

Intertextuality, language experimentation and *ludus* in Laevius' *Erotopaegnia**

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Laevius¹ (also often cited under the name Melissus, thus revealing a Greek origin²) was probably the first lyric love poet of Rome³, and possibly also a grammarian⁴. From internal and external evidence, we can date the peak of his activity around 90 BC⁵. The chief characteristic of his poetry, full of *elegantia*, is bizarre novelty, which appears both in metre and diction, and a variety of stylistic devices throughout all the 34 fragments that have survived from the six books he wrote⁶. This language experimentation, the vocabulary enrichment with precious lexical oddities⁷ and eccentricities and the striking neologisms (a combination of sounds, frequent use of onomatopoeia, intensive use of words having a rare or a strange sound) originate from the Alexandrine tradition of artificial literature, a literature which was erudite and

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¹ The most ample study of his work is still today the one by Ville de Mirmont (1903: 220-345) who literally reinvented the forgotten poet. It is actually a reprise of his earlier article (1900: 204-224; 304-328; 1901: 11-40). The most important article analysing each and every word and metre used by the poet, was written by Traglia (1957: 82-108). An old but useful introduction is the one by Leo, 1914: 161-185; 180-8 = 1960: 268-275; cf. Id. 1958: 499-532.

² This identification is weak; see Lammert 1927: 251-3; McBrown 1980: 213, for arguments *contra*.

³ Schmidt 2005: 171.

⁴ For the problems concerning the name, identity and origin of Laevius, see Courtney 1993: 118. He is sometimes confused with Livius, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Laevinus, Novius or Laelius, but his identity is nowadays seldom in doubt.

⁵ As Courtney points out (1993: 118) he is referring to a Varro (fr. 3), whom it is reasonable to identify with the famous Varro, to the Lex Licinia (23), which is useless for dating, and to the legend of the Phoenix (22), which was introduced to Rome in 97 BC (see n. 182). Moreover, Porph. *Hor. Carm.* 3.1.2-3 (a comment on Horace's *carmina non prius | audita*) states *quamuis Laevius lyrica ante Horatium scripserit, sed uidentur illa non Graecorum lege ad lyricum characterem exacta*, claiming that he was the only one before Horace to have written lyric compositions; see Kroll (1925: 452-3) and Leo (1914: 180) who proved that verse technique, style, metre and contemporary references predate Catullus. Additionally, see McBrown (1980: 213) who argues that Laevius must have lived at the time of the introduction of the sumptuary law and cites new evidence that the Lex Licinia should be dated somewhere between 142 and 134 BC, a theory suggested by Sauerwein (1970: 94), Holford-Strevens (1971: 278) and Crawford (1974: 2. 624-5). Others such as Pignatelli (1999: 251) place it around 107 BC. Suet. *Gramm.* 3.5 writes that he was a contemporary of Lutatius Daphnis, the savant liberated slave of Q. Lutatius Catulus, who died in 87 BC. Therefore, his work must have appeared between 100 and 75 BC; see also Wheeler 1934: 74. For a full account of testimonies concerning the poet, see Traglia (1962: 46-57) and Granarolo 1971: 316-8. Tempesti (1988: 7-25) offers a double datation: the last decade of the 2nd Century BC for the Lex Licinia and between 140 and 130 BC for the birth of Laevius.

⁶ Nonius cites a fragment from the second book, Priscian from the third, fourth and fifth, while Charisius cites one from the sixth (and last?) book.

⁷ See Conte-Sokolow 1994: 139.

exquisite, extravagant even, which brought the “nouvelle vague” of *Poeti Novi* into Roman poetry. Laevius was a pre-neotericus⁸, who had some obvious influence on Catullus⁹ and the rest of the neoteric poets¹⁰. There are also similarities¹¹ with Sueius¹² and especially Matius¹³, two more preneoteric poets, underlining the hypothesis that renovation, language alterations, adaptations according to the rhythm, and brake with tradition was a general phenomenon of the era.

In this context, Laevius manages to surprise the potential reader of his poems, emphasising not only on his artificial and carefully chosen words (perhaps a kind of exhibitionism or eccentricity) but also legendary curiosities and lesser known aspects of the myths he deals with. He was the “déroutant” of Latin Literature¹⁴. That is why he was almost ignored by his contemporaries and rediscovered by Aulus Gellius and Fronton in the 2nd Century AD, treated as an old poet, whose poetic skills and lexical rarities could be at last appreciated not as cold literary constructions but as inspired love poems in a parodical tone¹⁵.

He followed the model of Simias, and also that of Philitas, Aratus, Mnaseas and the cynics Crates and Monimos, who all wrote *Παίγνια*¹⁶ that is collections of light poetry, which started as a genre of rapidly written verses, almost improvisations, with an informal, personal and satirical content (something like the occasional poetry of the Silver Age) and later on developed mostly erotic myths, presenting them in a variation of meters¹⁷ and tones, from the most serious to the most comic ones.

⁸ See Granarolo (1971: 122-8) and its review by Joselyn (1973: 200-4), who also wrote (1967) a useful book, since Ennius influenced Laevius a lot.

⁹ For the receptions of Latin poets on Catullus, see Mirmont 1903: passim; Leo 1914: 161-2; Wheeler 1934: 76; Avallone 1944: passim; Bardon 1957: 625-6. For the specific influence of the Laevian diminutives on Catullus, see Ronconi 1953: 115-6. Ross (1969: 156) argues that similarities between the two poets are circumstantial.

¹⁰ Hinds (1998: 80) considers him as part of the cultural matrix of neotericism-even if the neoterics themselves did not always do so.

¹¹ See Bardon 1957: 189.

¹² He uses archaic types like *tetulere* = *tulit* (fr. 1, 5), the hapax *reventus* = *reditus* (Ibid.), another hapax, *morsicatim* (2), the plautine adverb *assulatim* (4, 2) formed in the same way. Moreover, he uses the frequentative *lusitant* in his *Pulli* (2), which reminds us of *risitantes* (14, 2), the diminutive *labellis* in a fragment (2 *sic incedunt et labellis morsicatim lusitant*) similar to Matius 12 in terms of technique (*sinuque amicam refice frigidam caldo / columbatim labra conserens labris*).

¹³ F. ex Matius' hapax *recentatur* (fr. 9, 1), the rarity *albicasit* = *albescit* (Ibid.), the diminutive *columbatim* = *columbatim* (12, 2), *diffuus* instead of *diffuens* (15), *silentum* instead of *silens* (8 *an maneat specii simulacrum in morte silentum*, a translation with alliterations of Hom. Il. 23.103, drawing comparisons and seeking similarities with Laevius' *silenta loca*), *educare* meaning *dulcem reddere* (10, 1), the hapax *holero* (16), the expression *nuper die quarto* = *nudius quartus* (11, 1). Moreover, there are grammatical particularities in Matius' fragments: the genitives *acii* and *specii* (7 and 8) or the use of *acrum* = *acrem* (5). For all these observations, see Traglia 1957: 85-6. Together with Matius, Laevius was the introducer of the choliambus in Rome, opening the way to Catullus.

¹⁴ Granarolo 1971: 163-171.

¹⁵ He is absent from the catalogues of poets made by Quintilian, Martial in his *praefatio* in prose (a classic exemplum of *lasciua uerborum ueritas*) and Pliny *Epist.* 5.3.5 on the writers of light poems; see Magno's observations (1982: 64).

¹⁶ Cf. *παίγνια* applied to the poems of Philetas by Stob. 2.4.5, and to the *Idylls* of Theocritus by Ael., NA 15.19; see also *Anth. Pal.* 6.322.

¹⁷ See Conte-Sokolow (1994: 139) who describe it as “whimsical use of the most disparate meters”.

It is not certain whether he was influenced by Parthenius¹⁸, whose *Erotica Pathemata* is a collection of 36 epitomes of bizarre mythological love stories of unnatural and unhappy love, all of which have tragic or sentimental endings. Some of them, in turn, are taken from Euphorion, who wrote amatory elegies. Laevius appears as the inventor of a new sub-genre, *Erotopaegnia* (< *erotos paignion*), "love play" or "diversion of love". He wrote "light and often licentious skits («scherzi d'amore»"¹⁹) on the heroic myths"²⁰, based on Greco-Roman amorous or lascivious poetry²¹. Most of his poems consisted of mythical legends recounted in an Alexandrian-Hellenistic sentimental-erotic style. His "érotisme de boudoir" marks the transformation of the epic and tragic heroes through Alexandrine influence but –at the same time– maintains the profound meaning of the tradition²².

Additionally, there is a general Hellenistic tinge to his overall ludic and –at the same time– tender tone, his titles, and to the literary strategies within his self-reflexive (?) poetry. His readers could have been young people, full of erotic passion and energy²³ or even old grammarians, seeking for compensation for their long-lost sexual potency. Some titles survive but for some older scholars it was doubtful whether they all belong to *Erotopaegnia* and even if this was the original title of the work, or if it was *Polymetri* or *Polymetra*²⁴. Nowadays it is widely accepted that Laevius wrote a single work called *Erotopaegnia*, whose fragments display a diversity in their nature and composition²⁵: 8 erotic-mythological *paegnia* attested (and more of unknown title), letters or *grammatidia* (fr. 3, 28, maybe also 1), polemic *prooemia* (fr. 7, 13), *technopaegnia* (fr. 22: *Carmen figuratum*, 30: metrical play).

¹⁸ He introduced *epyllion* into Rome and influenced Cinna, whose *Zmyrna* is of the Parthenian type, Gallus and the *cantores Euphorionis*; see Crowther (1980: 181-3) who suggests that Laevius and Cicero, who also treated some mythological stories of the same kind (*Alcyones* and *Pontius Glaucus*) maybe preceded both Parthenius and Cinna and certainly Catullus. Unfortunately it is impossible to date Laevius with any certainty.

¹⁹ This is the definition given by Magno 1982: 59: *Erotopaegnia* is an autonomous genre, not to be combined with satire, drama or lyric poetry. It is not a hybrid blend of genres. Magno also searches similarities with *satura* (for its polymetry), parody or popular poetry (cf. *Batrachomyomachia*, *Margites*, Anacreon, *Carmina convivialis*), lascivious spectacles (*Flyax*, *Fabula Atellana*), hilarotragedy of South Italy, even *Fabula Palliata*, searching through Laevius' works for humour and caricature. He thinks (62) that his works were destined for reading, without excluding a possible scenic adaptation. Leo *ap.* La Penna (1979: 6) uses the modern term *Singspiel* (= music comedy in part sang, in part acted).

²⁰ This is the description given by Chisholm 1911: s. v. "Laevius", reused in the Wikipedia.

²¹ His playful erotic verses belong to the mockery of the aristocracy against ostentatious luxury by individuals due to the fruitless reduplication and deficient enforcement of the era, according to Gruen 1992: 305.

²² This is an opinion expressed by Bardon 1952: 189-195.

²³ Perhaps there are similarities with the medieval *Carmina Burana Amatoria*, as far as the lascivious tone is concerned, but the limited number of Laevius' surviving verses allows only supposition.

