeae Syrophoenix incola portae,
 hospitibus adfectu dominum regemque salutat,
 et cum venali Cyane succincta lagona.

A Accompanying this scornful attitude, however, is a certain admiration for a quality of oriental fascination and mystery that peoples from the East are believed to possess. Oriental women, particularly, are thought to have a great power of influence and seduction, and their beauty is characterized as wanton yet most appealing. The word "Syrian" alone invokes an atmosphere of luxuriance: see, for example, Catullus 6,8 (Syrio fragrans olivo), Horace, Odes 2.7.7-8 (coronatus nitentis/Malobathro Syrio capillos), Propertius 2.13.30

(cum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx) and Tibullus 3.4.28, for mention of exotic Syrian ointments and perfumes imported for the luxury-loving.

Although it is true that the Romans often express contempt for the Syrian and his ways, the poet's use of the word Surisca here is not necessarily totally pejorative. There are, of course, attached to the word all the connotations already discussed; here, however, the use of the word appears to bring with it primarily simply the poet's recognition of a certain character-type. He emphasizes not the slavish and degraded qualities of that character, but rather the exotic, luxurious and wanton qualities. The hostess' characteristics are such as would appeal to passers-by; she is wanton and seductive indeed, and who would be better able to entice clients into the taberna? The poet, then, appears to intend us to be hypnotized by her appearance and by her actions, in the same way that, within the poem, the copa desires to enchant the weary passers-by into accepting her hospitality. In his version of the poem, W.C. Firebaugh (142) captures this spirit to a certain extent:

A Grecian head-band binding her hair,
The wine-flushed Syrian siren sways
To the titillating clack of her castanets,
In the spell of the dance that Passion begets
Of smouldering Desire that seethes to flare
In the smoke of her tavern: sinuously fair
She sings her appealing lay:

The picture Firebaugh later paints of the copa (or of the type of woman he feels the copa resembles) is truly remarkable, if only in so far as it shows how profoundly he has been influenced by her exotic and wanton qualities (148):

"She is a past mistress in the art of the cordax, and at last, as a tremulous shiver, an erotic tic, runs through the length of that slim lithe figure, as the yellowish eyes open slowly, voluptuously, the lambent flame in their depths scorches the onlookers, as the nostrils twitch, and a crooning sigh comes throbbing from a bosom charged with all the passions of all the ages, as this descendant of Semiramis, this cousin of Artemisia and Rhodope, this Roxena with vigor and skill enough to exhaust a dozen Alexanders, this human leopardess as impersonal as a sphinx stands mute before her audience... ."

mitella: diminutive of mitra, from the Greek μίτρα , a "headband," "turban," or "cap." This rare word appears first in the Copa (the conjecture that the word mitella is used by Cicero in Pro Rabirio Postumo 27 is now generally disregarded). Mitella occurs also in Apuleius, Metamorphoses 7.8, 8.27, and in Celsus 8.10.3 (although in the latter it bears the meaning "arm-bandage"). The noun mitra is used with greater frequency, and is found first in Afranius, frag. 37 (Ribbeck, Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta 3 [Leipzig 1898]).

The nouns mitella and mitra denote an eastern headdress, worn originally by Syrians, Phrygians, Lydians and Persians, and thence introduced into Greece and Rome. The oriental origin of the mitra is emphasized in Latin literature; for example, the headdress is described as Sidonian (Propertius 2.29.15), Lydian (Propertius 3.17.30) and Tyrian (Seneca, Oedipus 418). The mitra can be fashioned into various styles. Note, for instance, Servius on Aeneid 4.216: Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem: "Maeonia mitra, Lydia: nam utebantur et Phryges et Lydi mitra, hoc est incurvo pileo, de quo pendeat etiam buccarum tegimen." The mitra here, then, is a type of close-fitting cap, with sides that extend down over the cheeks; cords fastened to the sides

serve to secure the cap. (See Propertius 2.29.15-16: quae cum Sidoniae nocturna ligamina mitrae/ solverit) In addition to the cap-style (pileolus incurvatus), there is a second variety of mitra. As we see from representations of this headdress (on vase-paintings, for example; see Dictionnaire des Antiquités 1956, figs. 5098, 5099, 5100), it can be fashioned in various ways. Usually, a wide band of wool or other material is wound about the head, a number of times, creating a cap-like effect. To the rounded ends of the band of material cords or ribbons are attached in order to secure the mitra; these ribbons are either tied in a knot against the head, or tied beneath the chin of the wearer. Different colours and decoration make the headgear ornate (see Ovid, Metamorphoses 14.654 and Juvenal 3.66 for reference to the "picta mitra"). For additional illustration of mitrae see E.B. Abrahams, Greek Dress (London 1908) fig. 45.

Although the oriental mitra was adopted by the Greeks, from the Homeric period on, both by men and by women (for detail see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, 1955), and was often shown in connection with certain of their gods and goddesses (particularly with Dionysus, who is often depicted wearing the headdress [see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, figs. 700, 712, 2181, 5097], as are his followers [Dictionnaire des Antiquités, figs. 1429, 1982, 1983]), such was not the case in Rome. As noted (see "Surisca" above), Romans disliked oriental influences, and to them the mitra was something worn only by women (see Catullus 64, 63, 68, Propertius 2.29.15, Apuleius, Metamorphoses 7.8), and in particular by women of low reputation, by courtesans (and also by effeminate and degenerate men). For Roman distaste for the oriental headdress see Cicero, De Haruspicum Reponsis Oratio 44.17-19: P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis, purpureisque fasciis, a strophio, a psaltrio, a flagitio, a stupro, est factus

repente popularis, Vergil, Aeneid 4,215-217: et nunc ille Paris, cum semiviro comitatu,/ Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem/subnixus, Juvenal 3.66: ite quibus grata est picta lupa barbara mitra! and Apuleius, Metamorphoses 8.27: Die sequenti variis coloribus indusiati et deformiter quisque formati, facie caenoso pigmento delita et oculis obunctis graphice prodeunt, mitellis et crocotis et carbasinis et bombycinis iniecti. In addition, see Servius on Aeneid 4.216: "sane quibus effeminatio crimini dabatur, etiam mitra eis adscribebatur: multa enim lectio mitras proprie meretricum esse docet." Note also Servius on Aeneid 9.616.

Thus, the poet's description of the Syrian copa as adorned with a mitra adds to the tone of oriental extravagance and wantonness present in the opening lines of the poem, and helps to complete the picture of the Eastern seductress.

2 crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus.

crispum latus: the most common meanings of the adjective crispus are "curly," "wavy," "wrinkled." The word is generally used to describe hair that is full of curls (see Plautus, Truculentus 287; Pliny, Nat. Hist. 22.62) or men who have curly hair (Plautus, Captivi 648, Petronius, Satyricon 97). Crispus is also regularly used (in the sense of "wrinkled," or "curled") to describe the foliage of trees (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 12.67, 15.127), the grain of timber (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 16.63), the leaves of plants (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 19.80, Columella 11.3.34), the shape of shells (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 9.103), and the markings of marble (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 36.55).

Crispus in Copa 2 is used of a quivering, undulating motion (cf. vibrans, coruscus), a much less common meaning; it appears only once before its occurrence here, in fragment 243 of Pacuvius (ed. E.H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin, v. 2, 254): linguae bisulcae actu crispo fulgere. In later Latin

literature crispus is similarly used to indicate a quivering motion: see, for example, Juvenal 6.382: crispo numerantur pectine chordae, Ausonius, Mosella 194-195: tota natant crispis iuga motibus et tremit absens/pampinus, Mosella 253-254: crispoque tremori/ vibrantis saetae nutans consentit harundo. Even more unusual than the use made of the adjective in the above examples is the application of crispus to the noun latus; the sense of the phrase is most nearly captured in Priapea 27.2: Quintia, vibratas docta movere nates.

We may note that although crispus in the sense of "undulating" is not used by Vergil in his acknowledged works, he does make use of the unusual verb crispo as a transitive verb meaning "to shake." See Aeneid 1.313, 12.165.

sub crotalo: crotalum, a "castanet" (from the Greek κρόταλον), originally an Egyptian instrument, used in the celebration of the festival of the goddess Bast (see Herodotus 2.60). "Sub"crotalo here means "to the tune of" or "to the accompaniment of" the castanet; compare a use made of ὑπό, for example: κωμάζειν ὑπ' αὐλοῦ (see Drabkin, 11). Note, as a parallel for the use of the singular crotalum, Fronto, Ad Marcum Antoninum de Orationibus 10 (Loeb ed., v. 2, 110): quin ad modum crotali aut cymbali pedem poneret.

Crotala were used in the dances of the orgiastic cults of Dionysus and Cybele (see Pindar, frag. 79.5-11, Euripides, Helen 1308). Thence they came to be widely used in light entertainment, as is evident from their depiction in art. (See, for example, G. Prudhommeau, La Danse Grecque Antique, passim, and Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 1571-1572, figures 2073-2078). These representations give us a good idea of the actual appearance of the instrument, and also indicate the movements used in playing them. In literature, crotala are mentioned usually in connection with "wanton" dancing: see AP 5.175.7-8 (Meleager) for instance:

ἔρρε, γύναι πάγκοινε· καλεῖ σε γὰρ ἡ φιλόκωμος
πηκτὶς καὶ κροτάλων χειροτυπῆς πάταγος.

Also, see P. Scipio apud Macrobius, Saturnalia 3.14.6 and Apuleius, Metamorphoses 8.24; in addition, note Priapea 27.1-4:

Deliciae populi, magno notissima Circo
Quintia, vibratas docta movere nates,
Cymbala cum crotalis, pruriginis arma, Priapo
Ponit et adducta tympana pulsa manu.

Crotala are made from clay, wood or brass; Eustathius, in his Commentaries on Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, re Iliad 11.160, so describes them:

σκεῦός τι ἐξ ὀστράκου τυχὸν ἢ ξύλου ἢ χαλκοῦ ὃ ἐν χερσὶ

κρατούμενον θορυβεῖ. They are not always carefully fashioned; upon oc-

casion two shells, or two pieces of broken pottery will suffice. In their simplest form, they are made from the stalks of reeds; a number of stalks are held together in the hand, and a rattling noise results when they are shaken against each other; note the Scholium to Aristophanes, Clouds 260:

κρόταλον Ἰδίως ὁ σχιζόμενος κάλαμος καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος ἐπίτηδες, ὥστε ἡχεῖν, εἴ τις αὐτὸν δονοίῃ ταῖς χερσὶ, καθάπερ κρότον ἀποτελῶν. τρανὸς οὖν ἔση, φησὶ, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν διηρθρωμένος, καθάπερ τὰ κρόταλα.

The reeds may be cemented together at one end, but this is not necessarily always the case. For crotala of this type see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 1571, figure 2073, a terra cotta figurine of a dancer shaking the reeds in her hands.

Crotala are not always so simply constructed, however. Another, more complex type (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 1572, figure 2074) is made

by splitting reeds in two for half their length; then, at this middle point, the section of reed that has been removed is rejoined to the main section by means of a peg. The loose section of reed is thus able to move freely on the peg and hit against the main stem, creating a knocking sound. Still another sort of crotalum is that formed by joining two stems of equal length into a handle at one end; discs, often of stone, are attached to the two stems at the other end, and, when the instrument is shaken, the discs bang together loudly (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, figure 2075). The force of this noise can be increased by hollowing out these discs, or by adding a projecting rim to the ends of the stems (Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, Figure 2076). Other crotala (similar to modern castanets) are made from two wooden shells, with concave interiors, held together by a strap that is placed around the wrist (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, figure 2077). Occasionally this type is given long handles, and a number are joined together on a ring, where they clink when shaken (Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, figure 2078). These crotala are also made of clay or brass. Brass crotala made by Vulcan, according to the legend told by Apollodorus (2.5.6), were given by Athena to Hercules; the hero used these to chase the birds from the Stympalian lake.

Music of other instruments, the flute or cithara for example, generally accompanies the playing of the crotala. This is the case in the Copa: the hostess dances, shaking her crotala, and she is accompanied by the music of the flute (4).

3 ebria fumosa saltat lasciva taberna.

fumosa taberna: The Romans used several terms to refer to their "hotel" and "restaurant" establishments; it is principally through archaeological

evidence that we are able to determine the varying significance of these terms, and hence to arrive at as close a definition as possible of what the tabernae actually were. Since a great deal of archaeological evidence has, of course, been lost (occasionally all that remains to indicate a hotel or tavern is an inscription) it is difficult to draw precise distinctions between certain of the terms. The principal names applied to hotel and restaurant establishments are caupona, hospitium, deversorium, stabulum, popina and taberna. T. Kleberg, Hôtels, Restaurants et Cabarets dans l'Antiquité Romaine (Uppsala 1957) 27 suggests that these terms can be separated into two categories, those that refer to establishments where it is possible to obtain lodging as well as food and wine (caupona, hospitium, deversorium and stabulum), and those that refer to "restaurants," places where it is possible to get only food and wine, or possibly only wine. In this latter category we should place popina and taberna. Confusion often results among these various terms because they are loosely used by modern scholars; the word taberna is sometimes used, for example, as a translation for our word "inn," when, strictly speaking, the two are not equal, since tabernae do not provide lodging. The term caupona is also not easy to classify, since it is used as a general term of reference to various types of hotels and restaurants. Because of the pejorative sense the word acquired (compare the pejorative significance that attached itself to caupo; see Copa 1, above) it was gradually replaced by the terms hospitium and taberna. (See Kleberg, 27-28). The principal distinction between popina and taberna, and the other hotel terms, hospitium, deversorium and stabulum, is, then, that the popinae and tabernae do not provide over-night accommodation for their clients. Hospitia, deversoria and stabula offer all the services of hotels as we know them. Hospitium and deversorium are largely parallel

terms; stabulum differs only in that it indicates a hotel or inn that is also equipped with a stable, where travellers can leave their horses to be fed and rested, or where they can obtain fresh mounts. The terms popina and taberna indicate two rather different types of establishment. The popina is a "restaurant-style" place, where it is possible to get a full meal and wine. Many popinae also allow customers to buy food, and take it home, without having to stay and eat on the premises.

Of the "hotel" and "restaurant" terms, taberna is perhaps the most difficult one to define. The word is derived from trabs, "beam" or "timber" (see A. Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, 2, 639), and hence its original and basic meaning is "hut," "cottage," "booth" or "shop," all plain buildings, made of timber planks, and very simply constructed. For detailed study and illustration of this original meaning of taberna see Dictionnaire des Antiquités Tome 5, 8-11. The word, standing on its own, maintained its basic meaning of "hut" or "shop" down to at least the first century A.D. (see Kleberg, 20-22); see, for example, Cicero, Pro Cluentio, 63.178: instructam ei continuo et ornatam Larini medicinae exercendae causa tabernam dedit, Horace, Odes 1.4.13: pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas, and Martial, 1.117. 10-11: contra Caesaris est forum taberna, / scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis. Concurrently, however, these authors and others occasionally use taberna to refer to a restaurant-style establishment. In order to avoid confusion concerning the significance intended in the use of the word, writers often give precise definition to it by adding an explanatory adjective; thus, a bookshop, for instance, is termed a taberna libraria (see Cicero, Philippic 2.9.21), a banking-house is a taberna argentaria; an inn providing food and lodging is often described as a taberna deversoria (a term used as early as Plautus, Menaechmi 435).