²⁴ Prisc. *Inst.* 6 (GLK 2.1.258): *Versi pro versus; Laevius in Polymetris*. For more details on this subject, see. Mirmont (1903: 250-4) who accepts the existence of a double title and Magno (1982: 62-3) who summarizes previous theories (subtitle or independent work or a school manual for the apprenticeship of difficult meters; for this peculiar hypothesis see Bücheler 1886: 11).

²⁵ See Granarolo 1971: 385-403 and 1973a: 581-6.

As for the variation of meters, it is the expression of what was the transition point between two eras of Latin Literature²⁶. Some scholars see influences from comedy's *cantica* and *diverbia*²⁷ or from the tragic Euripidean monodies²⁸ or even think that the *Erotopaegnia* were "libretti", that is lyrics written to be set to music²⁹. A vivid discussion (originating mainly from Italian scholars) concerns the possibility that one or more of his plays was presented on stage involving "mimes, récitants, 'meneurs de jeu' et figurants."³⁰

The seven titles that have survived reproduce themes of Greek tragedy, namely from Euripides and his Alexandrian followers. This is the reason why Laevius was once even considered as tragic poet³¹, due to him being confused with Livius Andronicus. He might have produced a series of sketches and playlets illustrating in a simplified way the most interesting episodes of each myth, knowing also that, from the Alexandrine period, the pantomime had already incorporated mythological parodies³².

His poems consciously imitate, subvert, and criticize (in a form of literary polemic) established literary tradition from the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods³³, following the usual *imitatio* and *aemulatio* procedure, with clear receptions from various poets, especially Anacreon, whose versification he imitates³⁴, and Euripides,

²⁶ Traglia 1962: 6.

²⁷ Della Corte 1934-5: 379.

²⁸ Alfonsi 1945: 20.

²⁹ Pighi 1974: 68.

³⁰ Granarolo (1971: 62, n. 2; 190-206; 1973a: 571-6; 1973b: 2.288) where he expresses his belief that they were both sung and represented as mimes. Pighi (1960a, 12; 1960b, 271), tries also to find out whether his poems were or not sung.

³¹ This is an obvious mistake, made by Menozzi (1895: 182-197) reassuming –in a more critical way– previous theories expressed by Weichert 1830: 44. If this was true, he would be mentioned not as *lyricus* (Gell. *NA*. 19.9.7; Porph. *Hor. Carm.* 3.1.3) but as *tragicus*. Moreover, the pieces that have survived have neither the tone nor the metre of a tragedy; see Mirmont 1903: 251. For the same theme, see Galdi (1925: 160) who denies any relationship with tragedy. Leo (1914: 180-1) first observed that his metres are closer to those of Roman theatre than to those of the neoteric poets.

³² Granarolo (1971: 209-212); cf. Joselyn (1973: 202) who adds that there is evidence of representations during public festivals of various poems of Catullus and Calvus (*Hor. Sat.* 1.10.19) and Virgil's *Eclogae* (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 26; Schol. Dan. *Ecl.* 6.11), a practice that could be applied to any kind of poem; cf. Ath. 14.12). He adds that the hypothesis that the *Erotopaegnia* were a kind of a music spectacle is interesting but unacceptable, even though some fragments (4, 18, 20) have a dialogic form. Granarolo (1973b: 584) defending himself, explained that Laevius did not write tragedies, not even pseudotragedies, but creations of erotic-dramatic lyric poetry, hopefully accompanied by music on stage. Traglia (1957: 82) characterises him as half lyric, half dramatic, "mezzo lirico e mezzo drammatico".

³³ The phrase is taken from Pappas (2012: abstract), available . at http://apaclassics.org/images/uploads/documents/abstracts/Pappas_1.pdf.

³⁴ He uses anacreontics (5, 14, 22, 26, 28), being thus a role model for Horace who did the same, and iambic diameters with synapheia (1, 4, 6, 15, 18, 21, 23, 27; like Anacreon in fr. 82-3 = 427-8 PMG), trochaics (12, with synapheia and 19; cf. Anac. 72-3, perhaps also 98). He also uses anapaestic dimeter (3, 7, 8, 17?, 33?), which had already been imported into Roman drama, dactyls without synapheia (11, 20) and maybe trochaic septenarii (13, 21), a hypothesis rejected by Courtney 1993: 119. He even changed metres within poems, such as *Alcestis*, *Ino* (?), *Protesilaudamia*, *Sirenocirca*. As Courtney (120) points out: "he greatly extended the range of metrical possibilities, but his innovations in this respect were not taken up by his successors, who were more interested in metrical refinements in

on whom he probably drew for some of his poems' heroines (namely Alcestis, Ino, and Laodamia). In his turn, he influences Varro in his *Menippean Satires*³⁵, and later poets of the second century AD, who liked metrical experimentations. Laevius occasionally reused the form of *technopaegnia*, though he avoided their usual themes. He was probably imitated in Latin Poetry by Ausonius, Iulius Vestinus and Optatianus Porphyrius³⁶.

Later on, his work inspired the Greek poet Musaeus (491-527 AD), who wrote *Erotopaegnon Herus et Leandri* in both a Greek and a Latin version and also the love poem Alphaeus and Arethusa, the Neo-Latin poet Hieronymus Angerianus Gerolamo or Girolamo Angeriano, who also wrote an epigram collection, called *Erotopaegnon* (1512), Sepinus, creator of *Erotopaegnon libri III ad Apollinem* (1553), and Francois Joseph Michel Noel in his *Erotopaegnon, Sive Priapeia: Veterum et Recentiorum* (1798), a collection of erotic poetry by various poets.

Laevius, *Erotopaegnia*³⁷
[Liber II]

1. Non. 121 M = 175 L.

Numquod meum admissum nocens
hostit uoluntatem tuam?

Nunc quod *anon. ap. Bentinum*: hunc quod *codd.*: numquod *Müller & Baehrens*

selected metres; we can see him as a forerunner only in the hendecasyllables of 32, the scazon of 25 (already probably used by Matus in immediate derivation from Herodas), and to some extent in anacreontics".

³⁵ See Traglia (1957: passim) who demonstrates Laevius' incorporated receptions from Ennius and Plautus, two poets equally famous for their vocabulary creation and also the similarities of his work with Varro's *Menippean Satires*.

³⁶ The truth is that it is difficult to prove Laevius' influence on them. We know only one figure poem of Laevius, which actually does seem to echo the theme of Simias' *Wings* (cf. Simias' Eros vs. Laevius' Venus). Moreover, Ausonius did not compose *carmina figurata* (he wrote a series of poems to which he gave the title *Technopaegnon*, but none of these are visual poems, and this is in fact the first time when the term *technopaegnon* is used), Iulius Vestinus (if this name is rightly conjectured for *Besantinos* of the MSS) is an author of the *Altar*, modelled on an earlier Greek *Altar*, and Optatian Porphyry authored three figure poems (*Panpipe*, *Altar* and *Organ*), which, again, are modelled on their Greek counterparts. Maybe there is only a remote intertextual reminiscence from Laevius in them.

³⁷ For the text we consulted Morel's edition (1927; reprint 1963), ameliorated by Büchner (1982) and Blänsdorf (1995) which is the most accepted by the majority of scholars, but also Courtney's edition (1993) and numeration, as we used more or less his commentary and analysis. For French translations of the fragments, see Granarolo 1973b: passim. A brand new edition has recently been released by Blänsdorf (2011), resuming previous scholarship and proposing new numeration: fr. 1-5 are the same, there then follows 6 (23 Morel-Büchner, Traglia, Courtney), 7 (24), 8 (22), 9 (6), 10 (7 B, T, p. 123 C), 11 (8), 12 (7 and 9 B, 7 T, 9 C), 13 (10), 14 (11), 15 (12), 16 (13), 17 (14), 18 (15), 19 (16), 20 (17), 21 (18), 22 (19), 23 (20), 24 (21), and similarly 25-9, 30 (31 Baehrens, 30 M-B, T, C), 31 (32 Ba, M, 31 B, T, 32 C), 32 (p. 327, 2 Ba, 32 B, T, 12a C), 33 (33 M-B, 34 T, 33 C), 34 (31 M, 34 B, 33 T, 31 C). See his valuable *apparatus criticus* but also our bibliography for books and articles containing various conjectures and observations.

Mercerus attributed the first fragment (in iambic dimeters) to Laevius rather than to Pacuvius. It is a lovers' quarrel, caused probably by the infidelity of one of them. *Admissum* started as an adjective, but has here the meaning of the noun *admissum-i* = *pravum facinus*. It appears here for the first time, but it reappears several times both in poetry and prose. Together with *nocens*, it might be an exaggerated expression that underlines the already implicit concept of *admissum*³⁸. The poet redefines the sense of the verb *hostio*, which elsewhere (mainly in tragedy³⁹) means "to match" or "to sacrifice" (cf. *hostia*), giving to it the meaning *laedo* or *offendo* "hurt", "damage"⁴⁰.

[Liber III]

2. Prisc. 1.484 (GLK 2.484).

<Stamen> nocte dieque decretum et auctum

<mare> nocte *Pighi*

The theme is probably the web of Penelope growing by day and shrinking by night⁴¹; that is why Granarolo⁴², gives it -with some reservation- the title "Penelope". The metre is uncertain (epodicum, with a dactylic line followed by an iambic one, according to Leo; Priapean with a dieresis for Courtney). Laevius uses passive participles with active meaning; moreover *decretus* is never used again with this meaning. We observe the abundance of nasal consonants.

[Liber IV]

3. Prisc. 1.560 (GLK 2.560).

Meminens Varro corde uolutat.

Varro] Varo *Becker* (?) *ap. Müller: vario Baehrens*

Laevius uses an anapaestic dimeter in order to refer to his contemporaneous M. Terentius Varro Reatinus⁴³ (and not the poet P. Terentius Varro Atacinus), whose *Menippean Satires* have much in common with Laevius. The conjecture *varo* means an "imbecile" or a "rude person". The innovation⁴⁴ lies in the fact that verbs such as *memini* have no participles⁴⁵, so here *meminens* = *memini*⁴⁶. The model is the Greek *μνημένος*, and this particular word reappears in Late Latin. *Corde uolutat* has the

³⁸ See Traglia 1957: 98.

³⁹ Enn. *Scen.* 178; Pacuv. *TRF*, p. 139.

⁴⁰ Cf. Iodice di Martino 1981: 65; Fay 1907: 28.

⁴¹ Cf. Hom. *Od.* 2.104; Ov. *Her.* 1.9-10.

⁴² Granarolo 1971 ad. loc., following Mirmont.

⁴³ Cf. Norden (1925: 35-46; 320, 39, n. 2 = 1966: 17) for the identification.

⁴⁴ Traglia (1957: 83-4) does not accept that it is an innovation by Laevius, rather than a loan from Plautus; cf. Serv., *GLK.* 4. 441. 3.

⁴⁵ Cf. *GKL* v. 655 add. With a reference to this verse, finding it obscure: *quamvis lectum sit meminens, sed apud rudem*; cf. De Nonno 1985: 241-2.