We should note that the word taberna is occasionally used on its own as a translation of πανδοκεῖον (see CGL III, 306,55) to indicate an hospitium; this sense, however, is more usually rendered as taberna deversoria or taberna meritoria. A wine shop or tavern is termed a taberna vineria. Cretaria, unguentaria, meritoria and cauponia are other adjectives often applied to taberna. The meaning of the word taberna itself, used without a descriptive adjective, underwent a gradual change, and came to indicate exclusively a wine shop or cabaret (at a time that Kleberg [21] fixes as late as the fourth century A.D.). This meaning of taberna is reflected in the CGL, where the word appears as a translation for καπηλεῖον, "tavern" (see CGL II, 338,35; III, 306, 49; III, 525,32), and is otherwise defined as a co[m]ponula, "little tavern," cauponium (see CGL IV, 396,11), and by the phrase ubi vinum emitur (see CGL V, 396,30).

Archaeological evidence, particularly that provided by excavations carried out at Pompeii, has given us considerable information concerning tabernae in ancient times; it is a most valuable supplement to the rather scanty and casual references contained in our literary sources. When we come to examine remains of hotel and restaurant establishments uncovered in Pompeii, it is relatively easy to distinguish the hospitia and stabula, for instance, from the popinae and tabernae; it is further possible, although more difficult because rigid distinctions did not always exist in the actual building of the establishments, to distinguish popinae from tabernae. We may note, apart from the evidence afforded by archaeological study of popinae and tabernae, the distinction between these two suggested in Horace, Epistles 1.14.21-26:

... fornix tibi et uncta popina
incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod

angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva,
 nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
 quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius
 ad strepitum salias terrae gravis.

Kleberg presents detailed descriptions and lists of the various hospitia (see 31-34), stabula (35-36), popinae and tabernae (see 36-44) that have been uncovered at Pompeii. He also presents considerable information on hotel and restaurant establishments in Herculaneum, Ostia, Rome and Italy in general (see 44-48, 53-70). We will here confine ourselves to a brief look at certain examples taken from Pompeii; they are amply illustrative of the type of establishment we are concerned with in the Copa, a taberna in all probability situated in southern Italy. A consideration of certain examples of each type will aid us in our definition of taberna.

A well-preserved example of a hotel is the hospitium Sittii, located on the Vico del Lupanare (see Kleberg, 31-33; note also the plan of the establishment, 32). The hotel consists principally of an outer room, facing onto the street, with a counter (similar, as we shall see, to the service counters in tabernae) accessible from the street, a large inner dining room (triclinium), and a kitchen area; these rooms are connected by a passageway to a corridor and doorway that also open onto the street, and to other rooms that serve to lodge over-night guests. An upper floor also provides accommodation for travellers.

A hotel which has hitherto been called the hospitium Hermetis (on the Strada Stabiana) Kleberg reclassifies as a stabulum, because of the presence of a stable connected with the main building (see the building plan, 35). In general, it resembles the hospitium Sittii. Behind the ante-chamber, which contains a cooking-hearth, are two large dining-rooms; a passageway between

these two rooms leads to the rear, where is located the large stable (essentially the only differentiating element between the terms hospitium and stabulum). There are several bedrooms along the passageway, and the entire upper floor is devoted to the accommodation of over-night guests.

The establishments which serve as popinae, "restaurants," and tabernae "taverns," are distinguishable from the hotels, first, by the absence of bedrooms for over-night accommodation, and secondly, by the invariable presence of large counters, facing the street, with adjacent hearths, for the service of wine and food. As mentioned, it is often difficult to distinguish popinae from tabernae; there are, nevertheless, certain establishments that appear to fit neatly into each category. One of these, a popina (for detail see Kleberg, 36), has a small hearth for warming drinks just inside the entrance, a small adjoining room on one side to accommodate the porter (ostiarius) and nearby a large kitchen. Three rooms surround the central hall (atrium); two of these are dining rooms, and the third room, to judge from the nature of the paintings contained in it, was possibly used for prostitution. Small rooms at the back of the building were perhaps occupied by the owner of the restaurant. (For the plan of this popina see E. Presuhn, Pompeii, 2 [Leipzig 1882] 6.)

One of the best preserved tabernae in Pompeii is that which has been named the taberna Asellinae; it is located on the Strada dell'Abbondanza. In the opening that faces the street is a stone-work counter into which are fitted four large clay urns (see Kleberg, 152, figure 2). A small oven stands at one end of the counter, and at the other end are remains of shelves (originally wooden) that held wine cups. Several wine amphoras have been found along the inside wall of the counter. Traces of walls indicate that a drinking room lay back of the front counter; in the north-west corner of the building

are remains of a few steps that led probably to the upper floor, the location of the owner's apartment. A still larger type of taberna, located on the Strada di Nola, is also described in detail by Kleberg, 38-39.

Various hotels and taverns excavated at Pompeii are the subject of two articles by W. Jashemski; these are of particular interest in relation to the Copa. Her first study is entitled "A Pompeian Copa," (CJ 59 [1963] 337-349); here, the author describes a number of establishments, and gives particular emphasis to their gardens, which were important features of almost every hotel, restaurant and tavern in Pompeii, since outdoor eating and drinking were extremely popular. This, naturally, is of interest to us, since the Syrian copa spends considerable time describing the garden of her taberna, offering it as an enticement to passers-by. Jashemski refers to the copa's tavern as a stabulum (344), on the basis of Copa 25-26 (where the hostess suggests that the traveller dismount and rest his donkey); this is not necessarily the case, however. The emphasis in Copa 25-26 is not on bringing the donkey to stable, but rather on persuading the traveller to enter the tavern garden and to partake of refreshment. And, of course, in Copa 3 we have direct reference to the establishment as fumosa taberna.

One of the hotels described by Jashemski is that of A. Cossius Libanus (339-343). The appearance of the hotel's garden, as the author describes it (341-342), we may imagine to be similar to that of the garden described in the Copa: "The garden, which could be seen through the large picture window of the tablinum [see 341, figure 6], beckoned invitingly to the customer the moment he stood before the street counter or entered the house. Even the low-growing flowers were clearly visible, for the level of the garden was three steps higher than the floor of the house. ... The garden was not large; the back part

was less than twenty by seventy feet, the north portion still smaller. Such a garden had little room for trees or even large shrubs [the tavern garden in the Copa is apparently larger than the one described here; in Copa 18-19 there is the suggestion that the garden contains trees producing fruit and nuts], but boxes along the edges of the garden were planted with flowers, and on the back wall a painted garden seemed to extend the actual size of the garden. [This painting no longer exists, but we know what it was like from a drawing made of it at the time of excavation. See 341-342, figures 6, 7 and 8.] ... In the painted garden three fountains splashed merrily and behind a fence grew dense trees and shrubs. Birds drank from the fountains and flew amid the trees. The garden appeared to be viewed through the columns of a portico, suggesting a continuation of the portico, on the opposite side. Between the painted columns were painted garlands, no doubt reminiscent of the actual garlands that were hung between the columns of the portico on festive occasions. [Compare Copa 13-14.] Birds flying through the sky at times came to rest on a garland. The Pompeians were very fond of birds, and they were an important part of every garden." Masonry triclinia were set in the garden for guests who wished to recline while drinking; cushions were placed on these for comfort, and a vine-covered trellis provided shade. (We may compare Copa 6, 7-8, and 31-32:

hic age pampinea fessus requiesce sub umbra

et gravidum roseo necte caput strophio.)

Jashemski's second article, "The Caupona of Euxinus at Pompeii," (Archaeology 20 [1967] 36-44) is of interest also, particularly for its description and illustration of the service counter at the front of the building, a prominent feature of tabernae (see 37; note also figures 2, 3 and 4), and for the infor-

mation it presents on the inn's garden (42-43) and vineyard (40-42).

To judge from the locations of popinae and tabernae in Pompeii (for detail see Kleberg, 49-52), it is immediately apparent, and not particularly surprising, that such establishments were placed, for example, near hotels in the commercial centre of the city, near the city gates (to attract weary travellers as they arrived in the city), near theatres and amphitheatres, and near baths. On the other hand, if we may again judge by what we find at Pompeii, tabernae were not located in the areas surrounding temples and official buildings, nor in the aristocratic sections of the city with their fashionable private houses. The lower classes, it seems, made the greatest use of the hospitia, popinae and tabernae: "c'est d'abord et presque exclusivement pour la population simple et pauvre que des locaux de ce genre avaient de l'importance, et certainement une grande importance. En ce qui concerne Pompéi, il est fort vraisemblable que les conditions misérables d'habitation de cette couche de la population (leurs petites chambres louées ne leur donnaient guère la possibilité d'avoir un fourneau pour chauffer l'eau et préparer la nourriture) l'ont obligée à recourir dans une large mesure à ces établissements publics" (Kleberg, 53). Hospitia, for example, were indispensable to those travellers who, unlike the rich, were unable to bring along on their journeys slaves, tents and bountiful supplies of food and wine. (For this practice among the rich see L. Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms¹⁰ [Stuttgart 1964] 345-346.) Thus, the general bad reputation of tabernae was due, in part, to the fact that they tended to be frequented by the lower classes. Further, many of the establishments were brothels (see, for example, CIL IX, 2689). Tabernae and popinae were generally characterized as smoky, smelly, greasy and noisy; for passages expressing this attitude,

note, for example, in addition to Copa 3 (fumosa taberna), Horace, Satires 2.4.62: quaecumque immundis fervent allata popinis, Epistles 1.14.21: fornix tibi et uncta popina, Ausonius, Mosella 124: fervet fumosis olido nidore popinis. Sidonius Apollinaris' description of the inside of a "tavern-restaurant," although written late (fifth century A.D.), might well be taken as characteristic of what in earlier times many considered such a place to be like: Epistles 8.11.3.41-54:

ne, si destituor domo negata,
maerens ad madidas eam tabernas
et claudens geminas subinde nares
propter fumificas gemam culinas,
qua serpylliferis olet catinis
bucas per geminas ruber botellus
ollarum aut nebulae vapore iuncto
fumant cum crepitantibus patellis.
hic cum festa dies ciere rivos
cantus coeperit et voluptuosam
scurrarum querimoniam crepare,
tunc, tunc carmina digniora vobis
vinosi hospitis excitus Camena
plus illis ego barbarus susurrem.

Formerly not all editors and critics of the Copa agreed that the adjective in line 3 was fumosa, the reading found in MS M. Such critics as R. Ellis (Appendix Vergiliana [Oxford 1907]) supported the alternate reading (famosa, indicating, perhaps, the tavern's reputation for having a seductive hostess, or for being a well-known brothel). Now, however, editors tend to accept

fumosa, on the basis of the Graz fragment, which preserves ebria fum in line

3. This adjective fits neatly as a commonplace description of a taberna.

For further information on tabernae see L. Friedländer, 343-359. See also T. Kleberg's Bibliography, ix-xi, and his illustrations, 151-163, figures 1-21.

4 ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos.

This is a difficult line. At first glance, it seems tempting to accept the translation that is most usually given (by H.R. Fairclough in the Loeb edition, for example): "Shaking against her elbow her noisy reeds." There is, however, a problem with this translation: is the reference to raucos calamos in fact to an instrument that can be "shaken" against the elbow? If this is the case, then we must imagine calamos to indicate the type of instrument already mentioned in Copa 2; calamos would then equal crotala, an instrument which yields up a sound when it is shaken, or, possibly, when it is banged against part of the body. We must also determine if the verb excutere is regularly used to describe the action involved in playing an instrument such as the crotala.

calamus: from the Greek κάλαμος, literally, "reed" or "cane." See Pauly-Wissowa X 2, 1538-43 for the basic sense of the word, and for its various extended meanings. No passage can be cited to justify the claim that calamus can be used interchangeably with the word crotala; there is nothing to justify an explanation of Copa 4 such as is given by E.H. Blakeney, The Copa and the Moretum (Winchester 1933) 7, who is following the interpretation of Heyne-Wagner, Publius Vergilius Maro, 4, 288 (Leipzig 1832); see Drabkin

96, n. 214: "she grasps the reeds in the middle, making the lower ends strike against her elbow." Indeed, even if crotala could be taken to equal calami, there is no evidence to show that the crotala were ever played by being banged against the arm or elbow. Wherever we find calami mentioned in a musical context, it appears that the intention of the writer is to describe an instrument that is played, not by shaking or banging, but rather by blowing, that is, the description is of a pipe or flute. See, for example, Vergil, Eclogue 5.2: tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus, Eclogue 2.32-34: Pan primum calamos cera coniungere pluris/ instituit, Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros,/ nec te paeniteat calamo trivisse labellum, Lucretius 5.1382-3: et zephyri, cava per calamorum, sibila primum/ agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas, Catullus 63.22: tibicen ubi canit Phryx curvo grave calamo, and Lucretius 4.586-589: Pan/ pinea semiferi capitis velamina quassans/ unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,/ fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam. See also Vergil, Eclogue 5.48, Eclogue 1.10, and Propertius 3.17.34. In these passages calamus is clearly used in reference to fistula (see below, Copa 10); no examples can be found where calamus would indicate crotala.

Study of the use made of the verb excudere yields no concrete answer to the question of whether the verb regularly governs objects such as calamos. No examples of excudere used with a musical instrument are found. (Vergil, Georgics 4.64, provides an instance of the use of quaterere with an instrument, however). The fact that it is possible to cite several examples of excudere used with parts of the body (Ovid, Metamorphoses 4.492, 5,596, Quintilian 11.3.71, for instance) may indicate that it would be more natural here to construe excutiens with cubitus, rather than with raucos calamos.

Thus, a more fitting translation for the line might be "shaking her elbow to the tune of the noisy reeds" ("reeds" being a reference to a flute), where excutiens governs cubitus, and ad is taken with raucos calamos (a suggestion first made by F. Leo). This gives better sense to the line. There is a similar expression in Propertius 4.1.24: pastor et ad calamos exta litabat ovis, "to the sound of the reed pipes the shepherd made sacrifice with the entrails of sheep." Ad can be given the meaning "to the tune of." See T.L.L. 527, 15-40. "Shaking her elbow to the tune of the noisy reeds" is grammatically possible, and yet it creates in the Latin a somewhat strained word-order. The preposition ad becomes separated from the accusative it is supposed to govern by another accusative noun. Stylistically this is undesirable. (As A. Ernout [RPh. 1931, 363] notes: "l'auteur du poème écrit un style à la fois trop simple et trop aisé pour imposer à son lecteur le soin de séparer ad de son appartenant naturel cubitus."). Nevertheless, it is possible to find passages where the preposition is similarly separated from the noun it governs. Note the examples cited by A.E. Housman, M. Manilii Astronomicon Liber Primus (Cambridge 1937) 23: see, for instance, Vergil, Aeneid 2.278-9: vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros/ accepit patrios, Propertius 3.4.18: et subter captos arma sedere duces.

We are left with a difficult choice between two interpretations, one that violates the sense of the line, and attempts, unjustifiably, to make calamus equal crotala, and the other that necessitates awkwardness in word order. The best alternative is perhaps to retain the correct sense of calamus, and translate "to the tune of the noisy pipes."

Another possible interpretation for the line involves taking cubitus in the sense of "couch" or "bed" (a meaning given the word by, for instance, Pliny, Nat. Hist. 24.59), and translating "beckoning with her hollow-sounding flute toward the couch." The hostess here, then, gestures with her flute in indication of the pleasure that awaits the traveller, should he choose to enter the taberna.

5-6 quid iuvat aestivo defessum pulvere abesse
quam potius bibulo decubuisse toro?

abesse ... decubuisse: Abesse used with the ablative is common; moreover, abesse followed by the perfect infinitive decubuisse presents no serious problem. It appears that decubuisse has, in effect, a present force; the idea of having the guest remain on the couch to recline is stressed more than his motion of taking a seat.

We may note that it is possible to find, particularly in the work of the elegiac poets, many comparable passages where the present infinitive is used along with the perfect infinitive. For detailed discussion of this usage see A.A. Howard, "On the Use of the Perfect Infinitive in Latin with the Force of the Present," HSCP 1 (1890) 111-138. He notes that the elegiac poets were often compelled to use the present and perfect infinitives without any distinction intended between the two, because of the need to avoid metrical problems (see 120, 129). He further remarks, "As the artificial character of the pentameter admitted no substitutions in the last half of the verse, and required an iambic word at the end, there was developed a strong tendency in Latin to make the last half of the verse consist of two words, one pentasyllabic and the other disyllabic." (120) Decubuisse toro conforms to this metrical technique.

Howard gives various examples of passages (where iuvat is used) that have a construction similar to Copa 5-6: Ovid, Heroides 4.87-88: quid iuvat incinctae studia exercere Dianae,/ et Veneri numeros eripuisse suos? Tibullus 1.1.45-46: quam iuvat immites ventos audire cubantem/ et dominam tenero detinuisse sinu, 1.1.73-74: nunc levis est tractanda Venus, dum frangere postes/ non pudet et rixas conseruisse iuvat. For additional examples, see 129-130. Accordingly, it is not necessary to substitute abisse (K. Ilgen, M. Haupt, E.J. Kenney) for abesse (the consensus). For further discussion of the question see Drabkin, 32-33.

bibulo toro: Torus has, upon occasion, been assigned not the usual meaning of "couch," "bench" or "bed," but has been taken rather as a reference to a grassy area; the grass is described as bibulus supposedly because of the moisture it receives, perhaps from the stream mentioned in Copa 12. See H.R. Fairclough, for example, who translates "recline on the thirsty couch of grass"; he cites as a comparable expression Vergil, Aeneid 5.388: viridante toro consederat herbae. There are other similar passages which may be cited; see, for example, Ovid, Metamorphoses 10.556: dat torum caespes, Fasti 1.402: gramine vestitis accubuerunt toris. In each of these passages torus clearly refers to a grassy spot, since in each instance the meaning is made precise by a word that indicates grass, herba, caespes and gramen. Copa 6, however, contains no such explanatory word, and hence the line is not strictly comparable with the examples cited. It appears more reasonable to assign to torus its expected meaning, "couch." The presence of benches in tavern gardens was quite customary (for evidence see W.F. Jashemski, CJ 59 [1963] 346); thus, it is to be expected that the hostess mentions the torus in her effort to entice weary travellers to stop and rest. In the setting of a kalyba (Copa 7), protected from the

heat and dust of the road, the guest is invited to recline on a couch and enjoy a drink.

If, then, torus is interpreted simply as "couch," we may apply a more figurative meaning to bibulus. An obvious way for the couch to be "wet" is for it to have been frequently sprinkled with wine from the cup of the reclining guest. See F. Leo, 115, who thus interprets: bibulo: qui vino conspergi soleat. For a similar expression compare Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1.233: vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas.

Bibulus may more convincingly be viewed as a transferred epithet, a description properly belonging to the thirsty drinker, but artfully applied instead to the couch. (See, for example, J. Scaliger, Publii Vergilii Maronis Appendix cum Supplemento Multorum Antehac Numquam Excussorum Poematium Veterum Poetarum [Lyons 1573]: bibulo: in quo multum biberetur.) For bibulus as a transferred epithet see also Drabkin, 98 n.223.

It is more appealing to view bibulus torus as a "drinking-couch" than a moist area of grass. (Drabkin agrees, noting somewhat humorously, "if torus refers to grass, the hostess is inviting the traveller to a most uncomfortable seat." [98]). This view also presents an image more in keeping with the picture we find in Copa 29-30, where we may well imagine the guest recubans bibulo toro in the garden bower.

7. sunt topia et kalybae, cyathi, rosa, tibia, chordae.

This enumeration of elements may appear somewhat unpoetic, and yet in the framework of the poem it is not out of place. The hostess is here introducing the guest to the taberna; as advertisement for the inn, she attempts to mention as many as possible of the attractions to be found there. The simple listing of elements (with no accompanying description of each object) seems to have

been popular with early writers; see the examples cited by Drabkin (29), who quotes from Plautus, Ennius, Lucretius and Catullus. The device is infrequently used in literature of the Augustan period, but occasionally employed in later poetry: note Martial 1.115.3, 5; Juvenal 1.85, 3.76-77. We may note that verse-length asyndeta can be found also in certain of the epigrams of the Greek Anthology: compare AP 9.409.3: ἡ πεῦκαι, κῶμοι, στέφανοι, μύρα, λιτά' δε δειπνῶν ; note also AP 6.29.3-4, 11.6.2.

topia et kalybae (a hapax legomenon): Scholars have proposed several emendations for these unusual words. Of little likelihood is the conjecture of N. Heinsius, P. Virgilii Maronis Opera (Amsterdam 1671), who reads, instead of topia et kalybae, obba et calices. We should note that obba bears little resemblance in form to any of the MSS readings, and calices is the reading offered by a few late and unreliable MSS. For kalybae, R. Ellis, in "Further Notes on the Ciris and Other Poems of the Appendix Vergiliana," AJPh 8 (1887) 406-407, prefers to read kelebes, from the Greek κελέβαι , "cups" or "jars." He argues that kelebes, "cups," is a more suitable word to find together with the preceding noun, which he reads as scaphia, "drinking bowls." Scaphia, Ellis states, is the word "lurking under" thephia, a variant reading found in a Vatican codex of the thirteenth century for topia, the reading of the better MSS, G, S, B, E, W, m. Topia, in Ellis' opinion, is "out of place" in the line: "As a combination, paintings of ornamental garden scenes (if this is the meaning of topia) accord rather oddly with cups and drinking vessels (407)."

Of the various suggestions, that of von Reichenbach (1884) (who is followed by Vollmer, Fairclough and Drabkin), kalybae from the Greek καλύβαι , appears most likely. If this is the correct reading, it would certainly accord

very well with topia: "there are ornamental gardens (topia) and bowers (kalybae).". For further explanation of kalybae see below, Copa 25, for calybita.

cyathi: The word is most commonly used to indicate a ladle (a small round bowl with a long handle attached) with which one could transfer wine from the crater to the drinking-cups (cf. simpulum, trulla). It is also occasionally used to indicate a unit of measure. TLL (4.1581-82) unjustifiably claims that the cyathus can also refer to a vasculum patorium. The ladle was usually made of bronze, but sometimes of ivory or precious metal: for illustration see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 1676-1677, figures 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239.

tibia: αὐλός, a "pipe" (although the translation "flute" is often used, this is imprecise, since the flute contains no vibrating reeds in the mouthpiece). The tibia is a type of wind instrument (possibly of Phrygian or Lydian origin), similar to the modern oboe or clarinet. For a full description see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 300-332. It differs from the fistula (σὺριγξ) in that the stem is open at the end rather than closed. (For fistula, see below, Copa 10). The stem of the pipe is cylindrical, and made from reed, wood or ivory; it is pierced at intervals with holes. One or two pliable vibrator reeds are placed in the mouthpiece (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 306-307); these quiver when air is forced against them, and they in turn cause the column of air in the pipe to vibrate, producing sound. Different notes result when the holes in the stem are covered or uncovered by the fingers of the player.

To obtain melody and drone, the tibiae are most often played in pairs. The tone of one pipe can be made to differ from that of the other: the sound produced by each depends on the number of holes pierced in the stem (in the early form of the tibia there are generally not more than three or four holes), their spacing and the length of the pipe.

In later times the αὐλοί became most elaborate, and many varieties were made. See Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 309-313; for representations of the instrument, figures 6943 (Silenus with a double αὐλός), 6945, 6946, 6948, 6951, 6952, 6958

chordae: literally, "catgut" or "sinew," but here a general reference to stringed instruments (the cithara or lyre, for example). See TLL 3.1018. For similar usage, compare Lucretius 4.584: chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querellas, 4.981: et citharae liquidum carmen chordasque loquentis, Horace, Odes 4.9.4: verba loquor socianda chordis.

8 et triclia umbrosis frigida harundinibus: "and an arbour, cooled by shade-giving rushes."

triclia: an unusual word, with the general sense of "bower" or "arbour." It appears elsewhere in this form in inscriptions: see CIL VI, 15593, CIL VI, 29394, CIL VI, 29958. Two other variants of the word, tricla and triclea, are also rare, and similarly appear only in inscriptions before the Mediaeval period. (For tricla see CIL VI, 4305, for triclea, CIL VI, 29959.) These three words are contracted forms of the more common noun trichila, which occurs in Caesar, De Bello Civili 3.96.1: in castris Pompei videre licuit trichilas structas, and Columella, De Re Rustica 10.378: tum modo dependens trichilis, 10.394: at qui sub trichila manantem repit ad undam. (See also CIL VI, 10237.)

For the meaning of triclia compare "kalyba" and "pergula." G. Lafaye (Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 439) suggests that whereas the pergula is a walkway, shaded over by vines for the protection of those who stroll along it, the trichila (triclia) is a smaller, tent-like structure, fashioned to give shade to those seated within. It is made from screens of woven rushes (umbrosis harundinibus), or from wooden lattice-work, sheltered by climbing plants or vines. Inside are placed benches and a table.

umbrosis harundinibus: "shade-giving reeds or rushes." Compare Vergil, Aeneid 8.34: et crines umbrosa tegebat harundo.

9-10 En et Maenalio quae garrit dulce sub antro
rustica pastoris fistula more sonat.

The image of Copa 9-10 (and the vocabulary with which it is presented) is not unique in ancient literature. It is derived, in great part, from the pastoral poetry of Theocritus, Moschus and Bion; it is found also in the Eclogues of Vergil. The lines do not appear entirely at home in the description of the enticements to be found in the taberna. Lines 1-4 have presented the copa, and the music to which she dances; line 5 begins her appeal to the passers-by. Lines 9-10 seem to transport us momentarily outside the taberna, and carry us to the countryside, which is filled with the soft music of the shepherd's pipe. The mood created by the copa's description of her inn is thus broken, and a different mood temporarily, and somewhat awkwardly, takes hold of us. Nevertheless, the couplet is rather cleverly composed, since it is able, by means of only a few words, to conjure up for us a well-known scene in the pastoral world, the shepherd seated in a shady grotto, alleviating his melancholy by the gentle music of his flute.

Maenalis sub antro: Arcadia, the land which provides the setting for much pastoral poetry, contains mountains known as the Maenalian range. The Maenalian grotto is the favourite haunt of the god Pan, inventor of the $\sigma\upsilon\rho\iota\gamma\epsilon$. Allusion to Maenalus is found in Theocritus (see 1.123-130), in Vergil's Eclogue 8.21-24;

incipe Maenalis mecum, mea tibia, versus.

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentis

semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores,

Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis,

and Georgic 1.17-18:

Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae,

adsis, o Tegeae, favens.

garrit: "chatters," "prattles." The use of this verb here to describe the sound made by the shepherd's pipe is imaginative and most effective. "And see how the pipe sweetly prattles in the Maenalian grotto." The verb garrere does not regularly appear in Augustan poetry; in addition to its occurrence here, it is used in Augustan poetry only twice elsewhere: Horace, Satires 1.9.13 and 2.6.77. Garrulus, the adjective formed from the verb, is twice applied by Tibullus to musical instruments: 2.5.30: garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo and 3.4.38: pendebat laeva garrula parte lyra.

rustica fistula: "pipe," "tube," "reed" or "cane." The word has many connotations; its central meaning is "water-pipe." For this, see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 2, 1146-1149. From this basic sense of the word other meanings are derived. For these see Lewis and Short, 754. As a musical instrument, fistula is the name given to a pipe or flute made from reeds, such as is described in Tibullus 2.5.30-32:

garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo
 fistula cui semper decrescit harundinis ordo
 nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor.

Fistula is the equivalent of the Greek σῦριγξ, the "reed pipe" that is said to have been invented by Pan: see Ovid, Metamorphoses 1.689ff; in particular, note 705-712:

Panaque cum prensam sibi iam Syringa putaret,
 corpore pro nymphae calamos tenuisse palustres,
 dumque ibi suspirat, motos in harundine ventos
 effecisse sonum tenuem similemque querenti.
 arte nova vocisque deum dulcedine captum
 "hoc mihi concilium tecum" dixisse "manebit,"
 atque ita disparibus calamis compagine cerae
 interse iunctis nomen tenuisse puellae.

See also Vergil, Eclogue 2.32-33:

Pan primus calamos cera coniungere pluris
 instituit, Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros.

In addition, note Servius on Vergil, Eclogue 2.32-33, and Lucretius 4.586-589. As well as Pan, other divinities or demi-gods are mentioned in connection with the σῦριγξ, notably Hermes (Ovid, Metamorphoses 1.683-4, 714; the god lulls Argus to sleep by the music of the pipes), Apollo (Ovid, Metamorphoses 2.681-2: onusque fuit baculum silvestre sinistrae/ alterius dispar septenis fistula cannis), the Cyclops Polyphemus (Ovid, Metamorphoses 13.784: sumptaque harundinibus compacta est fistula centum), the Graces (Plutarch, De Musica 14: ... ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χάριτας, τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ὀργάνων ἐκάστην τι ἔχουσιν).

ἡ μὲν γὰρ λύραν κρατεῖ, ἡ δὲ αὐλούς, ἡ δ' ἐν μέσῳ προσκειμένην ἔχει τῷ στόματι σύριγγα).

There are two general types of wind instruments, those termed fistulae (σύριγγες) and those termed tibiae (αὐλοί). For a description of the tibiae see above, Copa 7; see also Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 300-332. A description of the fistula is given by Pollux (second century A.D.) in his Onomasticon (ed. E. Bethe, Teubner, 1900) IV, 69:

ἡ μὲν οὖν σύριγξ καλάμων συνθήκη λίνῳ καὶ κηρῷ συνδεθεῖσα, ἥ γ' αὐτοσχέδιος, αὐλοὶ πολλοί, ἕκαστος ὑφ' ἐκάστῳ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπολήγοντες εἰς τὸν ἐλάχιστον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου, κατὰ μὲν τὰ στόματα τῶν αὐλῶν ἀπισωμένοι, ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους ὑπ' ἀλλήλοις δι' ἀνισότητα ὑφεστηκότες, ὥς ὄρνιθος πτέρυγι τὸ σχῆμα προσεοικέναι.