⁴⁶ Cf. Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 2.10.5; 4.12.1, where it reappears after three centuries.

aspect of a Lucilian trace⁴⁷. *Cor* is not just a synonym for *mens* or *animus*, but means "erudite mind"⁴⁸. The vocabulary, the anapaestic metre (often found in the *Menippeae Saturae*) and the reference to Varro demonstrate the satiric tone of the verse.

[Liber V]

4. Prisc. 1.536 (GLK 2.536)
te Andromacha per ludum manu
lasciuola ac tenellula
capiti meo trepidans, libens,
insolita plexi<t> munera.

1. per ludum RB: perdudum DHGLK || 4. insolito plexi munere *codd.*, *def. Lunelli*: Insolita... munera *Scaliger*: plexit brugnollus *Priscianus*, 1485.

These are iambic dimeters in which Hector addresses a head-wreath made for him by his wife, Andromache, a hypothesis first made by Havet, an imitation of Hom. *Il.* 22.468-471. The tone though is far from the epic seriousness and becomes more erotic. Apart from the alliteration of the letter -l- in the second verse, Laevius uses a double diminutive, *tenellulus*⁴⁹ (from *tenellus*, a diminutive of *tener*, "tender"). The phrase *manu tenellula* reappears in fr. 9. It is a *dis legomenon*, despite the fact that it inspired Catullus⁵⁰. Elsewhere, Catullus replaced *manciola* with *bracchiola*⁵¹. Wreaths and garlands are unknown to Homer; therefore Laevius is bringing down the heroic world into the everyday world⁵².

Another interpretation⁵³ sees in it the practice of *fellatio* and discusses whether we should keep instead of the emendation *per ludum*, the manuscripts' *perdudum*, "for very long time". The obscenity of the passage is reinforced by *lasciuola*, "lascivious" and *caput*, a metonymy for the masculine member⁵⁴. *Trepidans*, in an erotic context, depicts the movement of the hand on the penis⁵⁵. For *plexi*, cf. *complexa* (fr. 15) and similar Greek ambiguous words⁵⁶. *Munus* has the meaning of "love service" at least once⁵⁷. We would like to add to this list, offered by Pötschl, the ambiguous verb *libo*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Lucil. 1017 M *in corde uolutas*; Plaut. *Mostell.* 86-7 *in meo corde, si est quod mihi est cor, / eam rem uolutaui*; Mil. 196 *quod uolutas tute tecum in corde*; Verg. *Aen.* 4.533.

⁴⁸ See Traglia 1957: 84; cf. Fur. Bibacul., fr. 2. 7 M *cor Zenedoti*.

⁴⁹ Other similar adjectival formations are *bellulus*, *pauillulus*, *pusillulus*, *rubellulus*, *tantillulus*.

⁵⁰ Catull. 17.15 *et puella tenellulo delicatior haedo*, an obvious reception from our poet.

⁵¹ Catull. 61.181 *bracchiolum*; cf. Cichorius 1920-4: 124; cf. also Plaut. *Cas.* 108 *bellam et tenellam Casinam*. For more details see Traglia's analysis (1957: 101).

⁵² Joselyn 1973: 71; Courtney 1993: 508.

⁵³ Pötschl (1995: 61) based on Scaliger's (1574) allusions on *lascivissima poemata*. Schwind wrote also an article (1999: 83-7) in response to Pötschl which denies the existence of any erotic context.

⁵⁴ See *TLL* 3.410.66.

⁵⁵ See Pers. 1.20 *ingentis trepidare Titos*; Mart. 5.78.26-8 *nec de Gadibus improbis puellae / uibrabunt sine fine prurientes / lasciuos oculi tremore lumbos*, a passage, that shows -in our opinion- a direct relationship with that of Laevius.

⁵⁶ F. ex. *πλέκειν* (Hesych. *Pollux On.* 5.93), *συμπλέκεσθαι* (Soph., fr. 548; Pl. *Symp.* 191a; Arist. *H A* 541b3. 542a16), *σπλεκοῦν* (Ar. *Lys.* 152).

⁵⁷ Catull. 61.233-5 (in a marital context again).

It does not only mean "offer a non bloody sacrifice" but also "touch with the finger or the toe", even "suck". We can think of another ambiguous poem (Catull. 2), hidden behind a tender ambiance, where the girl's sparrow that died can easily be her boyfriend's member that cannot have an erection. Laevius transposes here the famous scene between the sensuous Paris and Helen (Hom. *Il.* 3.447-8) to the magnanimous Hector and the chaste Andromacha⁵⁸. Last but not least, a similar action is described by Lucilius where Priapus gets his semen wiped off his penis⁵⁹. The title of this poem -daring and shocking for the readers of *Iliad*- could be *Andromacha*, *Hector*, or even *Hectorandromacha*⁶⁰ or *Andromachector* (our proposition).

[Liber VI]

5. Charis. 265 B = 204 K.
lasciuitaque ludunt

An anacreontic or a catalectic iambic dimeter connected probably with the fr. 14. We observe two words starting with the same letter, of which the first one, *lasciuit*, is an adverb not found elsewhere (the normal type is *lasciue*)⁶¹.

Adonis

6. Prisc. 1.269 (GLK 2.269).
Humum humidum pedibus fodit.

humum humidum] Humi dum H: humum umidum *Traina*

It is probably an iambic dimeter (Courtney), imitated later on by the archaist tragedian Sempronius Gracchus (fr. 3 *TRF*), having as its subject the boar that killed Adonis when the dogs have made it furious⁶². Laevius makes a *figura etymologica* with *humidus* and *humus*, even though this is a false etymology⁶³. It is not clear whether *humus* here is neuter, *humum*⁶⁴ or feminine (an exception to the general rule), which was the type in Classic Latin. Parthenius (fr. 23 and 27 Martini) seems to be the inspiration for both Laevius and Cinna in his *Zmyrna* (Adonis' mother)⁶⁵.

⁵⁸ Mirmont 1903: 309.

⁵⁹ Cf. Lucil. 307 Marx = 7. 4 Charpin at *laeua lacrimas muttoni absterget amica*. We would like to thank Professor Jerzy Danielewicz who drew our attention to this passage.

⁶⁰ Mirmont 1903: 308.

⁶¹ For similar formations cf. Sueius 3; Septim. Seren. 17.

⁶² Cf. Ovid. *Met.* 10.710-1.

⁶³ Varro *Ling.* 5.24.

⁶⁴ *Humum*, as Priscianus thinks, in a neuter, considering that Laevius is an older poet; cf. Apul. *Met.* 1.13 and *CIL* 6.684.6, also providing the word in neuter gendre.

⁶⁵ The myth is found also in Bion, *Epit. Adon.* before our poet and later in Ovid. *Met.* 10.298-518; Hyg. *Fab.* 58 and Ant. Lib. *Met.* 24.

Alcestis⁶⁶

7, 8, 9.

Gell. *NA*. 19.7.2

{The fr. gives only the indication *Laevi Alcestin*}

Gell. *NA*. 19.7.3.

(3) Corpore (inquit) pectoreque undique obeso ac
Mente exsensa, tardigenulo
Senio obpressum.

Gell. *NA*. 19.7.4-16

(4) oblitteram gentem (5) foedifragos (6) pudoricolorem; nocticolorem

(7) forte / dubitanter; Silenta loca; Puluerulenta et pestilenta; Carendum tui est;
Magno impete

(8) fortescere (9) dolentiam; auens (10) Cur<is> intolerantibus; Manciolis (inquit)
tenellis; Quis tam siliceo <pectore?; Fiere (inquit) impendio inquit (11) accipitret (13)
trisaeclicisenex; dulciorelocus

(14) fluctibus (inquit) mu<l>tigrumis (15) tegmine (esse) onychino (16)
subductisupercilicarpores

(3) 1. undique om. Q | ac *del. Scaliger* || 2. mente exsensa Fy: mente extensa δ:
merito exeso *Non.*: mente exesa *Leo*: mento extenso *Lindsay* | etiam *Non.* 361 *ualde*
corrupte | tardigemulo *codd. Gellii*; tardigenulo *Müller*; tardigeniclo *Baehrens*: tardi
ingenulo (ingenio) *codd. Nonii* || 3. senior *Gellius*: senis *Non.* (om. obpressum)

(11) accipie rei... iaceret *codd.*

(16) subducti supercili (*duo uerba iungit X*) carptores ω: subductisupercilicarpores
Weichert: uituperones subducti supercili carptores *Mirmont, Baehrens*

The metre is anapaestic with synapheia, but it is not followed strictly in all the words and phrases of these fragments.

(3) depicts Pheres, starting with his physical appearance, continuing with his psychological condition and ending with a summary⁶⁷. *Corpore-pectore* makes a nice sound play and contrasts with *mente*, a common motif in Latin poetry. *Obeso*, having a passive meaning, "worn out", "thin", "weak", is found only here. Laevius has given to *obesus* (usually meaning "fat" a new meaning⁶⁸. *Ac* can appear at the end of the line⁶⁹. Some scholars⁷⁰ prefer to suppress it and create an asyndeton. *Tardigenulus* (<

⁶⁶ In general, see Pastore Polzonetti 1988: 2.59-78. In other editions, fr. 7 contains *subductisupercilicarpores*, fr. 8 is *corpore... oppresum* and the rest of words forms fr. 9, integrated in Gellius' narrative.

⁶⁷ Traglia 1957: 93.

⁶⁸ Cf. fr. 1 for a similar revival of the etymological sense.

⁶⁹ Cf. *TLL* 2.1049.56 and fr. 18.

⁷⁰ Müller, followed by Traglia 1961: 88.

tardus + *geniculum* < *genu*) is a diminutive formed after *tardigradus*⁷¹ in Pacuvius' lost *Antiopa* (fr. 3.1 Schierl = 2-8 Ribbeck) and *βαρυγούνατος*⁷². *Exsensus* in another hapax⁷³, a very corrupt reading in manuscripts. It describes the loss of mental faculties caused by old age⁷⁴. *Senium* is a word coming from Ennius⁷⁵, for which Laevius made a loan translation. The word even entered the vocabulary of classic prose.

(4) *oblitteram* = *oblit(t)errata*, "not famous"⁷⁶, a hapax. Laevius addresses here his critics.

(5) *foedifragos* is a strange compound "à la Laevius" explained by Gellius: *hostis qui foedera frangerent*. We should have expected a *foederifragos*. It has a popular nuance, and it quickly entered the spoken Latin language, while the full version appeared in classic literature and the new one was reassumed by later poets⁷⁷.

(6) *Pudoricolor* (< *pudor* + *color*) = *purpureus*/-a might refer to Aurora or her husband Tithonus, perhaps compared with Pheres⁷⁸. The couple's son is Memnon, described here as *nocticolor* (< *nox* + *color*) = *fuscus*, a compound of similar etymology to the previous one, maybe compared to the god Thanatos, whose colour was black⁷⁹. The word (a nominative or vocative) standing alone is a first peon or a choriambus.