Reeds, each one slightly longer than the one preceding, are placed side by side and joined by means of wax and thread. At the "mouth" of the instrument, the reeds are open and positioned level to each other; here the player places his lips, and blows, not directly into the pipe, but rather at an angle against the sides of the reeds. Their outer casings are thus made to vibrate, and they in turn vibrate the columns of air inside, producing a sound. At the bottom end, the reeds are plugged with wax (Aristotle, Problemata 19.23). See Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 4, 1596, figure 6702, for illustration of various types of fistulae. The reed that is preferred for making the fistula is the Greek συριγγίας , a reed

that is very hollow, containing hardly any pulp or fibre (see Theophrastus, The Natural History of Plants , 4.2.10). Occasionally, instead of reeds, stalks of hemlock are used for the pipe (see Lucretius 5.1382-3). Since the fistula is made from reed, it is often referred to by such names as calamus (Copa 4, Ovid, Metamorphoses 1.711), arundo (Vergil, Eclogue 6.8), canna (Ovid, Metamorphoses 11.171). In addition to the wax used to hold the reeds together, some type of flax or reed fibre is also bound around the reeds, sometimes only one or two strands are used, sometimes more. Occasionally the instrument is covered in a linen casing, with only the ends of the reeds left sticking out (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, figure 6702). The number of reeds used in a pipe varies; most frequently seven or eight are used. (See, for example, Vergil, Eclogue 2.37-38, Ovid, Metamorphoses 13.784, Polyphemus has a pipe of one hundred reeds.) For further detail, and for a description of the more elaborate fistulae made of ivory and brass, see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 4, 1597-1600.

The shepherd's flute, and its sweet music, are conventions in pastoral poetry. The flute appears in the poems of Theocritus, in 1.1-3, for example:

Ἄδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἃ πίτυς αἰπόλε τήνα
 ἃ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσσεται, ἄδὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ
 συρίσδες· μετὰ Πᾶνα τὸ δεύτερον ἄθλον ἀποισῇ.

In Theocritus 1.128-130 the shepherd Daphnis bequeaths his pipe to his patron god Pan:

ἔνθ', ὤναξ, καὶ τάνδε φέρει πακτοῖο μελίπνουν
 ἐκ κηρῶ σύριγγα καλὰν περὶ χεῖλος ἐλικτάν·
 ἧ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐς Ἀῖδος ἔλκομαι ἤδη.

In Vergil's Eclogues the flute provides shepherds with the means either to alleviate or augment the pain brought to them by unhappy love affairs (Eclogue 2.1-5; 10.50-54); it gives idle rustics the opportunity to speed the passage of long hours: shepherds spend considerable time challenging each other to friendly contests at pipe-playing and singing (Eclogue 3.21-22, 52-59; 5.1-15; 7.18-20). With the flute, shepherds are able to honour Pan, and charm the Muses into granting favours and inspiration (Eclogue 1.1-2; 6.8; 10.70-74).

more: There are here two possible readings to describe the manner in which the flute is played: more, found in M, and in ore, given by S, F and L. In ore (which is accepted in the editions of H.R. Fairclough and R. Giomini, for example) gives the reader a perhaps too specific impression of the actual presence of a shepherd on the scene: "the pastoral pipe sounds in the shepherd's mouth." The alternate reading more is to be preferred, since it contributes to the pastoral atmosphere by making general reference to the rustic sound of the pipe: "the pastoral pipe sounds in the rustic fashion of the shepherd." Scholars have suggested various emendations for the word: note, for example, ab ore (E. Baehrens): "the pastoral pipe sounds from the mouth of the shepherd" (this differs little from in ore), and molle (G. Wakefield): "the shepherd's rustic pipe sounds forth its soft tones."

11 est et vappa cado nuper defusa picato.

vappa: a colloquial word, which means, literally, flat or insipid wine. Note Pliny's description (Nat. Hist. 14.125): Vitium musto, quibusdam in locis, iterum sponte fervere: qua calamitate, cum deferbuit, deperit

sapor, vappaeque accipit nomen, probrosum etiam hominum, cum degeneravit animus. See also C. Seltman, Wine in the Ancient World (London 1957) 152: vappa is here described as improperly preserved wine that has turned to vinegar. When the wine is exposed to air, the acidity disappears, leaving a tasteless, insipid liquid. Vappa, meaning flat wine, is used by Horace (Satires 2.3.143-144: 1.5.16, for example) and by Martial (12.48.14). (As the above passage from Pliny shows, vappa may also be used figuratively, to indicate worthless men. The word with this sense is found, for instance, in Horace, Satires 1.1.104: vappam iubeo ac nebulonem. Catullus 28.4-5: satisne cum isto/vappa frigoraque et famem tulistis? and Priapea 14: nos vappae sumus, et pusilla culti/ ruris numina.)

cado nuper defusa picato: there is obvious humour here: since the wine is already tasteless, it matters little that it has just been poured from the jar.

12 et strepitans rauco murmure rivus aquae: "and a water-stream sounding noisily with a hoarse murmur."

Et strepitans is the consensus of the MSS. Strepito is used only once in Vergil (Georgics 1.413: corvi inter se in foliis strepitant), but not to describe the sound of water. Certain editors (E.J. Kenney, for example) prefer est crepitans, the reading of some late and inferior MSS: "there is a water-stream chattering with a hoarse murmur." This affords a striking reminiscence of the sound produced by the castanets (Copa 2), since crepito is used to describe a rattling, clattering sound. (The phrase rauco murmure recalls the hoarse sound of the flute [Copa 4: raucos excutiens calamos].) We may note that crepito is used to describe the sound of water in Vergil,

Aeneid 11.299: vicinaeue fremunt ripae crepitanibus undis. Here in Copa 12 it may seem more appropriate than strepito (which evokes a harsher, more unpleasant sound) to describe the chattering sound of a running stream. Nevertheless, strepitans is the reading of the better MSS (including the Graz fragment), and is not totally inappropriate.

13-16 sunt etiam croceo violae de flore corollae
sertaue purpurea lutea mixta rosa
et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne
lilia vimineis attulit in calathis.

The rustic, as he reclines in the shade of a tree, conventionally looks out upon a serene and luxuriant landscape. Beautiful and delicately coloured flowers are a traditional part of the idyllic pastoral scene. (We may note, for example, Lucretius 2.31-33:

non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant,
 praesertim cum tempestas adridet et anni
 tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas,

and Culex 87-88:

ille colit lucos, illi Panchaia tura
 floribus agrestes herbae variantibus addunt)

The listing of flowers in lines 13-16 serves to enhance the pastoral mood created by the preceding lines; the poet has there attempted to present a complete picture of the rustic scene by appealing to our senses: we have heard the sweet melody of the shepherd's pipe, the murmur of the stream, we have felt the coolness of the shade in the grotto and tasted the refreshing wine. The poet now adds the visual image of the coloured flowers.

The pastoral atmosphere that the hostess creates by her description is enchanting, and it erases, for the moment, the setting of the taberna.

The enticement is doubtless great for the traveller, since no particular exertion is required of him. All the gifts of nature have been assembled for him, and there is also present a certain alluring element of phantasy, for the lilies have been brought by a water nymph.

13 sunt etiam croceo violae de flore corollae: literally "there are, also, garlands made from the yellow blossoms of the violet."

croceus: this adjective may designate a golden-yellow, orange-yellow or red-orange colour, and it is variously used, to describe flowers, hair or the colours of the dawn, for instance. For discussion and examples of the use of the adjective see J. André, Les Termes de Couleur dans la Langue Latine (Paris 1949) 153-155.

On the ground that this line should parallel Copa 14, and name two types of flowers instead of one, F. Leo suggests et cum croceo rather than the MSS reading etiam croceo: "there are chaplets of violets mixed with yellow flowers." E. Courtney ("Notes on the Appendix Vergiliana," Phoenix [1967] 48-49) agrees with Leo that the line should be emended to refer to two types of flowers. He suggests that it is perhaps appropriate to take croceus not simply as a colour-term, but rather as a reference to the flower crocus; this will then give a colour-contrast between the "yellow" crocus and the violets (which are likely to be dark in colour; cf. Vergil, Eclogue 10.39: et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra. Vergil, Georgics 4.275: violae sublucescunt purpura nigrae), a contrast similar to that in the following line, where the yellow of the blossoms in the garland is set against the dark-red of the roses. In his emendation Courtney does not follow Leo. He retains

etiam (because of the variety it offers from the beginnings of lines 9 [en et], 17 and 21 [sunt et]), and instead suggests emending the line to read sunt etiam croceo violares flore corollae: "-s was lost before f-, violare easily became violae, and de was interpolated for metre." This suggestion is possible; Courtney admits, however, that it does present a problem: the adjective violaris is attested only in an inscription, CIL. 6.10234.15.

Emendation is not really necessary here; we should not expect the poet at every opportunity to balance one element with another. Balance appears to be given the two lines through the idea of the garlands: corollae is placed at the end of line 13, and serta at the beginning of the next line. Indeed, since there is a striking colour-contrast in line 14 (purpurea placed beside lutea, in the centre of the line), it is almost more appealing to have a softer image of colour (that of yellow violets) in the preceding line.

Even as the line stands, it is possible that there is still, as in line 14, a sort of dual colour image. While the basic description remains that of garlands made from yellow violets, there is also an implied colour-contrast underlying the words croceo and violae. To us, as Courtney notes, "croceo" may suggest the crocus flower, and the colour we perhaps most usually associate with it is yellow (although the flower can also be white or purple). Similarly, we tend to view the violet as purple. Thus, the effect of contrasting colour that Courtney wishes to emphasize may be conveyed to us, without recourse to emendation.

14 sertaque purpurea lutea mixta rosa.

purpurea rosa: purpureus does not simply suggest the colour "purple" ;

according to the circumstance of its use, the adjective may indicate various nuances of colour. There are several Latin words for "purple"; purpura, murex, ostrum, conchylium; these terms originally designated various types of shell-fish from which the purple dye could be extracted. The shade of the dye naturally varies with the substance from which it is derived, and hence various shades are produced; purple with a predominately red tone (purpureus rubor), violet-purple (amethystinus, hyacinthinus, violaceus; this colour may be further divided, according to nuance, into black-violet, lilac-violet, or pink-violet; for examples see André, 95-96) or brown-purple (purpurea fusca). Purpureus, then, may quite naturally reflect any of these varying colour nuances; the Roman's understanding of the precise colour suggested by the adjective should depend upon the context in which it appears.

Also of importance in connection with the term purpureus is the sheen or shimmer radiated by various tones of the colour. Thus, words such as fulgere (Vergil, Aeneid 9.614: fulgenti murice), effulgere (Aeneid 5.133: effulgent ostroque decora), perlucidus (Martial 12.38.3), nitere (Ovid, Metamorphoses 10.211), radiare (Apuleius, Florida 3.11) and splendidus (Ovid, Metamorphoses 8.8) are often associated with purple.

The phrase purpurea rosa doubtless emphasizes the red rather than the violet or brown tone of the purple: "dark-red" roses; this seems to be a favourite epithet for this flower (note also Culex 299: et rosa purpureum crescent pudibunda ruborem, Horace, Odes 3.15.15: flos purpureus rosae).

luteus: a derivative of lutum, the name for a plant whose juice could be used to produce various shades of yellow (note Vergil, Eclogue 4.44: iam croceo mutabit vellera luto). Luteus can indicate, as can purpureus, various shades of colour; these are principally two: "orange-yellow" and "pure

yellow." There are several different tones of "orange"; these usually involve red (see the examples cited by André, 152). The "pure yellow" significance of luteus appears more frequently, and often indicates a pale yellow (see, for example, Horace, Epodes 10.16, Ovid, Metamorphoses 15.351). For a full discussion of the adjective see André, 151-153. Luteus is often applied to flowers; note, for example, in addition to Copa 14, Columella 9.4.4, Priapea 85.12, Catullus 61.188, Pliny 21.27, 131.

The contrast here between purpurea and lutea is striking. Colour-contrast is a favourite device of Latin writers. See André, 346-350, for a detailed survey of the many passages where colour contrast appears. Note Vergil, Eclogue 4.43-44 for the contrast of "yellow" and "purple":

ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto.

For passages describing contrasting shades of flowers note also Vergil, Aeneid 12.68-69, Propertius 1.20.38, Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.509.

15-16 et quae virgineo libata Achelois ab amne
lilia vimineis attulit in calathis.

Compare Vergil, Eclogue 2.45-46:

huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis
ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis, tibi candida Nais,

Propertius 3.13.29-30:

nunc violas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre
lilia virgineos lucida per calathos

and Propertius 4.425:

saepe tulit blandis argentea lilia Nymphis.

The similarity of the passages from Vergil and Propertius to lines 15 and 16 has led some critics to suppose that the Copa was written in imitation of those poets. For a discussion of the problem see above, Chapter 2, 24-26.

virgineo ab amne: a possible interpretation for this phrase is "from the stream where the Nymphs (virgines) dwell." More probably, however, as Drew suggests ("Copa II," 41), virgineo here equals ἀκήρατος : "from the pure stream."

Achelois: "daughter of Acheloüs"; here, a general reference to a water-nymph. Acheloüs was the father of the Sirens, Ligeia, Leucosia and Parthenope. Parthenope was worshipped in Naples, and gave her name to the city, upon her burial there. See Silius Italicus 12.33-34:

Sirenum dedit una suum, memorabile, nomen

Parthenope muris Acheloïas.

Hence, we may have here a subtle reference to the location of the poem.

17. sunt et caseoli, quos iunceae fiscina siccant.

This is a pastoral line; cheese-making is a popular rustic occupation. The line is notable for its repetition of "s" and "c" sounds. Their harsh sound serves to emphasize the sudden return to reality here; the reader has been captivated by the mythical image in the preceding lines of the nymph gathering lilies, and now the scene reverts abruptly to the taberna. That the cheeses are hung, still in the process of drying, in the place where the guests congregate, may well indicate that the taberna is a simple, rather unsophisticated establishment.

caseolus: a hapax legomenon, diminutive of caseus, meaning "a little cheese."

fiscina: derivative of fiscus, a small basket, generally (as here described) made from rushes (iunceae fiscina), but formed also upon occasion from twigs or broom (cf. fiscella, calathus). For a fuller description see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 2, 1141-1142. The baskets are used for various purposes, to hold grain, for example, or fruit or wine (for the latter purpose they are coated in pitch; see Columella, De Re Rustica 12.18). Fiscinae are also employed in the process of cheese-making, as here mentioned. In this regard see Homer Odyssey 9.246-247:

αὐτίκα δ' ἥμισυ μὲν θρέψας λευκοῖο γάλακτος
πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισιν ἀμυσάμενος κατέθηκεν,

Tibullus 2.3.15-16:

tunc fiscella levi detexta est vimine iunci,
raraque per nexus est via facta sero,

Ovid, Fasti 4.769-770:

ubera plena premam, referat mihi caseus aera,
dentque viam liquido vimina rara sero.