(7) Some scholars (f. ex. Courtney) attribute *forte* = *fortasse* to Laevius (which does not mean "by chance" but "maybe"⁸⁰ and some others (Traglia) *dubitanter* = *forte* to Gellius, the confusion existing because they are synonyms. *Silenta* (< *sileo*) *loca*⁸¹ means here –in a poetic sense– the underworld, or the Avernus⁸². *Puluerulentus* = *puluereus* (< *pulus*) reappears in hexametric poetry⁸³ and once in prose⁸⁴. *Pestilentus* = *pestilens* (< *pestis*), as the previous noun, are not found elsewhere⁸⁵.

⁷¹ A translation of *βραδυπούς* or *οπισθοβάμων*, it appears in Christian writers, Ps. Orig. *Tract.* 6.46; Hier. *In Os.* 12.11.1.293; cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 506 *spissigradus*; Grilli 1974: 283.

⁷² Cf. the verb *congeluclare*, "to bend the knee" and the expression in *geniculis*, "one one's knees" found in Varro *Ling.* 9.11; cf. also Verg. *Aen.* 5.431-2 *tarda trementi / genua labant*. Traglia (1957: 96) argues that it also has a causative nuance, "that makes knees and articulations of the legs slow and contract"; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.32 *tarda podagra*. Mari (1967: 103-112) integrates this word in the general tendency for the using grecisms.

⁷³ Gregory of Tours (see Courtney 1993: 125) has *exsensis*; cf. similar types as *elinguis*, *exsanguis*, *exspes*, *edentulous*.

⁷⁴ Traglia 1957: 93.

⁷⁵ Enn. *Ann.* 522-3; cf. Cic. *Sen.* 5.14 *senio confectus*.

⁷⁶ Alfonsi (1958: 2.355) gives to it two senses "cancellato", "abolito" (= cancelled, abolished) and "litterato" (= lettered).

⁷⁷ Mart. Cap. 341.28; Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 6.6.1 and an interpolation in Cic. *Off.* 1.12.38 *Poeni foedifragi, crudelis Hannibal, reliqui iustiores*; see Alfonsi 1958: 1.355. For more details on its formation (syncope of -e- and dissimilation of -r-), see Traglia 1957: 92.

⁷⁸ Alfonsi (1958: 1.356) sees in it a reminiscence of Eur. *Alc.* 81-2.

⁷⁹ See Weichert 1830: 57. It reappears in Auson. *Technop.* 54 *nocticolor Styx*.

⁸⁰ A word that inspired Gell. *NA* 6.2.11.

⁸¹ For *silentus* cf. Matius 8 and cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.103-4.

⁸² Courtney (1993: 125) for the first interpretation and Alfonsi (1958: 1.355) for the second. It refers to various passages of Eur. *Alc.*, such as 436-7 and 852

⁸³ Lucr. 5.742; Verg. *G.* 1.66; *Aen.* 4.55; Prop. 3.14.7; Ov. *Amor.* 3.6.96 etc.

⁸⁴ Cic. *Att.* 5.14.1.

⁸⁵ They are formed on the analogy of the pair *uiolens*, *uiolentus* (Courtney) or *silens*, *silentus* (Traglia), as a fragment from Matius (where *silentum* appears not as a genitive plural but as a neutrum

Impete = *impetu* is an obsolete word, formed analogically to *praepete* (< *praepes*)⁸⁶. In the structure *carendum tui est*, Gellius expected *te*, even though the verb, marking the couple's separation, takes either accusative or genitive. *Magno impete* is a poetic expression for *morte*.

(8) *Fortescere* = *fortis fieri* (Gellius) is a hapax.

(9) *Dolentia* = *dolor*, formed after *indolentia*⁸⁷. For Gellius, *Auens* = *libens*⁸⁸. Here Alcestis gladly accepts death⁸⁹.

(10) *curis intolerantibus* = *intolerandis*⁹⁰, having a passive sense as an influence from oral speech. It could also be an alteration for the metre's sake (as it is now, *curis intolerantibus* is a glyconeus). *Manciollis* = *minibus*, a word coming probably from *maniciola* and that one from *manicula*⁹¹. Alcestis gives her children a final embrace⁹². *Siliceo* = *duro*⁹³. *Fiere* = *fieri*, which is the original form, already obsolete⁹⁴. Gellius explains the phrase *fiere impendio infit* as *fieri impense incipit*. Laevius plays with *fieri* and *infit*, two words with same etymology. As Courtney points out, *impedio* is otherwise found before Apuleius as an intensifier only as ablative of the measure or difference with comparatives. *Infit* means "he begins to speak"⁹⁵.

(11) *accipitret* (< *accipiter*, "hawk") = *laceret*, hapax, meaning "to tear like a hawk". Perhaps it refers to the battle between Hercules and Thanatos⁹⁶.

(13) Laevius uses two epithets⁹⁷ for Nestor, which Gellius judges as being *nimum poetica*, *ex prosae orationis usu alieniora*. Here presumably Pheres is contrasted with him, who was in fact a cousin of Alcestis⁹⁸. *Trisaeclisenex* (< *tria saecula senex*) and *dulciorelocus* (< *dulci ore loquens*)⁹⁹ are obviously Laevius' inventions¹⁰⁰. The first one is an impressive triple compound, an anapaestic monometer or a catalectic reizianus, reminiscent of *τριγέρων*¹⁰¹. The second, another triple compound, is an inaccurate translation of the Homeric *ἠδυεπής*, which does not occur elsewhere in Latin poetry.

nominative, so there existed an adjective *silentus* together with the participle-adjective *silens*) indicates. One similar formation is *pestilens* and *pestilentus*.

⁸⁶ It is actually an invention of Enn. *Ann.* 407 *praepete ferro*, widely used in Lucr. (e.g. 6. 153 *impete magno*).

⁸⁷ It is probably a Ciceronian coinage; cf. Joselyn (1973: 64) which occurs only here and in *CIL* 5.1686.11.

⁸⁸ Probably an adaptation of Eur. *Alc.* 173 *ἄκλειτος, ἀστένακτος*.

⁸⁹ See the end of *Alc. Barc.*

⁹⁰ Perhaps coming from Eur. *Alc.* 416-7 and 940 inspiring once again Gell. *NA* 13.8.5 and Tac. *Ann.* 11.10.

⁹¹ Cf. fr. 4 *manu tenellula*.

⁹² The whole passage is inspired by Eur. *Alc.* 192-3, 202, 250, 342, 375, 380.

⁹³ Cf. *OLD* s. v. *silex* 3.

⁹⁴ It is also found in Enn. *Ann.* 15 and 354.

⁹⁵ Except at Lucr. 3. 515

⁹⁶ Alfonsi 1957: 1.356; cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1140-2; Serv. *Aen.* 4.696, for Phrynichus' *Alcestis*.

⁹⁷ They are both derived from Hom. *Il.* 1. 247-252.

⁹⁸ For Pheres' old age, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 468 and 611-2.

⁹⁹ Müller (1869: 244) emends it to *dulcorelocus*.

¹⁰⁰ Mirmont (1903: 94) mentions similar later compounds such as *dulcifluus* (< *dulcis* + *fluo*) or *dulcisonus* (< *dulcis* + *sonus*), easily adjusted to hexameters.

¹⁰¹ Found for the first time in Aesch. *Cho.* 314 (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 8.144.2; 157.4); cf. *τριγερής* (Arist. *Gen. An.* 759a3; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.9.13-4 *ter aevo functus... senex*).

(14) *Multigrumus* (< *multus* + *grumus* = *cumulus*), is explained by Gellius as <de> *tumidis magnis*¹⁰². It is a hapax, although formation with compound epithets with *multus* is very frequent in poetic Latin.

(15) Ice covering the frozen rivers is usually compared to marble¹⁰³ or –as here– to onyx, a much more “recherché” comparison, as Courtney (126) describes it. Laevius and his exquisite image became an inspiration¹⁰⁴.

(16) The fragments end with an impressive multiple compound (an anapaestic dimeter), *subductisuperciliacarptores* (< *sub* + *duco* + *super* + *cilium* + *carptor*), formed after *οφρυνασπασίδαι*¹⁰⁵. Laevius refers to the *malivoli*, *iniqui*, *adversarii* or *uituperones*, who have criticized him for finding his *Alcestis* inferior to that of Accius, imitating Phrynichus¹⁰⁶ or Euripides, because Laevius preferred to present a parody of the myth and not the tragic variation. The term *uituperones* is also rare, that is why Baehrens thought that it belonged to Laevius and proposed that the fragment should be: *...uituperones subducti supercili / carptores*. The term, a vulgarism of the satiric or humorous poetry (cf. *bucco*, *epulo*, *manduco* etc.), reappears later¹⁰⁷.

Centauri

10. Fest. 206 M = 226 L

Ubi ego saepe petris

The metre is uncertain, perhaps a hexameter (Baehrens) or an anapaestus (Leo). The hero talking is probably Chiron in his cave¹⁰⁸. The only time the Centauri¹⁰⁹ were

¹⁰² Traglia (1957: 92) thinks that it could be reconstructed as *fluctibus multigrumis*, forming a hemiepes.

¹⁰³ Ov. *Fast.* 4.918.

¹⁰⁴ Columella *Rust.* 12.10.2 and Pliny *NH* 15.55.

¹⁰⁵ It is found in an epigram by Egeandrus of Delphi (*FGE* 475-6, also filling a metrical unit); cf. Turpil. *CRF*³, 167-8 *cum antehac videbam stare tristi, turbido / vultu subductis cum superciliis*; Priapea 49.9 *subducti... supercilli*; Varro *Sat. Men.* 167. Alfonsi (1971: 337) sees a Euripidean reception from *Alc.* 800 *συνωφρυνωμένοις*. In turn, Laevius influences Catull. 5. 2-3 and Sen. *Ep.* 123.11 *tristes et superciliosos* and Quint. *Inst.* 1 *Proem.* 15 *et vultum et tristitiam et dissentientem a ceteris habitum pessimis moribus praetendebant* and 12.3.12 *fronte conficta inmissaque barba... in publico tristes*, in a similar context which might have been a *koinos topos*.

¹⁰⁶ For reception from Phrynichus, see Reitzenstein 1898: 51-2.

¹⁰⁷ In Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 4.22.6 and 8.1.2; cf. also Traglia 1957: 84, n. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Goossens (1951: 419-424) sees in these four surviving words similarities with the closing of Soph. *Phil.* 1453-1468. He adds that *petra*, both in Greek and in Latin, apart from “stone”, “rock”, “reef” or “rocky beach” can also mean “cave”, “tunnel” or “heap of stone”, so it must be Chiron’s cave. He was the doublet of Philoctetes, both being Thessalian heroes living on mountains, Chiron on Pelion, Philoctetes on Ossa. Goossens observes an interconnection and interaction between the two myths; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1081 *κοίλας πέτρας γύαλον*; Pliny *NH* 34.117; Ov. *Fast.* 5.383; Stat. *Achill.* 1.106 (the first two for Philoctetes’ and the next ones for Chiron’s cave). The word play is obvious, as in Sophocle’s passage, 1455, we find *προβλής* (= *promontorium*); cf. Accius, *fr.* 549 R (*Philocteta*) *in tecto umido...*, where he presents the hero soaked by the Southern wind. From Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.144 we learn that Chiron’s antrum was situated on a promontory, the Chironian cape. It is worth noticing that Cheremon had written a *Centaurus* back in the 4th century BC, which is considered as the first surviving example of polymetry (Arist. *Poet.* 1.12.1447b), perhaps being the role model for Laevius (see *contra* Mirmont 1903: 268-9).

connected with a love episode is during the wedding of Pirithus and Hippodamia where the war between the Centauri and the Lapiths began¹¹⁰. If we accept the correction *Echo*, then we have to do with a grecisme, firstly attested in *Culex* (152) but largely used in both poetry and prose¹¹¹. The word *petra* (deriving directly from the Greek πέτρα) is used to designate a mountain rock, while *saxum* describes a maritime one¹¹². Another interpretation is that the poet is dealing with the myth of Dionysus in relation to the Centaures¹¹³.

Helena

11. Macr. *Sat.* 6. 5. 1.

tu qui

permensus ponti maria alta

ueliuola;

alta <carina> Müller

Ribbeck attributed the fragment to Laevius instead of Livius. It is a dactylic tetrameter (Courtney), cola reiziana septenaria or dochmiac (Traglia, Blänsdorf), epodic verse (Pighi; Granarolo) or a galliambus (Ribbeck). Müller, followed by Ribbeck added a <carina> after *alta*, in order to create a hexameter and the beginning of a second. *Permensus* belongs to Ennius¹¹⁴. *Ponti maria*¹¹⁵ is similar to *maria alta*, which is repeated in fr. 12; *mare ueliuolum* (<uelum + uolo) is an ancient word¹¹⁶, which is explained as an omission of a word (*nauis*, *ratis*, *puppis* or something similar) by Macrobius or as an audacious new image created by our poet who repeated a nice epithet inspired from Ennius¹¹⁷. Here Helena reproaches Paris¹¹⁸.

Ino

¹⁰⁹ Alfonsi (1958b: 3-5; 1966: 544) where he found similarities with Soph. *Aj.* 693-7.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Ov. *Her.* 17.247-250; *Met.* 12.210-1 ... *nubigenas / arboribus tecto discumbere iusserat antro*.

¹¹¹ For more details, see the thorough analysis of Traglia (1957: 91) who prefers this conjecture rather than the manuscripts' version.

¹¹² We find *petra* in Enn. *Ann.* 365 *alte delata petrisque ingentibus tecta*, the possible model for Laevius here. Löfstedt (1911: 97-114) suggests that *petra* in the sense of "promontory" came into Latin as a nautical term.

¹¹³ Osann (1816) followed by Düntzer (1835) but also by Alfonsi (1958: 3-5) who sees a relationship with Eur. *Bacch.* 306-7; *Ion* 714-5 and Ar. *Nub.* 603-6, three passages referring to Dionysos. For the old hypothesis that the fragment belongs to a comedy by Livius Andronicus, based on the fact that many comedy writers (Ophelion, Aristophanes, Nicochares, Apollophones, Theognetes, Timocles) had written works entitled *Κένταυρος* or *Centaurus*/-i, see Mirmont 1903: 267.

¹¹⁴ Enn. *Ann.* 455 Vahl.

¹¹⁵ See Housman 1897: 244 = 1972: 2. 437; Diggle 1981: 79-80; cf. Theogn. 10; 106.

¹¹⁶ It appears also in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 224 and Ennius, where it characterises not the sea but the ships (*Ann.* 388 *naubus ueliuolis*; *Sc.* 79 *naues ueliuolas* and 67 *ueliuolantibus / nauibus*)

¹¹⁷ See Traglia 1957: 89. It is possible that Laevius served later as an example for Ov. *Pont.* 16.21 *ueliuoli maria*. As Bardon (1957: 627) remarks, the fragment reminds of the beginning of Catull. 64.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Ov. *Her.* 16 and 17 passim, especially 5-6 *Scilicet idcirco ventosa per aequora vectum / Excepit portu Taenaria ora suo*, where it is Ariadne who reproaches Theseus.

12. Prisc. 1.281 (GLK 2.281).
 seque in alta maria praecipem
 impos, aegra sanitatis,
 <misit> herois.¹¹⁹

1. <se> suppl. Scaliger | <misit> suppl. Scaliger, post sanitatis (v. 2) Courtney | hic Courtney || 2. impos] inops Scaliger: <animi> impos Baehrens | <et> suppl. Scaliger | satinitatis] satinitatis A | herois] hero* ris (R²) D: aéroes GL: aérois est K: ... aegra <, delira / Misit, animi inops, egena> sanitatis herois Havet || 1-2 *textum traditum def. Lunelli*

Some editors consider these verses as being trochaic dimetres (Courtney), others make the first two lines into an octonarius, or even two choliambi. The fragment¹²⁰ refers to Ino's insanity, during which she drowned herself in the sea with her son, both of them being subsequently reborn and transformed into two deities of the sea and of sailors¹²¹. She is *impos* (< in + potis), a synonym of the periphrase *aegra sanitatis*, "mad". Usually the word *impos* needs a qualification f. ex. *animi*, but not always¹²². The genitive after *aegre* is a structure which became common in Silver Latin¹²³. As for *praecipēs*, it is a rare and archaic poetic parallel type of *praeceps* (< prae + caput)¹²⁴, formed in the analogy of *participles* or *principes*. *Herois* is attested for the first time here. We find it later in Ovid and during the imperial age. The hypothesis that Ino was a play¹²⁵ has been rejected¹²⁶, as these verses are typical of Parthenius, who also mentions Ino¹²⁷.

12a. Ter. Maur. (GLK 6.383, v. 1931); cf. Mar. Vict. (Aphthon.) 67 (GLK 6.68 *sed iam...canes*).

et iam purpureo suras include cothurno
 balteus et reuocet uolucres in pectore sinus
 prassaque iam grauida crepitent tibi terga pharetra;
 derige odorisequos ad certa cubilia canes.

¹¹⁹ We followed Courtney's versification; Morel and Blänsdorf write: <se> *seque in alta maria praecipem* <misit> / *impos* <et> *aegra sanitatis herois*.

¹²⁰ Weichert found similarities with Ov. *Met.* 4.529-530 *Seque supra pontum, nullo tardata timore, / Mittit onusque suum*.

¹²¹ The theme is treated by Ov. *Met.* 4.416-431; Apd. *Bibl.* 3.28-9; Hyg. *Fab.* 1.4; Nonn. *Dion.* 9.24-322 and, before Laevius, Eur. *Med.* 1283-9. Magno (1982: 62) thinks that this fragment belongs to a hymn in Callimachean mode addressed to Diana *Trivia*.

¹²² Cf. Accius *Didasc.* 9.

¹²³ See Sall. *H. fr.* 4.84 and Stat. *Theb.* 11.141 *aeger consilii*.

¹²⁴ Here in the nominative, as also in Plaut. *Rud.* 671-2 *quin scelestus sacerdotem anum praecipēs / reppulit* and Comm. *ap.* Prisc. 1.280.19 *H salam in puteum praecipēs*; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 390 *praecipē casu*, in the ablative.

¹²⁵ Warmington 1936: 2.19.

¹²⁶ Crowther 1980: 182.

¹²⁷ Parth. *Amat. Narr.* fr. 30 Martini; cf. Vergils' imitation in *G.* 1.437 and also Gell. *NA.* 13.27.1-2.

1. et Ter. Maur.: sed Mar. Vict. || 2. balteu(s) ante sinus traiciendum censet Baehrens || 4. hinc odorisecus Dan. Schol. Aen. 4.132 | certa] caeca M. A. Del Rio (Delrius Gifanius): operta dubitanter Baehrens.

Victorinus defines the metre as one hexameter, followed by a series of miurics (a metre revived by Annianus). The fragment¹²⁸ is doubtful¹²⁹. It refers to Diana, the goddess of the hunt. Athamas, killed Learchus, his son by Ino, when the former became mad during a hunt, mistaking him for a lion¹³⁰. *Cothurnus*, apart from its presence in tragedy, also protects the hunter's legs from injury¹³¹. We think that Laevius leaves this word in ambiguity, since Ino was a tragic heroine. Additionally, he seems to be the direct source for Vergil¹³². *Volucres* means "billowing". As for *Odorisequus* (< odor + sequor), it is another unique invention of Laevius. *Certa* means "tracked down with certainty and not on a false trail"¹³³. Last but not least, we observe the presence of the sound [r] throughout the verses. *Volucres* and *sinus* (the adjective and the substantive) are placed in symmetrical positions at the end of the two hemistiches, the same thing occurring with *purpureo* and *cothurno*, *gravida* and *pharetra*, *odorisequos* and *canes*. Maybe Laevius was the initiator of this type of versification¹³⁴.

Protesilaudamia¹³⁵ (< Protesilaus + Laodamia)

13. Schol. Ver. Verg. Aen. 4. 146 (430 H)¹³⁶.

fac papyrin<a ergo>

haec terga habeant stigmata.

1. Papyrin *codd.*: papyrin<a> Leo: papyri <nostrae flagris> haec Baehrens: papyrin<a> haec Cumino. || 2. terga *codd.*: tecta Watt

¹²⁸ Some *similia* contain Sen. *Oed.* 417-8; Juv. 1.27; Claud. *Ruf.* 2.80; Sil. *Pun.* 10.81-2; Nemes. *Cyn.* 235-6.

¹²⁹ See *pro* Mirmont (1903: 273-5) and Merry (1898: 182-5) following Scaliger and *contra* Granarolo (1971: 414-9; 1973b: 326, n. 65) who thinks that it belongs to an epyllion (cf. Valerius Caton's "Dictynna") rather than to Laevius (attribution to him by Scaliger). Courtney demonstrated that the fragment actually belongs to Ino. See in addition Marconi's discussion (1963: 131): it is quite certain that Livius Andronicus could not be the writer, despite some scholars' opinion, e. g. Mariotti 1952: 68, n. 2. For the paternity of the fragment, omitted by Morel, but included in other editions (Blänsdorf, Baehrens and Mariotti), see also Traglia 1957: 87.

¹³⁰ Hyg. *Fab.* 4 and Eur. *Ino*, a lost tragedy in fragments.

¹³¹ Galen 18.1.682 K; cf. Nemes. *Cyn.* 90.

¹³² Verg. *Ecl.* 7.32 *puniceo... suras cuncta cothurno* and *Aen.* 1.320 *nodoque sinus collecta fluentes*, 336-7 *gestare pharetram / purpureoque alte suras uincire cothurno*.

¹³³ See Courtney 1993: 129; cf. Sil. *Pun.* 10.82 *arcana cubilia* and Nemes. *Cyn.* 236 *secreta cubilia*. Watt (1997-8: 157-8) proposes *tecta*, as paleographically preferable.

¹³⁴ Havet 1891: 10-1.

¹³⁵ Frassinetti (1974: 315-326) provides an analysis of the seven extant fragments and gives them the following order, in accordance with the plot of the myth: 14, 15, 18, 13, 19, 16, 17. Harmon (1912: 186-194) includes all the fragments in the *Erotopaegnia* and does not consider them as an autonomous poetic work.

¹³⁶ Löschhorn (1920: 95-6) thinks that the passage given by the *scholia* also belongs to Laevius.