For a detailed discussion of the process of cheese-making see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 931-933. In this process the wicker baskets are used to contain curdled milk (various techniques are used to accomplish this, the addition of vinegar or pepper, for example; see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 932); the weave of the wicker containers allows the whey (serum) to run off, draining the curdled milk, which hence solidifies and dries, forming cheese.

Note that Copa 17 is quoted by Mico (ninth century) and attributed by him to Vergil. See above, Chapter 2, 31.

18 sunt autumnali cerea pruna die.

The reference here to an autumn fruit in a summer setting should cause no difficulty. The hostess is attempting to entice the traveller into her inn by overwhelming him with a description of the abundance of delicious fruits available there. She quite naturally exaggerates, and mentions autumn, as well as summer, fruits. This reference to the fruits of one season along with those of another season is a not uncommon literary conceit: see also, for example, Propertius 4.2.15-16:

hic dulces cerasos, hic autumnalia pruna
cernis et aestivo mora rubere die.

(Theocritus 11.56-59 contains an amusing parody of this type of conceit: the Cyclops tells Galatea that he is unable to bring her snowdrops and poppies together, because one grows in winter and the other in summer:

αἱ μὴ τὸ στόμα λῆς, ἔφερον δέ τοι ἦ κρίνα λευκά
ἦ μάκων' ἀπαλὰν ἐρυθρὰ πλαταγώνι' ἔχοισαν.
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θέρεος, τὰ δὲ γίνεται ἐν χειμῶνι,
ὥστ' οὐκ ἄν τοι ταῦτα φέρειν ἅμα πάντ' ἐδυνάθην.).

It is possible, however, that the poet's reference to autumn fruit here may be simply due to the influence of Theocritus 7.143:

πάντ' ὥσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίνος, ὥσδε δ' ὀπώρας.

On the resemblance of Copa 18 to Propertius 4.2.15 (and on K. Büchner's theory of interpolation) see above, Chapter 3, 42-44.

cerea pruna: "waxen" or "wax-coloured" plums (cereus, from the Greek κηρός, prunum from προῦμνον). This phrase appears also in Vergil, Eclogue 2.53: addam cerea pruna: honos erit huic quoque pomo. For the "wax-coloured" or "yellow" plums compare Ovid, Metamorphoses 13.817-18:

prunaeque non solum nigro liventia suco

verum etiam generosa novasque imitantia ceras.

Note also Columella 10.404: Armeniisque et cereolis prunisue Damasci.

19 castaneaeque nuges et suave rubentia mala.

castaneae nuges: "chestnuts," usually designated by the noun castaneae alone: see, for example, Vergil, Eclogue 1.81: castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis, and Eclogue 7.53: stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae. The phrase castaneae nuges also appears in Vergil, in Eclogue 2.52: castaneasque nuges, mea quas Amaryllis amabat. Note, in addition, Ovid, Ars Amatoria 2.267-268:

Adferat aut uvas, aut quas Amaryllis amabat

At nunc castaneas non amat illa nuges.

suave rubentia mala: "sweetly blushing apples." Apples are often described as red: note, for instance, Horace, Satires 2.8.31: me docuit melimela rubere, Tibullus 3.4.34: et autumnio candida mala rubent. In the Copa, the phrase has perhaps been suggested to the poet by Theocritus 7.117:

ὦ μάλοισιν "Ἐρωτες ἐρευθομένοισιν ὁμοῖοι.

For similar wording, compare Vergil, Eclogue 3.63: suave rubens hyacinthus, Vergil, Eclogue 4.43-44: suave rubenti/murice, Priapea 3.13-14: suave olentia mala/uva pampinea rubens educata sub umbra.

20 est hic munda Ceres, est Amor, est Bromius.

This is a grave and pompous line, spoken by the hostess perhaps to elevate the tone of her appeal to the traveller: the effect of her grandiloquence is humorous, and doubtless intentionally so.

munda Ceres: If "Ceres" is here a reference to the goddess herself, munda may then have its customary meaning, "elegant" or "neat"; "elegant (elegantly robed) Ceres" (a phrase perhaps inspired, as Drabkin [22] suggests, by a somewhat similar expression in Theocritus 7.32: εὐπέπλω Δαμάρτερι, "to fair-robed Demeter"). If, however, we take "Ceres" as a reference to "bread" or "corn-meal," the adjective may also be quite appropriate: "purified" or "fine" (i.e. not coarse) corn-meal. As regards this interpretation, note particularly Moretum 42-43: subsedit sincera foraminibusque liquatur/ emundata Ceres. See also Columella 1.23: quod et celeriter frumenta deteruntur, non cedente solo pulsibus ungularum tribularumque, et eadem eventilata mundiora sunt lapillisque carent et glaebulis.

est Amor: a reference to the erotic pleasures already hinted at in lines 2 and 3, and to be alluded to again in lines 23, 24 and 33.

21 sunt et mora cruenta et lentis uva racemis.

mora cruenta: "blood-red" mulberries, a very bright colour image. For "red" mulberries compare Vergil, Eclogue 6.22: sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pingit, Propertius 4.2.15-16: hic autumnalia pruna/ cernis et aestivo mora rubere die. (Note that in Ovid, Metamorphoses 4.89-90, the mulberries are not red, but white: arbor ibi niveis uberrima pomis/ ardua morus erat.) In Vergil, Georgics 1.306, the adjective cruentus is applied to the berries of the myrtle tree: et lauri bacas oleamque cruentaue myrta.

lentis uva racemis: racemus: "stalk" or "cluster." Thus, a possible translation here is "grapes (hang) in heavy clusters" (compare Propertius 4.2.13: prima mihi variat liventibus uva racemis, Vergil, Georgics 2.60: fert uva racemos). More probable, however, is "grapes (hang) from motionless (or pliant) stalks."

lentis: possibly, "pliant" or "flexible": "grapes hang from pliant stalks" (compare Vergil, Eclogue 3.38: lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis, Eclogue 9.42: lentae texunt umbracula vites, Georgics 1.265: atque Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti). Also possible is "sluggish," "immovable" or "motionless": "grapes (hang) from motionless stalks" (compare Vergil, Eclogue 10.40: mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret). With the sense "motionless," lentus alludes to an idea that is of central importance in the pastoral world. The "lentus racemus" reflects the peace and relaxation, the "otium" that is sought by all rustics. In Vergil's first Eclogue, for example, Tityrus enjoys otium (Eclogue 1.6: deus nobis haec otia fecit), and he is hence described as "lentus":

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi, (1)

...tu Tityre, lentus in umbra. (4)

23-24 est tuguri custos, armatus falce saligna
sed non et vasto est inguine terribilis.

Reference here is to a statue of Priapus, a fertility god, who was adopted as a guardian deity of gardens. He is a comic, scarecrow figure, who appears as a grotesque, little man with huge genitals. The humorous aspect of Priapus appears in these lines: he is "non terribilis," in spite of the fact that he is "armed" with a willow pruning-hook and enormous phallus. (Note Priapea 56.4: quae me terribilem facit videri.) Priapus and the phallus emphasize the sexual overtones of the Copa's behaviour.

Statues of Priapus placed in gardens were made usually of wood (see Columella 10.31-34, Horace, Satires 1.8.1-3), but a Priapean statue of stone has been found in the garden of an inn at Pompeii. (For this, see W. Jashemski, CJ 59 [1963] 347, and Archaeology 20 [1967] 43.)

tuguri custos: "guardian of the hut," a rather humorous reference to the taberna: tugurium, "hut" or "cottage," usually refers to a very humble sort of dwelling.

With lines 23 and 24 compare Vergil, Georgics 4.110-111:

et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna

Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi.

25-26 huc calybita veni: lassus iam sudat asellus:

parce illi: Vestae delictum est asinus.

This couplet contains several problems relating to text and interpretation. For example, there are two equally well attested readings possible for the first word of line 25, huc: "come here," or huic: "come to him" i.e. Priapo, Copa 23: "tuguri custos" (or perhaps, also, "come to this person, to me" i.e. to the hostess). The reading huc appears to be more fitting in the hostess' instruction to the traveller; it does not make as much sense to have the hostess ask the traveller to come to the statue of Priapus, since there is really nothing remarkable in its presence in the tavern garden. It would also be of no particular benefit to the tired donkey to visit Priapus' statue. Further, huic meaning "to this person, to me" does not afford as close a connection with the rest of the line as does huc: if the traveller brings his donkey to the tavern (huc) it may rest there; it is of no further assistance to the donkey that his owner approach the hostess. Huic has found favour with certain critics, however, such as F. Leo, who reads "huic i.e. Priapo, tuguri custodi, invitanti non terrenti, ut καλυβίτης veni." His interpretation has been accepted by E.J. Kenney, who also reads huic, and changes the punctuation at the end of the preceding line (Copa 24) in the attempt to connect the phrase huic calybita veni more closely to the

preceding description of Priapus. (With huc veni compare Vergil, Eclogue 2.45: huc ades, o formose puer.)

For veni, the reading of the MSS, some critics have suggested venit. K. Ilgen reads huic Idaea [Cybele] venit, and in line 26 parcit ei (the MSS reading is parce), and interprets "even if Cybele comes, leading the timorous beast, Priapus spares it." J. Sillig proposes "huic Cybelista [priest of Cybele] venit," and suggests that lassus iam sudat asellus/ parce illi, nostrum delictum est asinus should be placed in quotation marks, as the priest's prayer to Priapus that the god spare the ass. These interpretations, however, merely serve to destroy the effect of the hostess' exhortation to the traveller, which, beginning here with huc veni, continues through prolue (29), hic age (31), requiesce (31), necte (32), and culminates in her warning about approaching death.

There has been some discussion as to whether lassus or fessus should be read in Copa 25. Lassus appears to be preferable, since it is the reading found in the better MSS. (We may note that MS B omits the adjective lassus, and shows instead salsus, written above iam; salsus might possibly conceal lassus.) A clue which favours the reading lassus may be present in Theocritus 11.42 ἄλλ' ἀφίκευσο ποθ' ἀμέ, καὶ ἐξεῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, if we can accept that Copa 25 is a play on this line from Theocritus. See the previous discussion, Chapter 2, 17.

In Copa 26, inferior MSS preserve vestri, nostri, nostrum and vestrum. Vestrum has found favour with some scholars (see Forcellini's Lexicon, 290 and also Drabkin, 99) who interpret calybita as "priest of Cybele" (for detail see below), and hence vestrum as "belonging to you, priest, and your fellow Galli," since these priests supposedly rode asses on their travels.

(See Apuleius, Metamorphoses 8.26 - 9.10) As noted above, J. Sillig prefers to read nostrum delictum est asinus, since he proposes that the words are spoken by the priest of Cybele to the god Priapus. The best MSS, however, read vestrae, of which little sense can be made. I. Voss has emended this reading to Vestae. His suggestion appears most likely, and has been widely accepted; it is not difficult to explain the corruption of Vestae to vestrae. Hence the line is taken to refer to the story of Vesta's rescue from Priapus by the ass's braying. For this myth see Ovid, Fasti 6.321-348: Vesta, having enjoyed the festivities at a banquet given by Cybele, lay down to sleep. The lustful Priapus saw the goddess lying asleep and decided to approach her. Just as he was about to fall upon her, an ass, left by Silenus beside the banks of a near-by stream, uttered a loud bray. Vesta awoke, and Priapus was forced to flee. Note also Propertius 4.1.21 Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis.

Delictum (26) is the reading of MSS S L. MS M reads deliciae. Apart from its appearance in Copa 26, the form delictum occurs in Seneca, Epistles 12.3: pupulus etiam delictum meum factum est, Phaedrus 4.1.8-9: rogati (Galli) mox a quodam, delicio suo (asino)/ quidnam fecissent, Martial 1.7.1, 7.50.2, 13.98.1, Tertullian, Ausonius and Lucifer. It is found also in certain inscriptions: see I.C. Orellius, Inscriptionum Latinarum Amplissima Collectio, (Zurich 1828), 680, 1724, 2679ff, 4394 and 4958, The word belongs to the vernacular; Vergil uses the more literary deliciae (see, inter alia, Eclogue 2.2, 9.22; note also use of deliciae by Catullus, in 2.1, for example). Since there are no examples of the singular neuter use of the word in Republican times, its use in the Copa (if we are to date the poem to around 50 B.C.) is most unusual. (This perhaps accounts for the appearance of the more usual

deliciae in MS M.) Drabkin's explanations (20) for this "early" use of delicium are rather weak: he suggests that it was "either a novelty fostered by neoteric influence," or that the word was possibly used side by side with deliciae. This latter possibility is doubtful; delicium is generally considered to be a word developed late (i.e. in post-Republican times) to replace deliciae. (See Lewis and Short). The poet was possibly obliged to use delicium here for metrical purposes, to avoid the plural sunt required by deliciae.

Discussion of Copa 25-26 has centered particularly on the unusual word calybita (25), a hapax legomenon in Latin literature. The manuscripts present many variant forms and alternatives: chalybita (M), calibita (S B E A T), calibina (W) and calibida, alibida, albida, halbida, alybia and alibulla (readings of inferior MSS). Hence, the difficulties of interpreting the word are compounded. Editors generally accept the reading of M, chalybita: see R. Ellis, R. Giomini, E.J. Kenney, I.E. Drabkin and H.R. Fairclough.

Calybita is derived from the Greek καλυβίτης, a word which also occurs only once, in Strabo 7.5.12:

Βέσσοι δὲ οἵπερ τὸ πλεόν τοῦ ὄρους νέμονται τοῦ
 Αἴμου, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν λησταὶ προσαγορεύονται,
 καλυβῖται τινες καὶ λυπρόβιοι.

The basic meaning of the Greek word is "hut-dweller" (from καλύβη, "hut" or "cabin"). This sense does not throw much light on the meaning of calybita in Copa 25: we must consider extended meanings.

There are basically two ways in which the phrase huc calybita veni has been interpreted. The first involves allowing for a close connection between kalybae in Copa 7 (another hapax legomenon, from the Greek καλύβη) and

calybita in line 25. Whatever sense is found to be applicable to kalybae is then extended to calybita, as the person concerned, in some way, with a "kalyba." Kalybae in Copa 7 is not particularly easy to define; we might assume that the word should share the basic meaning of the Greek noun from which it is derived, καλύβη. Copa 7, however, contains an enumeration of several of the attractions to be found in the taberna: hence, it is senseless to apply the basic meaning "huts" or "cabins" to kalybae. (For the basic sense of καλύβη see, for example, Herodotus 6.16, Thucydides 1.133, 2.52.) However, as we see from other passages where καλύβη is used by Greek writers, meanings other than "hut" or "cabin" have been assigned to the noun. Unfortunately, the evidence is scanty. In Athenaeus 517F καλύβη appears to refer to lattice work screens: ὥς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καλύβας περιβάλλοντες περὶ τὰς κλίνας, αἱ πεπλεγμέναι εἰσὶν ἐκ ῥάβδων. Forcellind's Lexicon defines καλύβη as: "Calyba ae f. καλύβη, pergula est, tugurium, attedgiae, quales in meritoriis tabernis fieri solent, in quibus ganeones ad potandum sedent." This is an interesting definition: a possible meaning for pergula here is "vine-arbour" (see, for example, Pliny 14.1,3 and Columella 4.21,11.2): further, although the "attedgiae," which the editors assert provide spots in taverns where men may sit and drink, can be literally defined as "tents," the word may also signify covered-over, protected shelters, i.e. arbour-like structures. It is possible, then, that in their definition the editors, perhaps taking a clue from Athenaeus, may have in mind a lattice-work bower (lattice-work screens, perhaps, covered in climbing shrubs) set up in the tavern garden to provide shade and seclusion.