The title of the poem is formed by a haplology from Protesi(lao)laodamia¹³⁷. Priscian erroneously cites fr. 18 from an inexistent work *Laodamia* and fr. 19 from *Protesilao*, simplifying them to one of its members. For similar compounds cf. *Sirenocirca* (Laevius) and *Oedipothyestes*, *Pseudaeneas* and *Sesculixes* (Varro). The metre could be septenarius (Leo), sotadean (Courtney), or anacreontian + ionic (Granarolo), depending on how many letters are missing after *papyrin*/. Morel unites everything in a verse beginning with -v-v. Laevius uses two Greek words, *papyrina* (παπύρινα) and *stigmata* (στίγματα), the second being a rarity invented here and rarely found in later poems. The latter have been explained as brands or tattoos¹³⁸, applied as a punishment. They could also be the marks of the letters on the papyrus¹³⁹, especially on its 'verso'¹⁴⁰. We would like to add two more meanings of the word *stigma* in Greek, "mark by cauterisation", for people in the service of a temple¹⁴¹ and "dragon's scales"¹⁴². For the derivation *papyrin*<a> cf. *onychino* (fr. 9). The papyrus is here a victim¹⁴³, so this could be interpreted as an ironic *exortatio* to someone (himself?) to scribble¹⁴⁴. As for the myth, Protesilaus was the first to die at Troy, while Laodamia was his newly-wed wife. After his death he was allowed to visit her for only three hours. Laodamia, preferred to stab herself, rather than to live without him. The diversity of the surviving fragments shows that Laevius dealt with the whole legend, from the beginning of the love story till the death of the two heroes. The whole fragment is addressed to his *vituperones*¹⁴⁵.

14.Non. 209 M = 309 L.

tunc iruunt cachinnos,

ioca dicta risitantis.

1. eunt *vel* iunt *codd*: tunc *Leo*: in eum *Vossius* || riisitantis *codd*. *praeter* F³, cf. *Traina*: missitantes *Bothe*: fusitantis *Havet*

¹³⁷ The theme inspired not only Ovid in his entire 13th epistle of his *Heroides* but also Euripides in his *Protesilaus* of which 13 fragments survive. The myth is also dealt with by Catull. 68.74-86; cf. Sarkissian (1983: 42) and Cairns (2003: 168-170). Skinner (2003: 54; 205) sees a possible exhortation to a Muse to preserve his work in 68.46 *facite haec carta loquatur anus*.

¹³⁸ Jones (1987: 139), for the first and Courtney (1993: 130) for the second. Courtney also argues that these marks should not be seen and it is the only time they are associated with such an unobtrusive part as the back, so he suggests there is a pun or double meaning, namely the ink (of writing and of tattooing) and the marks of the rods on a slave's back, which can be compared to *stigmata* as they turn black and blue. It also reminds us of Plaut. *Mostell*. 55 *caruificium cribrum*, where the back of the punished slave is like a sieve from the large amount of little holes.

¹³⁹ Bignone (1950: 17), followed by Traglia, 1957, 104.

¹⁴⁰ Cumino 2007: 79-86.

¹⁴¹ Hdt. 2.113.

¹⁴² Hes. *Scut*. 166.

¹⁴³ Cf. Mart. 6. 64. 23 *miseras et perdere chartas*.

¹⁴⁴ It is Courtney's interpretation (1993: 131).

¹⁴⁵ Mirmont 1903: 281. Salanitro (1979: 37) suggests a direct reception of this fragment by Varro *Sat. Men*. 58 B = 54 C, where he reads *stilo nostro papyrinos Laeui scapos captito nouo partu poeticon*. Alfonsi (1964: 383-4) shares the opinion of literary criticism and reinforces it with a reference from Petron. *Sat*. 69.2, where *stigma* reappears.

The metre is anacreontic. *Cachinno* is etymologically related to the Greek *καγχάζω*. In syntax, *risitare cachinnos* is an internal accusative, which might have influenced Catullus¹⁴⁶. Laevius makes a juxtaposition with *ioca* and *dicta*¹⁴⁷. *Risito* is a hapax legomenon, an invented frequentative verb of *rideo*. *Risitantis* = *risitantes* is a nominative plural, used more in Old Latin. It is possible that the poet is describing the wedding festivities of Protesilaus and Laodamia, with the guests joking (cf. the Fescennine verses containing obscenities).

15. Prisc. 1.242 (*GLK* 2.242).
complexa somno corpora ope-
riuntur ac suavi quie
dicantur

2. <ad>operiuntur *Osann*: †operiuntur *Morel* (*synaphiam gl*) || 3. rigantur *Vossius*

*Osann*¹⁴⁸ attributed the fragment to Laevius. We have iambic dimeters with synapheia, on the wedding night and the first night sex of the newlyweds. *Quie* can appear as *quieti* (dative) or *quiete* (ablative)¹⁴⁹. The verb *dicari* + ablative is a rarity¹⁵⁰. Another abnormality is the cutting of *operiuntur* in two verses (at least, this is the proposition made by Courtney in his edition). The sound play is also quite obvious: two words beginning with *co-* and ending with *-a* and a third beginning with *q-* and another two producing similar sounds [orpor]-[oper]. This fragment influenced Ausonius in his *Cento nuptialis*, who refers at the end of it (describing the sex act) to Laevius as a predecessor¹⁵¹.

16. Gell. *NA*. 12.10.5.
claustritumum

Gellius, who is not sure whether this word comes from *Protesilaodamia* or not, explains that it refers to the doorman (*πυλαῶρος* / *θυρωρός* = *claustris ianuae praeest*) in the house of Laodamia¹⁵² and compares it to *aeditumus* = *aeditimus*, "sacristan", "the custodian of a temple" (an older type of *aedituus*)¹⁵³, from the analogy of which Laevius has coined this literature word, which is unique in Latin.

¹⁴⁶ Catull. 31.14 *ridete quicquid est domi cachinnorum*.

¹⁴⁷ For the *ioca*, "jokes" see Hadrian. 3.6 and for *dicta*, "witticisms" see *TLL* 1.992.23.

¹⁴⁸ *Osann* 1816: 54-5.

¹⁴⁹ See Mirmont (1903: 92) for the first option and Traglia (1957: 100) for the second; cf. Afran. *CRF*, v. 77 *non potitur nunc quie*. These fifth-declension forms are probably a retrograde formation from *requie*.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Cic. *Arat*. 284 *partes... tres luce dicantur*.

¹⁵¹ Auson. *Cent. Nupt*. 27.4, p. 146 Sch. *Quid antiquissimi poetae Laevii Erotopaegnia libros loquar?*

¹⁵² Cf. Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 3.747 and the night guardian in Eschylan *Agamemnon*. According to Müller (1910: 82) he was "custos Laodamiae".

¹⁵³ Cf. Varro *Rust*. 1.2.1. Similar constructions are *finitumus* = *finitimus* (< *finis*) and *legitumus* = *legitimus* (< *lex*), which have conserved their adjectival value; cf. Traglia 1957: 97-8.

The metrical value of this particular word is peonic or choliambic, but surely fitted into the metre of the rest of the verse which is unfortunately missing.

17. Non. 116 M = 116 L¹⁵⁴.
gracilenticolorem dum ex hoc gracilens fit.

1. gracilenticolorem] gracilentis colorem *codd.*: gracilentis colorem *Leo, Courtney*: gracilenti colorem *Lindsay*: gracilenti corpore nudum *Housman* || 2 dum] idem *Vossius duo fragmenta efficiens* | gracilans *codd.*: gracilens (fit) *Aldus, Lindsay, cf. Leumann*.

Attribution to Laevius has been made by Osann. *Gracilens* = *gracilis*, "fine" is attested only here and is an analogical back-formation from *gracilentus*, an invention by Laevius, who plays using a polyptoton. The manuscripts contain the word *gracilans*, which would be another hapax and strange intransitive, accepted by some editors. *Gracilenticolorem* (referring to the pallor of the emaciated Laodamia) marks another invention of the poet, similar to his *pudoricolorem* and *nocticolorem*¹⁵⁵. The metre is either reizianus or anapaestus.

18. Prisc. 1.496-7 (*GLK* 2.496); cf. *Lex. Vat. (ap. Maium auct. Class. 8.305)*.

aut
Nunc quaeiam alia te †illo¹⁵⁶†
Asiatico ornatu affluens
Aut Sardonio aut Lydio
Fulgens decore et gratia
Pellicuit.

1. aut nunc quaeiam alia te illo *codd., corr. Tandoi post Osann et Knoche*; aut nunc alia te quaeiam illo *Traglia post Scaliger*: aut nunc quaeiam alia te puella *Leo, Morel, Traglia* | alia de Ilio *Weichert, Baehrens*: alia te Ilio *Vossius* || 3. ornata]

¹⁵⁴ Skutsch (*Enn. Ann.* 420) restores this lemma in this way: *gracilitudo pro gracilitas et gracilens pro gracilis et gracilentum et gracilum pro gracili*, which Nonius quotes erroneously as: *gracilitudo et gracilens pro gracilis et gracilentum pro gracili et gracilum pro gracilitas...*; see Courtney 1993: 133. Granarolo (1973b: 322) prefers to create two different fragments in anapaestic metre or two trochaic septenarii: *gracilenticolorem* and *ex hoc gracilens fit*. Morel and Blänsdorf keep †*gracilenticolorem* as first verse and the rest as second.

¹⁵⁵ Leo (1914: 181, n. 4) was the first to observe it; cf. Prop. 4.3.27-8 *diceris et macie uultum tenuasse: sed opto, / e desiderio sit color iste meo*, where we find identical expressions (*macies, color, e + ablativus*); cf. Alfonsi 1958: 2.357; Rothstein 1920: 2. 235, n. 7; Ov. *Her.* 11.27 *fugerat ore color, macies adduxerat artus*. For both of them, see Traglia's exhaustive analysis (1957: 93-4). Housman (1928: 78-9) thought the combination of *gracilis* and *color* to be unacceptable and emended the text: *gracilenti corpore nudum*. Of course Laevius has proved himself capable of creating daring images, so this correction is not necessary.

¹⁵⁶ For the emendation *puella* (borrowed from Leo), referring to a possible new girl-friend of Protesilaus, see Traglia 1961: 87. Some scholars correct in *Ilio*, "from Troy", which would make a nice word play with *alia*.

ornāta D || 4 aut (*altero loco*) ac v. l. | sardiano] sardanio G | aut Lydio *edd.*: aclydio
H: aclidio DG: aclidia L: lydeo R || 5. fulgens] fugens H | decore] decoro D | gratia
Lex. Vat., Haupt (ap. Hertz) ex Osberni lexico: gloria codd. Prisc.

This is a series of iambic dimetres. In this fragment, Laodamia suspects Protesilaos of infidelity¹⁵⁷ during the war at Troy. So, when he was allowed to return to briefly to life, Laodamia who was unaware of his death, addresses his shadow¹⁵⁸. Another interpretation is that it is a letter addressed to him (also perhaps related to fr. 13), as she could not explain the silence on his part¹⁵⁹. Laodamia's jealousy has been explained by Protesilaos' return with a young war slave, Aithilla, sister of Priamus, according to a slightly later variation on the myth¹⁶⁰. *Alia* means here *paelex*, i. e. the "rival". Women of Sardis loved jewellery¹⁶¹. *Pellicui* = *pellexit* is a rare perfect of *pellicio* (< *per* + *lacio*), "attract", "seduce"¹⁶². The strange position of *aut* at the end of the verse is worth mentioning¹⁶³.

19. Prisc. 1.484 (*GLK* 2.484).
cupidius miserulo obito.

cupidius] cupidus L | miserulo] misserulo G

The metre is perhaps trochaic septenarius, amputated in the first monosyllable¹⁶⁴. In this fragment Protesilaos offers himself too eagerly to death. *Obitus* (participle of *obeo*) has an active sense (equivalent to the Greek *ο τεθνεώς* or to the Latin *mortuus*)¹⁶⁵. *Miserulus* = *misellus*¹⁶⁶ is a primitive diminutive of *miser* (for the first

¹⁵⁷ Similar complaints appear in Catull. 64, which is not a faithful imitation but a reminiscence from Laevius; Bardon 1957: 626.

¹⁵⁸ See Harmon's analysis (1912: 189) based on Wüstermann *ap.* Weichert (1830: 78) who links this fragment with frg 1; *contra* Courtney (1993: 134) based on Mirmont (1903: 288) thinks that this is a soliloquy of the heroine and at the same time a literary critique, an opinion also shared by Jacobson, 1974: 334, n. 51.

¹⁵⁹ Alfonsi 1968: 284-6; Frassinetti 1974: 321-2. The use of a letter derives from dramatic poetry and Alexandrian tradition.

¹⁶⁰ It is found in Conon *FGrH* 26F1.13 Jacoby; cf. Mayer 1885: 132.

¹⁶¹ Sapph. 96; 98 LP; Alc. 1 LP; cf. Varro *Sat. Men.* C 212 *Sardiani tapetes*. As for the famous textiles of this town, see Hanfmann 1983: 11; 105. For *fulgens decore et gratia*, cf. Hom. *Od.* 6.237. For the reminiscences of Sappho, see mainly Fantuzzi (1995: 1.340-7) who reassumes all previous interpretations (as Tandoi already did; 1992: 112-127) and explains how the mentioning of Lydia in a trojan contest is an anachronism, as the country was called *Maeonia* at the time (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 3.401; Hdt. 1.7.3; Strab. 13.625; Pliny *N.H.* 5.30.110 etc.). Fantuzzi makes the inevitable comparison with Sapph. 96 LP and the mechanisms of intertextuality and allusive poetry. The rival's encomion (obviously a *koinos topos*) also brings to mind Sapph. 31 LP, imitated by Catull. 51. For Laevius' fragment see also Alfonsi 1958: 2.357 and Galdi 1925: 160. Later on, Prop. 4.3.25-6 borrowed elements from this passage; cf. Rothstein 1920: 2. 234-5, n. 23.

¹⁶² Cf. Varr. *Atac.* fr. 1.

¹⁶³ Cf. *ac* in frg 7-9 (3). And see Traglia's (1961: 88) remarks, who integrates it into the next verse and changes the word order: *aut nunc alia te quaeipiam illo*. If we accept his proposition, then the three first verses begin with an *-a* and so do three more words, one in each verse.

¹⁶⁴ Soubiran *ap.* Granarolo 1973b: 322.

¹⁶⁵ See Septim. Seren. 2. 17, who imitates Laevius. It is certainly a *unicum*; see Traglia 1957: 99.

time here but later often applied to the recently deceased¹⁶⁷. From the metrical point of view, *miserulo* (as also *hilarula*, 22. 4) are procleusmatics used (with a slight alteration in length) as fourth peons.

Sirenocirca (< Siren + Circe)

20.Prisc. 1.302 (*GLK* 2.302)¹⁶⁸.

nunc, Laertie belle, para

Ire Ithacam.

1. Laertiae] laertiae RA: lartiae D: lertiae HK: lertie BLK: Lertie *Baehrens* | belle
B: velle *rell. codd.*: vela *Hermann* | *post* para *sep. Courtney*

The metre comprises most likely one alcmancum and the beginning of a second one (Courtney), a hexameter, whose last four syllables are absent (Havet) or a series of dactylic catalectic tetrameters (Leo, Traglia). Vocatives similar to *Laertie* occur elsewhere¹⁶⁹. *Belle*, even though it is actually a diminutive (*belle* = *benule*, after contraction < *bene* = *bone*), has already lost this notion, but kept the affective tone¹⁷⁰. We observe, on the contrary, the classic use of the bare accusative (instead of the archaic *ad* or *in* + accusative found in Plautus), another trace of the transitional position that Laevius had in Latin Literature. Here, he has transferred the words of Circe¹⁷¹ in Hom. *Od.*, from 10.488-9 to 12.24-5, which is followed by a warning about the Sirens. Receptions from Odyssey are obvious¹⁷², with the Sirens and Circe trying to prevent Ulysses from returning to his homeland.

21.Non. 120 M = 173 L.

delphine cinctis uehic(u)lis

hippocampisque asperis.

delphino *codd.*: delphine *Pighi propter metrum* | cinctis] iunctis *Scaliger* |
uehiculis] uehiclis *Granarolo* | *post* uehiculis *sep. Courtney*¹⁷³

The metre is either a septenarius or an iambic dimeter followed by a lecythion. Müller suggests that the fragment refers to the chariot of Poseidon / Neptune and Amphitrite¹⁷⁴. *Delphine* is a collective singular, referring to the animals drawing the

¹⁶⁶ *TLL* 8.1099.45.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. *TLL* 8.1103.81. *Misellus* is found in these two poems, but also in Catull. 3.16 for the death of Lesbia's sparrow. As for *miser*, see *Ibid.* 101, 6, with a more affective tone, while here it reveals lamentation and sorrow; see Ronconi's observations (1953: 126) on *misellus* and *miser* and Traglia's analysis 1957: 101-2.

¹⁶⁸ For different versions of this text, see Granarolo 1973b: 322-2.

¹⁶⁹ Liv. Andr. 38 M = 4 B *Laertie noster*; 2 M *Saturni filie*.

¹⁷⁰ Traglia 1957: 101.

¹⁷¹ Parth. *Amat. Narr.* 12 also dealt with the myth of Circe in his work.

¹⁷² See also Cristobal 1994: 57-74.

¹⁷³ Before him editors included everything in one verse.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 13. 28-31.

chariots of sea-gods, and gamboling around ships (here *uehiculis* = *naves*¹⁷⁵). *Hippocampi* has already been used by Lucilius¹⁷⁶, but, according to Nonius' testimony¹⁷⁷ "transverso ordine". Between *delphino* and *uehic(u)lis* there is an enallage. *Veiclis* (without anaptyxis) is a proposal put forward by Granarolo¹⁷⁸.

Phoenix (Erotopaegnon carmen ultimum¹⁷⁹)

22. Char. 375 B = 288 K.

Venus <o> amoris altrix, genetrix cupiditatis,
mihi quae diem serenum hilarula praepandere cresti,
opseculae tuae ac ministrae

.....
etsi ne utiquam quid foret expauida grauis
dura fera asperaque famultas potui dominio
concipere <sub> superbo.

1 Venus <o> *Morel*: <o> Venus *Leo* || 4. expauida *codd.* Char. 375: expauita *Baehrens*: experta *Müller* || 5. dominio <ego> *Müller*: domnio in *Baehrens* || 6. concipere *Courtney*: accipere *codd* | superbo <tuo> *Morel & Traglia* (*sed cf. Knoche*): <sub> superbo *Courtney*¹⁸⁰

This poem (the very last in Laevius' collection), is at the same time both an *erotopaegnon* and a *technopaegnon*, a *carmen figuratum* or visual poem using the trick of arranging lines of different length in such order to produce a particular shape. Here he creates it in wing-shape¹⁸¹ representing the wings of the mythological bird, the phoenix¹⁸². *Morel* (and *Blänsdorf*) presents the poem as two series of three lines having a *lacuna* between them. *Courtney* thinks that the poem has two lines: the first one consists of ten metra (ionics a minore or

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.89; Varr. *Atac.* 2.

¹⁷⁶ Lucil., fr. 1256 Terzaghi, omitted in Müller's edition.

¹⁷⁷ Non. 173.10 L.

¹⁷⁸ Granarolo 1971: 164-171.

¹⁷⁹ Alfonsi (1968: 284-6) speaks about found a previously unknown glossa discovered by Enzo Degani in Hesychius manuscript conventionally abbreviated as *Mosq.* 39, in which the lemma ἄκρα is followed by the explanation, ἄρθρα, περὺγια. Alfonsi observes that περὺγια means ἄκρα also according to Alex. Trall. 1.24. From this the Italian scholar deduced that that a poem *Pterygium* (or *Pterygion*, a Greek word) would have been particularly appropriate as the last poem in the collection, an opinion not fully convincing for everybody. We think that the passage of Charisius in which fr. 22 is preserved clearly gives as the subtitle (and not part of the title, as Leo thought) of the poem.

¹⁸⁰ For more conjectures, see Castorina 1949: 26 and Lieberg 1962: 65.

¹⁸¹ Cf. the "Wings" of Simias in *Anth. Pal.* 15.24. For the inspiration from Simias, see Reitzenstein (1906: 157-9) who additionally prefers the title *Pterygion Phoenicis*. Polara (1987-8: 339-361) makes a comparison between this Laevian *calligramma* and three similar poems by Optatianus (20b, 26, 27).

¹⁸² The Phoenix was a beloved favourite Hellenistic theme, first mentioned already by Hdt. 2.73, but introduced into Rome in 97 BC by Manilius, as Pliny, *NH* 10.4-5 informs us. That gives a *terminus post quem* date. For more information, see Hubaux-Leroy (1939: 4, n. 3) and van den Broek (1972: 268-9) who see a connection with 3 *Bar.* 6-8; cf. Harlow 1996: 135, n. 78. For additional bibliography, see Mantzilas 2011: 70, n. 38.

anaclastici = anacreontii) and the second one of nine metra (ionics a maiore ending in anacreontics)¹⁸³. Ribbeck¹⁸⁴, thinks that it belonged to a series of verses descending from 10...9...8 to 1, and then ascending from 1...2...3 to 10 metrical units. A devotee of Venus (Achilles' teacher, Chiron, according to some old scholars¹⁸⁵ or even Briseis crying with Achilles over Patroclus' death¹⁸⁶) addresses the goddess and expresses his loyalty to her. It is not easy to explain how Phoenix, a bird dedicated to Iuppiter is related here to Venus¹⁸⁷. *Altrix amoris* is a poetic phrase reminding that she was Cupid's mother, while *genetrix* (< *gigno*) is a stereotypical epithet of Venus, combined here with a genitive, in order to form a chiaston. The verb *praepandere*, meaning "open slightly" occurs elsewhere¹⁸⁸. *Famultas* (form with syncope; a hapax) = *famulitas*, is a word taken from the vocabulary of tragedy¹⁸⁹, while *opsecula* = *obsecula* (< *opsequor*, formed on the analogy of *adsecula* = *assecula*, *assecla* < *adsequor*) is an invention of Laevius with an adjective-participle value. The diminutives in *-a* are of popular origin but here *opsecula* is not a diminutive, even though it is formed with a hypocoristic suffix; it cannot be said to derive from some non-diminutive noun. Moreover *expauida* inspired Gellius¹⁹⁰ to create the word *expauidus*, by crossing *expauescere* with *pauidus*, this adjective not being found anywhere other than in these two occurrences. From a stylistic point of view, Laevius uses a diminutive (*hilarula*) and an impressive asyndeton of synonym epithets (*expauida*, *gravis*, *dura*, *fera*, *aspera*) and the conclusion of *sub superbo*, a phrase containing similar sounds. *Dominium* = *dominatio* (a word rarely used by poets, which is little surprising in the light of the fact that it cannot fit in the hexameter) might refer to the double supremacy¹⁹¹ of Aphrodite / Venus, over love and over the sacred prostitutes¹⁹². Last but not least, there are similarities between this fragment and the proemium of Lucretius' first book, also referring to Venus¹⁹³.