If we wish to preserve, to some degree, the apparent basic meaning of kalyba, a small enclosed dwelling, it is perhaps possible to define the word (as does Drabkin, 19) as "a small, private compartment," a room added on to

the main tavern structure. This interpretation is not nearly as appealing as that of "arbour" or "bower," nor does it fit as well into Copa 7. The presence and position of topia in the line strongly favour defining kalybae as "secluded garden bowers."

Thus, when we come to consider the word calybita in Copa 25, we may take it to be the name applied, with intended humour and obvious word-play, to anyone wont to spend long hours drinking in tavern bowers. With this meaning for calybita, an interpretation for huc calybita veni was suggested very early by K. Ilgen: 'huc veni, ut calybitae agas partes, ut in calyba recubans tuo indulgeas genio.' F. Leo follows this, and interprets Priapo, tuguri custodi, invitanti non terrenti, ut καλυβίτης veni : "so come, bower-dweller, to Priapus, the guardian," (Leo cites Tibullus 1.7.53 as a parallel expression: sic venias hodie Geni).

Although apparently popular, a second interpretation of the phrase offered by scholars is based on very tenuous evidence. In Forcellini's Lexicon we find the following statements: "Quia vero καλύβη Graece aliam quoque habet significationem, nempe cellam, vel thalamum aliquando notat; et in veteri Graeco epigrammate ponitur pro cubiculo, seu thalamo, in quo sunt signa, et pulvinaria, Deorum et praesertim Cybeles; hinc calybitam affirmat idem Salmasius significare Gallum Matris Deum sacerdotum, quasi dicas cubicularium, in illis versibus eiusdem Copae." The writer gives no clear indication here of what prompted him to connect the word καλύβη to Cybele, apart from a reference to the conjecture of Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise, 1588-1653) that calybita in Copa 25 should be taken to indicate "Gallum Matris Deum sacerdotum." Although these scholars make no mention of the passage, their interpre-

tation may possibly be based on a line from AP 7.222, a sepulchral epigram written by Philodemus:

ἡ καλύβη καὶ δοῦπος ἐνέπρεπεν, ἡ φιλοπαίγμων
(στωμυλίη, Μήτηρ ἣν ἐφίλησε θεῶν).

This is the only passage we have where καλύβη appears to be connected, in some way, to the worship of Cybele. Purely in the effort to make sense of the word in its context in this epigram, editors have suggested various definitions for it. F. Dübner, in his edition Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina (Paris 1864) vol. 1, 444, thus interprets the word: "καλύβη in Cybeles sacris est aedicula deae exstructa circa quam sacerdotes et ministrae, θαλαμηπόλοι, Cybeles magno tympanorum et crotalorum cum strepitu, δοῦπῳ, saltabant; cuius aediculae simulacrum circumductum fuisse ab iis qui Magnae Deae causa stipem colligebant, notum est." Dübner cites no evidence to support his view that the word καλύβη was used in reference to the aedicula of Cybele; as mentioned, his definition stems from his desire to make sense of the word in its context. A 1960 text of the Greek Anthology, edited by P. Waltz (Paris), contains this statement concerning the epigram in question (152): "Le sens de l'ensemble est donc: une débauchée mais une débauchée que son tempérament de courtisane entraînait vers les orgies religieuses du culte de Bacchus et de celui de Cybèle (la καλύβη dont il est question au v. 3 étant une chapelle consacrée à la Mère des Dieux)."

In spite of attempted explanations such as those offered by Dübner and Waltz, the meaning of AP 7.222.3 is obscure and puzzling to editors. See A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, The Greek Anthology: the Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams (Cambridge, U. Press, 1968) 397-398: "The vindication of δοῦπος [read by W.R. Paton in the Loeb edition of the Greek Anthology,

vol. 2, 126, and by F. Dübner, cited above, as δοῦπος] makes us reluctant to alter καλύβη which may have had a suitable meaning now unknown. Jacobs [C.F.W. Jacobs, Anthologia Graeca, 13 vols. (Leipzig 1794-1813)] renders aedicula deae exstructa, but we know no evidence for shrines or other abodes of the Great Mother which might be called 'huts' or 'cottages'; ... Luck [Philol. 100, 271ff] takes καλύβη to be equivalent to θαλάμη (or θάλαμος): "hier bedeutet καλύβη offenbar den Naikos, die Kapelle der Göttermutter", but there is no evidence for this use of καλύβη , and there is no reason why θαλάμη (or θάλαμος) should not have been written if this had been meant; none of the references cited by Luck ibid. n. 3 has any bearing on the word καλύβη . In the present context the καλύβη might be the meeting place of the δοῦμος , the centre of their φιλοπαίγμων στρωμυλίη ." Hence, in view of the obscurity of the line, we are on very shaky ground if we attempt to use this passage from the epigram as evidence for translating calybita in Copa 25 as "priest of Cybele."

Some critics have asserted (see Drabkin, 100, for example) that the interpretation "priest of Cybele" is particularly apt, in that it fits well with lassus iam sudat asellus. They cite, as justification, the priests' custom of loading their belongings on to the backs of asses. This interpretation was offered very early on, again apparently by Salmasius (see Forcellini's Lexicon, 290): "Constat enim etiam ex Phaedro 1.3 fab. ult. solitos fuisse Gallos circumducere, quaestus causa, asinum baiulantem sarcinas. Ita quidem Salmas." The passage from Phaedrus to which reference is made (4.1.4-6) is as follows:

Galli Cybebes circum in quaestus ducere
asinum solebant baiulantem sarcinas.

Is cum labore et plagis esset mortuus.

(For a similar theme note Apuleius, Metamorphoses 8.28.) While this reasoning is acceptable, it is not necessary. The phrase lassus iam sudat asellus has just as much point if the calybita is simply a traveller, rather than a priest. The purpose behind the hostess' statement is to persuade the man to enter the tavern (to rest in the kalyba) thus allowing his donkey to rest, since it is exhausted from a long journey (and not necessarily from being laden down).

I.E. Drabkin strongly favours the translation "priest of Cybele" (100-101); he states that the hostess addresses the traveller as Calybita with the intention of being witty: "Not that the traveller was a priest of Cybele, but the hostess, seeing a person travelling at so unseasonable a time, refers to him, with fine humor, as belonging to the Dindymenae dominae vaga pecora (Cat. 63.13)." Drabkin's arguments are not particularly convincing. Firstly, he draws support from AP 7.222.3-4, which, as we have noted above, provides no reliable evidence. He says, further, that without the translation "priest of Cybele," the reference to Vesta in 26 is "rather pointless": "If Calybita can in some way denote a priest of Cybele ... the reason why Vesta's gratitude to the ass should interest the traveller may perhaps become clearer. Vesta was, in a sense, the equivalent of the Greek Ἑστία, daughter of Rhea, who was to become identified with Cybele. Indeed, in some forms of the myth Cybele is identified with Hestia (Vesta)." (101). In his reasoning here, Drabkin appears to overlook the poet's right to abandon strict consistency; the poet, after all, is not concerned with provoking the interest of the fictional traveller in his poem, but rather with stimulating the reader's imagination. (Hence the foolishness of Drabkin's remarks [100]: "Why should

Vesta's attitude toward the ass be used as a means of persuading the traveller to allow the animal to rest? To be sure, Priapus ... figures in the story of Vesta and the ass, but there is in that circumstance no added appeal to the traveller.") The mention of Vesta here is simply an allusion to a well-known myth, which comes to the poet's mind when he considers the word "asellus," and when he looks back to his description, in the preceding couplet, of Priapus, who also figures in the story of Vesta and the ass. Surely this is justification enough for a reference to Vesta, and there is no need to create the tenuous series of correspondences suggested by Drabkin, where Vesta is connected with Cybele, who is in turn artificially linked to the word calybita. (Indeed, it is not likely that these complex correspondences would be immediately apparent to either the traveller or the reader.)

Various emendations have been suggested for calybita. J. Scaliger, for example, proposes to read asivehida (from asinivehida) instead of calybita, "he who is carried on an ass," the reference being to Silenus. For calybita K. Ilgen proposes Idaea, for Cybele. J. Sillig conjectures Cybelista, from the Greek Κυβελιστής, a priest of Cybele. K. Schenkl suggests "capalista," "donkey-driver," a word he has invented. However, since a likely interpretation can be found for calybita, these emendations, while ingenious, are unnecessary.

27 nunc cantu crebro rumpunt arbusta cicadae.

Compare Vergil, Eclogue 2.13: sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis, Georgics 3.328: et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae and Culex 153: argutis et cuncta fremunt ardore cicadis.

In this, and the following, line the poet uses conventional motifs (i.e. the cicadas and the lizard) to indicate the heat of noon. Compare the

mid-day scene in Vergil, Eclogue 2.8-13. Mention at this point in the poem of the shrill sound of the cicadas is appropriate: nature seems to reflect the mounting excitement evident in the hostess' appeal to the traveller, and, in a sense, the cicadas join in the hostess' invitation, by adding their voice to hers.

The tuneful cicada is quite at home in the pastoral world; its song reflects and complements the music produced by the rustics. As T.G. Rosenmeyer remarks (The Green Cabinet[Berkeley 1969] 134-135) "the cicada is above all an emblem of nature at her musical best, a pinpointing of the quiet harmony into which man must allow himself to lapse."

The alliteration of the hard "c" sound is notable in this line; it effectively suggests the shrill, repetitive sound of the cicadas' song.

28 nunc varia in gelida sede lacerta latet.

This line may well have been inspired by Theocritus 7.22: ἀνίκα δὴ καὶ σαῦρος ἐν αἰμασιαῖσι καθεύδει, as may also a similar line from Vergil: Eclogue 2.9: nunc virides etiam occultant spineta lacertos.

Varia (the reading of M) appears most likely, and is favoured by editors: "now the spotted lizard lurks in her cool retreat" (Fairclough). Other MSS readings are vere (L) and vero (S), and, in addition, scholars have conjectured veprum (Haupt), verpris (Ellis) (similar suggestions, perhaps inspired by spineta in Eclogue 2.9): "the lizard lurks in the cool retreat of a thorn-bush," verna (Heinsius) and viridis (Burman).

In both Theocritus and Vergil, the lizard's retreat is specifically described: in Theocritus, the lizard lies inside a wall (ἐν αἰμασιαῖσι), in Vergil, inside a thorn-hedge (spineta lacertos occultant). In Copa 28, however, description of the hiding-place is more general. The lizard lies

hidden "in a cool spot": in gelida sede clearly suggests the coolness that the guest may enjoy inside the taberna (cf. triclia umbrosis frigida harundinibus [8]).

29 si sapis, aestivo recubans nunc prolue vitro.

aestivo vitro: The earliest appearances of the word vitrum in Latin literature are in Lucretius, De Rerum Natura 4.145ff, 4.993, and in Cicero, Pro Rabirio Postumo 14.40; in spite of the relatively late appearance of the word, we may suppose that the Romans were quite familiar with the substance in earlier times. The first uses of the word in Latin literature appear to correspond to the sudden increase in the importance of glass manufacture in Italy. (For detail on this, see below)

Vitrum is used either with reference to the substance glass (see, for example, Lucretius 4.145, Cicero, Pro Rabirio Postumo 14.40, Pliny, Nat. Hist. 1.36, 5.75, 12.115, 29.51, 31.110, 36.62, 191, 192, Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales 1.7.1, Tacitus, Historiae 5.7) or to designate various glass objects (see Propertius 4.8.37, Pliny, Nat. Hist. 35.46, 36.83, 98, 197, Seneca, Epistles 86.6, Martial 9.59.13). (For additional examples of the above uses see M.L. Trowbridge, "Philological Studies in Ancient Glass," U. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 13 [1930]64, notes 9 and 10) Vitrum is also employed in the same way as our word "glass"; that is, the noun is used on its own (without any mention of a particular type of vessel), simply to indicate a "drinking-glass." This is the usage we find in Copa 29: for other examples, see Pliny, Nat. Hist. 9.66, 31.40, Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales 1.6.5, Martial 1.37.2, 3.55.2.

For the various derivatives of the noun vitrum and their uses, see Trowbridge, 65-78.

The phrase aestivo vitro is difficult to interpret; there has been question concerning what precisely the adjective aestivus means when applied to a drinking-glass. H.R. Fairclough suggests, in his edition of the Copa, that a "summer drinking-glass" is "one of unusual size." F. Völkl, in his discussion of the problem (Spiel und Parodie in Drei Kleinen Gedichten [Munich 1968] 100), makes reference to Athenaeus 230d, which might perhaps be taken as evidence for a custom in antiquity of having two different sets of table-ware, one for use in winter, the other for use in summer: "παῖ Στρομβιχίδη, μὴ τῶν χειμερινῶν ἀργυρωμάτων ἡμῖν παραθῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν θερινῶν." We may suppose that these two sets each contain vessels made from various types of material, pottery, metal, glass, etc. Völkl feels that the phrase aestivo vitro is quite ambiguous in relation to this idea of two sets of table-ware. As the phrase stands, it may mean one of two things: it may indicate that cups of glass are used only in summer, or it may refer to "summer" glass as opposed to "winter" glass, i.e. the summer glass which is part of the summer set of table-ware is a special type of glass, ideally suited for use in summer. The first possibility is unacceptable, Völkl feels, but the second, while most likely, is not clearly expressed by the phrase aestivo vitro. Because of this, Völkl accepts the opinion expressed previously by Wilamowitz Moellendorff (313) that aestivo vitro, is, in fact, understandable only when compared with a very similar phrase found in Propertius 4.8.37: vitrique aestiva supellex, where the poet directly mentions a "summer service" of table-ware. (See H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber, The Elegies of Propertius [Oxford 1933] 368) In Propertius the wording is perhaps more precise than in Copa 29, since the poet refers to "summer ware" (while supellex is omitted in Copa 29), and further qualifies it by use of the genitive vitri, "summer-time ware of glass." The fact that aestivo vitro is

seemingly less precise than the phrase in Propertius provides evidence, Völkl claims, that the Copa's author imitated Propertius. However, although it may be true that to name the type of ware and qualify it with a genitive gives a more precise expression, it is not in fact so unusual, as noted above, to omit mention of the object concerned and instead use vitrum on its own to refer to the glass vessel. And since the Copa's poet is speaking of a glass that belongs to the "summer collection," it is natural for him simply to apply the adjective aestivus to it. It is also possible (as Büchner, 139, suggests) that the phrase may express an idea that is quite ordinary and well-known, and that aestivo vitro is "clear" without any reference being made to a set of table-ware. It is difficult, in any case, for us to determine with certainty what might or might not be ambiguous to a Roman reader.

We may note that the reference here to a glass from the special summer collection serves to accentuate the tone of extravagance and luxury that pervades the poem.

The mention of glasses here and in the following line (30) need not be regarded as evidence against a Republican date for the poem. It is possible that the reference here is to imported glass-ware. Numerous examples of fine glass-ware of the Alexandrian type, for example (dated to the first century A.D., and probably produced in local glass-houses by immigrant workers, in imitation of Hellenistic luxury glasses), have been found in southern Italy (see G. Weiss, The Book of Glass [New York 1971] 27) and around Rome. It thus appears that the Romans admired this luxury glass, and it is quite likely that some was imported, perhaps for use in rich private houses and reputable tabernae, prior to local manufacture in the first century A.D. (see Strabo 16.2.25). We may note that although the invention of glass blowing by the Syrians gave great impetus to the manufacture of glass in Italy at

the beginning of the first century A.D., the technique was in fact discovered rather earlier, at a time not precisely determined, but around 60-50 B.C. Thus, here again it is reasonable to suppose that, following the discovery of the new technique, quantities of blown glass-ware were imported into Italy by the Syrians, who were active in the glass trade (see Pliny, Nat. Hist. 26.193-194: trade increased after the annexation of Syria in 64 B.C.). There is the final possibility (although it is perhaps not too likely) that the glasses mentioned were made locally. By A.D. 14 at Puteoli there was a well-established glass-house, whose workers were Alexandrians. Indeed, Campania was an important region for glassmaking, due to the presence there of the Volturnus River, which was well known for the excellent glassmaking sands it provided. During the first century A.D. and following, renowned glass-houses were located on the Campanian coast, between Cumae and Liternum. Because of the presence of the fine sands, glass-ware may possibly have been produced in the region in pre-Imperial times.

30 seu vis crystalli ferre novos calices.

The word crystallum has been transliterated from the Greek κρύσταλλος, which originally denoted "ice" (see Homer, Iliad 22.152, Odyssey 14.477, Herodotus 4.28), but came later, because of the resemblance between the two substances, to signify "rock crystal" (see Strabo 15.67, for example). In Greek literature, crystal is frequently associated with glass; note, in this regard, Hesychius' definition of crystal as "a kind of glass," " κρύσταλλος· εἶδος ὕελλου " (see M.L. Trowbridge, 54 n.4, n.5). There is no sure evidence, however, to show that writers confuse the two, using the word for crystal when they are, in fact, speaking of glass. There are only a few passages where this is likely: Diodorus, AP 9.776,

Leónidas of Alexandria, AP 6.329, and Claudian, AP 9.753, for instance.

Reasons for suspecting that κρύσταλλος in these passages means glass are given by Trowbridge, 54-55.

The usage in Latin literature is somewhat the same; the word is used occasionally to mean "ice" (in Priapea 63.6 and Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales 3.25.12, for instance), but more often to denote "rock crystal." Crystallum with the latter significance appears to be synonymous with vitrum in certain passages; the similar appearance of cut-glass and crystal makes it easy to confuse the two materials. Because the manufacture of crystal vessels was apparently both difficult and expensive, and consequently only small quantities were produced (see Pliny's discussion of the origin and use of crystal, 37.9,10), certain scholars have been led to suppose that the word crystallum is quite often used where the reference is actually to glass. Concerning this M.L. Trowbridge, for example, states (53, n.1): "in view of the extreme scarcity of actual rock-crystal among ancient remains, as compared with glass, it appears almost certain that crystallum must frequently mean nothing more than glass, but it is difficult to prove this for any particular passage. ...The fact that some of the objects could be made easily in glass while it would be well-nigh impossible to make them in crystal, and that some of the vessels are brought from Egypt, the greatest glass manufacturing center, makes it seem all the more probable that crystallum was used for glass and crystallina for objects made of glass." For passages where crystallum might indicate glass, see Propertius 4.3.52: crystallusque meas ornet aquosa manus, Martial 8.77.5: candida nigrescant vetulo crystallia Falerno, 9.22.7: nec labris nisi magna meis crystallia terantur. (For further examples see Trowbridge 81 and 81, n.17.) We may note that Trowbridge includes Copa 30 in this category (81, n.17). While it is possible that the reference here is

to vessels of glass, as she suspects, this appears less likely when we note the contrast obviously intended between aestivo vitro in line 29 and crystal-li ... novos calices in line 30: the guest may choose to drink either from a vessel made of glass (29), or from one made of the rarer crystal (30). The hostess is thus attempting further to entice the traveller into her tavern by presenting her finest, and probably imported, drinking-ware. She can offer not only glass, which itself would be something of a luxury ware at this time, but also delicate crystal. The adjective "novus" (novos calices) suggests that these cups are the latest arrivals, they are "brand new," and of the most modern style. The verb ferre emphasizes not so much the action of bringing the cups to the guest, but rather that of holding them in the hand: the guest is invited to pick up the crystal cups and admire them. That the hostess purposely includes reference to the crystal cups in her speech makes it apparent that they are a point of some pride for her. The taberna appears, in general, to be rather unsophisticated, and the fact that it possesses rare crystal and glass cups would indeed seem worthy of mention.

31 hic age pampinea fessus requiesce sub umbra.

Compare Vergil, Eclogue 7.10: et si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra, and Eclogue 7.58: Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras. Note that this line is quoted almost verbatim by Nemesian, Eclogue 4.46: hic age pampinea mecum requiesce sub umbra. See above, Chapter 2, 30-31.

This line contains what might be termed the ultimate pastoral invitation: the traveller is invited to recline in the shade and enjoy otium. The impression of pastoral simplicity that the line evokes is emphasized by the fact that it is preceded and followed by verses containing references to certain "sophisticated" attractions provided by the taberna: rare crystal and

glass cups (29-30), garlands to deck the head of the guest as he drinks (32), and the kisses of a girl (33).

32 et gravidum roseo necte caput strophio.

gravidum caput: a head "heavy" with fatigue. The traveller is troubled by the problems that beset the world outside; if he chooses to enter the taberna, the pleasures he finds there will dispel his worries.

strophium: from the Greek στροφίον. The usual meaning of the noun is "band" or "breast-band," a wide belt worn by women to support the breasts (cf. fascia pectoralis). Note Catullus 64.65: tereti strophio vincta papillas; also, Cicero, de Haruspicum Responsis 21.44. Here in line 32, however, strophium designates a "head-band," "chaplet" or "wreath" (cf. corona), a less common meaning for the noun (and one that occurs first in the Copa). (For later examples of the use of the noun with the sense "chaplet," see, for example, Pliny 21.2, Tertullian, De Corona Militis 15.) The chaplet is here made from rose-blossoms (a flower popular for this use; for rosariae coronae see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 1521).

33 formosum tenerae decerpens ora puellae.

Formosum, the reading of the better MSS, is the neuter of the adjective formosus used adverbially; Theocritus 3.3: τίτυρ' ἐμὶν τὸ καλὸν πεφιλημένε provides a possible comparison. This adverbial use of the neuter of formosus occurs only here. Formosum makes reasonable sense in the line if translated "prettily" or "neatly": "prettily taking kisses from the lips of a tender maiden." This meaning, however, is perhaps more applicable to the adverb belle than it is to formosum, which should properly have a more restricted sense, that of "beautifully" (a sense not particularly appropriate in the line).

Various emendations have been suggested for formosum. Of these the best is perhaps that proposed by W.V. Clausen, formosa et tenerae, where formosa is an appropriate description for the girl's lips and is also palaeographically sound. (Note also Clausen's alternate suggestion, formosa interea) Other emendations are candida formosae (Bembo, ninth century): "snatching kisses from the glowing lips of a lovely maiden" (see H. Waddell's discussion in Mediaeval Latin Lyrics [London 1938] 283), and per morsum, an ingenious conjecture by R. Ellis (AJPh8 [1887] 407), that suggests, better than does formosum, the sensual pleasures awaiting the traveller in the taberna: "snatching, by a bite, the lips of a tender maiden."

The phrase decerpens ora is expressive, since decerpo is used to describe the action of plucking flowers or gathering fruit. Note, for example, Propertius 1.20.39-40:

quae modo decerpens tenero pueriliter ungui
proposito florem praetulit officio,

and Ovid, Fasti 5.255: protinus haerentem decerpsi pollice florem.

35-38: quid cineri ingrato servas bene olentia sarta?

anne coronato vis lapide ista tegi?

pone merum et talos: pereat qui crastina curat:

Mors aurem vellens 'vivite' ait, 'venio'.

With cineri ingrato compare Vergil, Aeneid 6.212-213:

Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri

flebant, et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.

For bene olentia see Vergil, Eclogue 2.48: narcissum et florem iungit bene olentis anethi, and for aurem vellens see Eclogue 6.3-4:

cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem

vellit et admonuit.

The custom referred to in lines 35 and 36 concerns the decoration of the bier and grave of the dead with flowers and garlands; the family places flowers around the body when it is laid out on the bier for viewing, and later, during the funeral procession, friends throw flowers and garlands on to the coffin. (For this see, for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 11.39.6, Pliny Nat. Hist. 21.7; for detail concerning the custom, see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 2, 1389-92). It has been suggested (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, 1389) that the intention behind this custom is to make man aware, as he watches the delicate blooms adorning the body quickly fading, of the transient nature of life. This concept appears, for example, in Pliny Nat. Hist. 21.1: In hortis seri et coronamenta iussit Cato, inenarrabili florum maxime subtilitate ... flores vero odoresque in diem gignit, magna, ut palam est, admonitione hominum, quae spectatissime floreant celerrime marcescere. After burial, the family and closest friends of the deceased place flowers (particularly roses and violets) on the grave. (See J.M.C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World [London 1971] 62-63) The importance of such offerings is evident in many funeral inscriptions (some of these are listed by Toynbee, 295 n. 253, 254). Number 31 of the Epitaphs of Ausonius is of interest to us in this connection (and we may note the similarity between its first line and Copa 35):

Sparge mero cineres bene olentis et unguine nardi,
 hospes, et adde rosis balsama puniceis.
 perpetuum mihi ver agit inlacrimabilis urna
 et commutavi saecula, non obii.
 nulla mihi veteris perierunt gaudia vitae,

seu meminissee putes omnia, sive nihil.

(For garlands laid on tombs, see also Propertius 3.16.23-24) As a mark of honour, it is often customary to crown the head of the deceased with chaplets; these are made of metal (gold, for example), of myrtle, laurel or flowers (roses, lilies, violets, hyacinths). (For this see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 1, 1526: also, J.M.C. Toynbee, 44)

There has been considerable debate concerning the meaning of Copa 36 (anne coronato vis lapide ista tegi?). Apart from the various interpretations applied to the line (see below), several emendations have been suggested for the words ista and tegi. For ista M. Haupt suggests ipse; E.J. Kenney, following C.D. Ilgen, replaces ista with ossa. R. Ellis proposes to substitute olla or urna for ista: "or would you wish to be an urn (of ashes) covered with a garlanded tombstone?" (see AJPh 8 [1887] 407). J. Scaliger and C. Wernsdorf, accepting that ista refers to serta (Copa 35), substitute legi for tegi: "wouldst have them culled at the crowning of thy tomb?" And finally, F. Leo proposes that teri replace tegi: "ego dubito num poeta ante v. 38 mortem ipsi quem invitat instantem innuat." All these emendations are unnecessary, however, since ista and tegi are the readings of the best MSS (M S F L), and further, because good sense can be made of them.

The interpretation for line 36 suggested by Drabkin (102) is reasonable. It appears likely that here the poet has in mind the various burial customs that relate to flowers: it is further quite possible that he has intentionally created the intricacy that results from interpreting the line "or do you wish these garlands to be covered by a wreathed tombstone?" where ista refers to serta in line 35. The thought in mind is that the flowers and garlands that have decked the bier have gone into the grave with the coffin;

these flowers, now buried, are in turn adorned by other flowers, placed on top of the grave site (coronato lapide). This interpretation places great emphasis on the garlands, and seemingly correctly so, not only because in line 35 the copa particularly stresses the foolishness of letting the flowers (that is, the joy and beauty in life) go to waste, but also because the emphasis on garlands here adds continuity to the poem, by linking this climactic section to what has gone before. The ironic contrast between the garlands previously mentioned (the corollae of line 13, the serta of line 14 and the rosea strophĩa of line 32) and those referred to here is immediately evident. (Drabkin [103] makes the additional comment that it might also be possible to find in the meaning of tegi "the idea ... that the tombstone towers over or casts its shadow over the grave upon which the flowers lie." This qualification is not really necessary, however, since the idea that the flowers strewn over the coffin are later buried with it is not a particularly unusual one.) We may note that A. Salvatore is also in favour of interpreting ista as a reference to serta: " nam cum lapis sepulchralis tum etiam lectus funebris floribus et coronis obtegebatur, quas deinde in sepulchrum coniciebant vel comburebant."

Another possible interpretation, although it is one that puts a strain on grammatical construction, has been suggested by F. Bücheler ("Coniectanea," RhM 45 [1890] 324). He takes ista to be an accusative with coronato, and compares the construction with one used by Vergil, Aeneid 2.510-511: inutile ferrum/ cingitur. Thus, he interprets, an vis tegi lapide coronato ista, that is, an vis lapide tegi eumque lapidem coronari istis sertis. It is possible to find various examples of this Greek-style construction, that is, the passive used semi-reflexively with an accusative; note, for example, in

addition to the passage cited by Bücheler, Vergil, Aeneid 7.640: loricam induitur, Eclogue 3.106: flores inscripti nomina regum, Horace, Satires 1.6.74: laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto. In Copa 36, however, the use of corono with ista is not actually semi-reflexive (the stone does not crown itself with garlands) and, in any case, the construction is awkward with a demonstrative. Further, the word order of the line as we have it does not lend itself particularly easily to Bücheler's interpretation.

An interpretation that has found little favour with critics is that of F. Vollmer ("Coniectanea," RhM 55 [1900] 527). He believes that line 36 ought to contain a more "dramatic" statement than that which results from translating ista as "garlands," since it is the hostess' last appeal to the traveller. Thus he states "copa cum versum 36 pronuntiat, nudat papillas et monstrat nimis cunctabundo ista, qualia nolit ille lapide tegi licet coronato ... nec sine ludo posuit poeta verba ea quae legimus, nam coronato sane vult puella sua membra tegi et premi, at non lapide, sed conviva amatore." Drabkin objects (103) that this interpretation gives a meaning to ista that is dependent upon a gesture on the part of the hostess, and that, thus, the meaning Vollmer wishes to assign to ista is an impossible one for the reader to determine. The poet could not reasonably expect the reader to divine such a meaning, when no other indication of it exists at this point. If Vollmer's interpretation is indeed the intended meaning, the poet might perhaps have expressed it more directly. At this point in the poem the hostess, philosophizing, is presenting her strongest arguments in order to persuade the man to stop wasting his life. The plane of her argument is now philosophical and not personal, and it might be argued that she would hardly be likely to break this mood by suddenly baring her breasts. Indeed, if she did so, her action

would be not so much dramatic as comic. We might wonder if it is likely that the man would totally ignore the hostess' gesture, and call, instead, for wine and dice. Further, should we suppose that the hostess, having made the gesture, would continue with her philosophical appeal? We might perhaps also object that such an interpretation destroys the close connection that otherwise exists between lines 35 and 36, as it does the progression of thought which moves from the personal to the philosophical. Nevertheless, if Vollmer's interpretation were correct, it would certainly create a humorous scene.

The suggestion of H.B. Fairclough, who translates the line "wouldst have those limbs covered with a crowned tombstone?", should be rejected because it too calls for the hostess to indicate the meaning by the movement of her hands. C. Morelli's suggestion that ista refers to all the tavern pleasures mentioned previously, music, wine, fruit, flowers, is a possible one. It too, however, destroys the close connection between 35 and 36 that results from having ista refer to serta, and, strictly speaking, it does not make quite so much sense to ask "do you wish to see those pleasures covered over by a wreathed tombstone?"

It adds to the dramatic quality of the poem to attribute (as does Vollmer) the words spoken in Copa 37 (pone merum et talos, pereat qui crastina curat) to the guest who has entered the taberna. Persuaded by the hostess' compelling invitation, and struck by her warning (lines 35-36), the guest opts for pleasurable self-indulgence. He wishes to have some fun at a game of dice, pone talos! This is not a sign of any particular degeneracy; dice games were very popular among the Romans, and provided a pleasing pastime. (See Cicero, De Senectute 16.58, Suetonius, Augustus 71.) Tabernae often serve as locations for such games. In Pompeii, for instance, is a tavern known as the

taberna lusoria Aleariorum (see Kleberg 118 for the location of this taberna).

Two pictures taken from the wall of an establishment in Pompeii known as the tavern of Salvius show customers playing dice, then arguing, and finally being thrown out by the tavern keeper. See Kleberg 162, figures 19-20. See also his figure 15 (159) for a picture of dice players, taken from another taberna in Pompeii.

Lines 35-38 of the Copa could be easily detached from the poem to create a self-contained epigram, written in a lightly philosophical vein. They express a well-known concept, "enjoy life to the full, for Death approaches quickly," a theme which the poet possibly adapted from some epigrammatic source (certain of the epigrams of Leonidas of Tarentum, for example, contain this theme; see AP 7.452, for instance). It is also possible that the poet may have been influenced by certain lines from the Anacreontea; many selections express the "carpe diem" philosophy. Note, for example, 8.5-15:

ἔμοι μέλει μύροισιν
καταβρέχειν ὑπὴνην,
ἔμοι μέλει ῥόδοισιν
καταστέφειν κάρηνα·
τὸ σημερὸν μέλει μοι,
τὸ δ' αὖριον τίς οἶδεν;
ὥς οὖν ἔτ' εὐδία 'στιν,
καὶ πῖνε καὶ κύβευε
καὶ σπένδε τῷ Λυαίῳ,
μὴ νοῦσος, ἣν τις ἔλθῃ
λέγῃ σε μηδὲ πίνειν.

See also 32.11-18, and 45.

The theme presented in Copa 35-38 is a popular one; it is treated

in several epigrams (of a later date than the Copa) contained in the Greek Anthology. We have mentioned, for example, the epigram by Palladas of Alexandria (AP 5.72; see above, Chapter 2,23). Another epigram by the same writer (AP 10.81) is quite similar:

ὦ τῆς βραχείας ἡδονῆς τῆς τοῦ βίου·
τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ χρόνου πενθήσατε.
ἡμεῖς καθεζόμεσθα καὶ κοιμώμεθα,
μοχθοῦντες ἢ τρυφῶντες· ὁ δὲ χρόνος τρέχει,
τρέχει καθ' ἡμῶν τῶν ταλαιπώρων βροτῶν,
φέρων ἐκάστου τῷ βίῳ καταστροφὴν.

(See also AP 11.62, a third epigram by Palladas on the same theme.) An epigram by Strato (AP 11.19) is also of interest, for its treatment of the theme is rather similar to that of the Copa:

Καὶ πίε νῦν καὶ ἔρα, Δαμόκρατες· οὐ γὰρ ἐς αἰεὶ
πιόμεθ', οὐδ' αἰεὶ παισὶ δυνεσσόμεθα.
καὶ στεφάνοις κεφαλᾷς πυκασώμεθα, καὶ μυρίσωμεν
αὐτούς, πρὶν τύμβοις ταῦτα φέρειν ἑτέρους.
νῦν ἐν ἑμοὶ πιέτω μέθυ τὸ πλεόν ὅστέα τὰμά.
νεκρὰ δὲ Δευκαλίων αὐτὰ κατακλυσάτω.

In addition to these examples, the theme appears often elsewhere; see, for instance, AP 11.8, Euripides, Alcestis 782-790, Seneca, De Brevitate Vitae 8.5, 9.1, Horace, Odes 1.4.9-20, 1.11.6-8, 2.3.13-16.

APPENDIX I

A Note on Epicureanism

Epicurean philosophy maintains that the chief goal of man ought to be to obtain ἀταραξία for the mind, and thence ἀπονία for the body. This man might accomplish if he is able to understand the true nature of the gods and of death, and if he is able to comprehend the meaning of pleasure and pain. The gods, Epicurus teaches, enjoy ἀταραξία and do not attempt to interfere with that of others; hence, they are not to be feared. Death is also without terror, since it is simply the dissolution of the atoms of the body, a process which brings loss of sensation. Perfect pleasure exists if pain has been completely eliminated; once this state is achieved, no additional pleasures can increase man's happiness. Pleasure is an instinct innate in man, but he ought not to pursue it to excess and without restraint; in order to live pleasantly, man must also live prudently, honourably and justly. All pleasures in themselves are good, and yet man must act with moderation and reason, avoiding those pleasures which may result in pain, or those which are achieved only through painful action. Simplicity aids man to create a healthy body and a peaceful mind; a simple diet is preferable to a rich one: οἷ τε λιτοὶ χυλοὶ ἴσην πολυτελεῖ διαίτη τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐπιφέρουσιν, ὅταν ἅπαν τὸ ἀλγοῦν κατ' ἔνδειαν ἐξαιρεθῇ· καὶ μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ τὴν ἀκροτάτην ἀποδίδωσιν ἡδονήν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνδέων τις αὐτὰ προσενέγκηται. τὸ συνεθίζειν οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἀπλαῖς καὶ οὐ πολυτελέσι διαίταις καὶ ὑγιείας ἐστὶ συμπληρωτικὸν ...

(Epicurus, Epistula ad

Menoecium, 131). Pleasure is found not through indulgence of the senses, but through logic and reasoning: "Ὅταν οὖν λέγωμεν ἡδονὴν τέλος

ὑπάρχειν, οὐ τὰς τῶν ἀσώτων ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀπολαύσει κειμένας λέγομεν, ὥς τινες ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες ἢ κακῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα μήτε ταραττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχὴν· οὐ γὰρ πότοι καὶ κῶμοι συνείροντες οὐδ' ἀπολαύσεις παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἰχθύων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα φέρει πολυτελεῆς τράπεζα, τὸν ἡδὺν γεννᾷ βίον, ἀλλὰ νήφων λογισμός ...

(Epicurus, Epistula ad Menoeceum, 132). We note here Epicurus' awareness that his notion of pleasure may perhaps be misinterpreted, and that men are likely incorrectly to suppose that he, by advocating the pursuit of pleasure, is sanctioning the gratification of sensual desires in the excess.

It is this supposed ambiguity in the Epicurean concept of pleasure to which Cicero objects (note De Finibus 2. 4-15). He criticizes Epicurus for using the word ἡδονή to describe pleasure (which Epicurus sees as the simple absence of pain, a static state of being), since the word (which is translated in Latin as voluptas) ordinarily indicates to most men an enjoyable sensation caused by the agreeable stimulation of the senses, a kinetic, or active state of being. He criticizes Epicurus for speaking in abstruse terms, and for ignoring accepted terminology (see De Finibus 2.15-16).

Cicero claims that since Epicurus actually recognizes the two sorts of pleasure, the kinetic and the static, he should not call them by the same name (ἡδονή): he should either confine the term "pleasure" to the state of painlessness, or else he should confine it to kinetic pleasure, the type of pleasure advocated by Aristippus (the founder of the School of Cyrene, who

believes, as does Epicurus, that pleasure is the only good, but holds, further, the hedonistic attitude that logically man should pursue each pleasure as it is presented, and enjoy it to the full): Quam si explicavisset, non tam haesitaret; aut enim eam voluptatem tueretur quam Aristippus, id est qua sensus dulciter ac iucunde movetur, quam etiam pecudes si loqui possent appellarent voluptatem; aut, ...hoc non dolere solum voluptatis nomine appellaret, illud Aristippeum contemneret; aut, si utrumque probaret, ut probat, coniungeret doloris vacuitatem cum voluptate et duobus ultimis uteretur. (de Finibus 2.18; note also De Finibus 2.35-36).

Cicero understands the Epicurean idea of pleasure well, and yet he stubbornly insists that it is ambiguous; he does not believe that the state of painlessness is in fact pleasure, but thinks, rather, that it is a neutral state in between pain and pleasure. He further questions Epicurus' belief that reason and moderation can be applied to the pursuit of pleasure: Unum nescio, quomodo possit, si luxuriosus sit, finitas cupiditates habere (De Finibus 2.22). Thus, since he disagrees with Epicurus' philosophy, he tends to over-emphasize the role of kinetic pleasure in Epicurean doctrine, while he disputes and dismisses the role of the more important, static, perfect pleasure which is absence of pain.

APPENDIX II

The etymology of vitrum

The derivation of vitrum, "glass," is uncertain; a detailed survey of the various arguments related to the problem has been compiled by Mary L. Trowbridge, "Philological Studies in Ancient Glass," U. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 13 (1930) 59-62. Here we will look briefly at a few of the more intriguing suggestions.

In Origines 16.16 Isidorus states that the material was called vitrum because of its transparency to the sight: vitrum dictum quod visui perspicuitate transluceat ... in vitro vero quilibet liquor vel species qualis est interius talis exterius declaratur, et quodammodo clausus patet. Vitrum, thus, was thought by Isidorus to be derived from videre, "to see." Certain etymologists followed this idea, and added that the word doubtless came originally through *viditum, and *viditrum. Valpy, for example (An Etymological Dictionary of the Latin Language [1828] 514) wrote: "Al. from video, viditum, whence viditrum (as Aratum, Aratrum; Rutum, Rutrum) then vitrum. As being seen through or transparent." Later scholars accepted videre as the source of vitrum, but suggested that the word was formed by adding the suffix of agency, "trum," to the verb root "vid" (see Regnaud, "Éléments de Gram. Comp. du Grec. et Lat. 2 [1896] 267). The "d" of the root was dropped, forming, rather than vidtrum, the word vitrum, which was defined as something transparent, that enabled one to look through. Such was the explanation of F.B. Bopp (Vergleichende Grammatik 3, [1861] 197): "Vitrum Glas, gleichsam Werkzeug des Sehens, oder sehen Machendes, hat das d der Wurzel verloren. Man sollte vis-trum erwarten, nach Analogie von rastrum, rostrum, claustrum, castrum." This derivation has been rejected by Morin-Jean, Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 934, and by A. Walde,

Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (1965) 805, who suggests instead that vitrum possibly originated in the North.

Scholars have speculated on various other derivations for the word. Some have attempted to link vitrum with virere, "to be green," possibly because vitreus, an adjective derived from vitrum, is often used by ancient writers to describe something with a greenish colour. (It is frequently used to describe the sea: note, for example, Vergil, Aeneid 7.759: vitrea unda, and Horace 4.2.3: vitreo ponto. [although here the adjective may also refer to the sheen of the water].) This alternate derivation is one mentioned by Valpy, (514): "Or from vireo to be green; whence virutum, viritrum, vitrum." Connections have been conjectured between vitrum and the Greek ὕδωρ, "water" (see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 934), and between vitrum, meaning glass, and vitrum meaning "wood" (see A. Zimmermann, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der lateinischen Sprachen [1915] s.v. vitrum). A.F. Fick, Vergleichen- des Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I, ed. 3 (1874) 219, suggested a connection between vitrum and the Sanskrit vithura, which means a fragile or breakable object. See Trowbridge, 62 n. 20.

APPENDIX III

Roman Dice

There are two types of dice, the tali and the tesserae; games played with tali require the use of four, whereas games with tesserae use only three. Tesserae are cubical, and marked, as are our dice, on all six sides with figures from one to six. Tali are rather different in shape. They are rectangular, with four long sides (two broad faces and two narrow faces), and they are rounded at either end. Since it is impossible for the tali to land on either end, only the four faces are given values. Actual numbers are not engraved on the faces, but the values are easily determined because each face differs slightly from its counterpart. The broad upper face is slightly convex, and has a value of three (ternio); the other broad face is concave, and is valued at four (quaternio). One of the narrow, side faces is worth one point (unio), and the other, which is lightly hollowed out, is given a value of six (senio).

Such are the basic values assigned to the faces of the tali, but we do not know precisely what other values may be assigned to them in the various throws required by the different games in which tali are used. We do know, of course, that some throws are considered better than others. The highest throw, termed the jactus Venereus or basilicus (see Cicero, De Divinatione 1.13.23; Propertius 4.8.45-46) occurs when the four different faces turn up, the one, three, four and six (when tesserae are used, the Venus throw is three sixes); although this only gives a total of fourteen points, its occurrence is obviously so rare that it is deemed a more valuable throw, than, say, two sixes, a three and a four, a total of nineteen points. The lowest throw, known as the jactus damnosus or pessimus, the canis or vulturius, occurs when

the four faces with a value of one turn up. (See Ovid, Tristia 2.472ff; Propertius 4.8.45-46) Before each throw onto the gaming board the tali are placed in a tower-shaped box (the fritillus, turris or turricula) and shaken. (See Martial 14.1.3; Juvenal 14.5). One type of game played with tali is known as πλειστοβολίνδα, where, in order to win, a player has to obtain the highest total in points (see Pollux, Onomasticon 9.117). It appears that dice games are generally played for stakes; a sum of money is placed in the centre of the gaming area and added to after each throw by the players who obtain the lowest scores. (See, for example, Suetonius, Augustus, 71.) The stakes are not always money; players often gamble for jewels, articles of clothing and the like (see Plautus, Curculio, 354ff).

Tali are made usually from the bones of small animals; other materials are sometimes used, however, such as clay, ivory (see Propertius 2.24.13; Martial 14.14), mother-of-pearl, bronze, lead, or even precious stones. Numerous examples of tali are preserved today; for these see Dictionnaire des Antiquités, Tome 5, 30-31; also figures 6738-6742.

We may note here also that tali are often used at banquets to determine who is to be "master of the feast" (the συμποσίαρχος, rex mensae, arbiter bibendi); this honour is given to the man who makes the Venus throw. See Horace, Odes 1.4.18; 2.7.25-26; Tacitus, Annals 13.15.

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