¹⁸³ See Granarolo (1973b: 323) for the versification (5 + 5 verses), according to the metrical analysis.

¹⁸⁴ Ribbeck 1891: 376.

¹⁸⁵ This suggestion is possible in the light of the fact that the voice speaking in the poem is undoubtedly female.

¹⁸⁶ A hypothesis by Müller (1910: 78), already rejected by Mirmont (1903: 297) as strange to the love games of *Erotopaegnia*; for the same reason Laevius could not have been inspired either by Sophocles' *Phoenix* or by Euripides'.

¹⁸⁷ See Mirmont's interpretation (1903: 301-6): Venus was identified with Luna who shines in the sky before the Sun does. Galasso (2004: 29-38) thinks that maybe behind the phoenix is hidden the narrative *persona* of the poet.

¹⁸⁸ In Lucr. 1.144; *Cul.* 16 and *Cic. Arat.* 40.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Pacuv. *TRF* 52; *Acc. Ibid.* 118.

¹⁹⁰ Gell. *NA.* 1.8.6.

¹⁹¹ For the notion of *dominatio*, see *Sen. Vit. Beat.* 4.4

¹⁹² See Alfonsi (1958: 3.358-9) for the second hypothesis, who adds that the goddess had a double aspect: she gives a peaceful day to her priestess and she shows torturing cruelty towards her dominion (like in our passage); elsewhere, she gives blended bitter-sweet cures to humans (*Catull.* 68a.18), reminding us once again Sappho (131 LP), who spoke of the bitter-sweet reptile-like Eros.

¹⁹³ See Flores 1965: 117-140.

[Fragmenta Incertae Sedis¹⁹⁴]

23. Gell. *NA*. 2.24.8.

lex Licinia introducitur,
lux liquida haedo redditur.

1. Licinia] Licini *susp. Traglia* || 2. liquida *codd.*: liquida Leo; cf. *Lucr.* 4.1259 (*quod ad def. liquida non sufficit*): licuida *Havet*

Courtney¹⁹⁵ points out the careful match in sound and word-form between the two lines (in iambic dimeters). The verb *introducitur* appears in the vocabulary of banquets and dinners, related to the fellow dinners, or even to the dishes served on the table¹⁹⁶, giving thus an ironic tone, given the nature of this law. If we accept Leo's supplement *liquida* (as Blänsdorf does), then Laevius is using here once again a diminutive, but then the perfect harmony of the verses will be disturbed. In addition to the homoioteleuton, we observe the alliteration of *-l*, the paronomasia (*lex Licinia-lux liquida*¹⁹⁷), the isocolon, the contrast between the playful tone of the passage and the seriousness of a law, which limited the use of meat (represented here by *haedo*, in a collective way) and made obligatory the use of fruits and vegetables during dinners.

24. Non. 133, 6 M = 193, 3 L.
nocte ut opertus amictu latibuletur.

Latibulet *ed. Bas.*: latibuletur *codd., defendit Courtney*: latibulet vir *Morel*;
latibulet fur *Alfonsi*¹⁹⁸

Mercerus attributed the fragment to Laevius. As Nonius himself writes, *latibulet* and *latibuletur* (< *latibulum*, "hiding place") = *lateat*, followed by an example (another singularity) of *latibuletur* from Publilius Syrus¹⁹⁹ confusing to scholars who tried to alter Laevius' text to *latibulet*. The text probably refers to a lover in nocturnal escapades²⁰⁰. *Nocte* = *noctu* and not *noctis* (a vulgar genitive), as Traglia thinks²⁰¹. The metre is uncertain, maybe epodicum. Morel (and Blänsdorf) places *latibuletur* at the beginning of a second verse.

25. Fest. 270 M = 334 L.
scabra in legendo reduuiosaue offendens.

¹⁹⁴ Blänsdorf (2011) decided to include it in the fragments of the 6th book, doing the same thing with fr.

24. See also Aragosti 1984: 2. 93-105.

¹⁹⁵ Courtney 1993: 137

¹⁹⁶ See Tempesti 1988: 7-25.

¹⁹⁷ For *lux liquida*, cf. *TLL* 7.2.2.1486.59.

¹⁹⁸ For more critical conjectures see Alfonsi 1986: 38.

¹⁹⁹ Publ. Syr. *CRF* 2.

²⁰⁰ Mirmont 1903: 114, n. 2. For the context, cf. Catull. 62.34 *nocte latent fures*.

²⁰¹ Traglia 1962b: 55. 126; Id. 1956: 104.

This is a scazon (choliambus). As with 7 and 13, it seems to be from some sort of preface about stylistic controversy²⁰². The hapax epithet *reduuiosus*, as all epithets in *-osus* is formed from a substantive (*reduuia* or *rediuia*, equivalent to the Greek *παρωνυχία*, meaning also “part”, “fragment”), synonym to the Latin *scabra*. In a text it is used to indicate problematic passages, *loci asperi* or *loci hiantes*²⁰³.

26. Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 8. 3
Venerem igitur alnum adorans,
†siue femina siue† mas est,
Ita uti alma Noctiluca est.

1. adorans] adora *Baehrens* || 2. seu... issue (vel isue) *Haupt, Müller*: si... si *Baehrens*: seu... siue *Pighi*: igitur... siue *Havet*: si... siue *Leo*: siue... siue *codd, Morel* || 3. uti] ut *Morel* | alma] alba *Müller*: alta *Baehrens*

It was Scaliger who attributed this fragment (in anacreontics or iambic dimetres²⁰⁴) to Laevius. It is possible that it comes from the *Phoenix*²⁰⁵ and precedes fr. 22 though the devotee of the goddess there has no doubt about her sex as he does here²⁰⁶. The special formula *siue mas siue femina*²⁰⁷ was used in Roman religion at invocations because the sex of many gods was undefined (a reminiscence of the ancient era when gods were androgynous or even without gender)²⁰⁸. *Alma* is a classic epithet for Venus²⁰⁹. It is used here in a chiaston with both Venus and *Noctiluca* (< *nox* + *lux*, a substantivized epithet and Latin translation of *νυκτιφαής*²¹⁰) = *Luna*, who was considered to be of both genders²¹¹. By that name²¹² she was worshipped in her Palatine temple, illuminated at night by men and women dressed as transvestites. The masculine, *Lunus*, is also attested²¹³. The worshipper here wishes to cover both

²⁰² It is Courtney's opinion (1993: 138).

²⁰³ See Traglia's observations (1957: 97).

²⁰⁴ Zicari *ap. Granarolo* (1973a: 91, n. 1) proposed even a cleomachean: *seu femina seu mas est; Havet* created two senarii.

²⁰⁵ Mirmont (1903: 304-5) sees Laevius' influences in the concluding verses of Lact. *Av. Phoen.* 163-6 *Femina, seu masculus est, seu neutrum; felix, / Felix quae Veneris doedera nulla colit. / Mors illi Venus est; sola est in morte voluptas: / Ut posit nasci, appetite ante mori.*

²⁰⁶ Courtney 1993: 139.

²⁰⁷ Latte 1960: 54.

²⁰⁸ On this subject see Mantzilas 2000: 23-5; 2002: 705-7.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.215 and Appel 1909: 99.

²¹⁰ Parm. B 14.

²¹¹ Pl. *Symp.* 198B; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 43; *Hymn. Orph.* 9.4; *PMG* 4.2610-1.

²¹² Her name is explained by Varro, *Ling.* 5.68 *Luna [vel] quod sola lucet noctu. Itaque ea dicta Noctuluca in Palatio: nam ibi noctu lucet templum; 6.79 ab luce noctiluca [lucere item ab luce] quod propter lucem amissam, is cultus institutus; cf. also Hor. Carm. 4.6.37 rite crescentem face Noctilucam; Avien. Or. Marit. 429; Mantzilas 2002: 458; 2002: 245. She could be an identification of Artémis (often assimilated to Selene / Luna) *Nyctophaneia* (the one who shines in the night). Varro *Men. Sat.* 292 B. calls “Noctiluca” the oil lamp, because it also lights in the dark.*

²¹³ *SHA* 13.6.6 and 7.3-5.

potential sides of Venus, that is why he chooses the adjective in its masculine form²¹⁴, showing bisexuality²¹⁵ due to her dual gender and androgynous cult²¹⁶, as it is known in Cyprus, where she was assimilated with Ishtar-Astarte, and similarly in Rome as Venus *Calva*²¹⁷.

27. Apul. *Apol.* 30²¹⁸.

philtrā omnia undique eruunt;
antipathes illud quaeritur,
trochiscili, unges, taeniae,
radiculae, herbae, surculi,
saurae inlices bicodulae, hin-
nientium dulcedines.

1. *post* 2. *traiecit Salmasius* | eruunt] irruunt *Salmasius*: adruunt *Baehrens* || 3. antipathes *edd.*: antiphates *codd.* | trochus pili *Salmasius*: trochiscili φ, *Scaliger*, *Bartalucci*: trochisci *Leo*, *Müller*, *Mariotti rez. Courtney*: trochi scyphi *Baehrens* | iunges] unguēs φ, *Müller*, *Courtney*, *edd.*: iynges *Scaliger*, *Leo*: unguen *Galdi*: effigies *Mirmont*: lychni (vel *luchnus*) *Bartalucci* || 5. saurā] sauri *Salmasius* || 6. hinnientium *Casaubonus*: hinnientum *codd.*

Iambic dimeters with synapheia on a love-potion prepared by witches, with magic ingredients, perhaps to win back the affections of an adulterous lover. Saumaise²¹⁹ observed that Laevius in this fragment²²⁰ moves from the ἀνψχα to the φντά and then to the ζώα. *Philtrā*, a polysemantic word ("magic instrument", "incantation", "magic potion"), is a grecism²²¹. The verb *eruo* means "detach from the ground" and it reminds us of the scene in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* where Medea collects roots and herbs from different plants in order to create venomous juices²²². *Antipathes* (το ἀντιπαθές) is a stone, coral or pharmacon for strong pain of the nervous system, which

²¹⁴ Courtney 1993: 139; cf. *Calv.*, fr. 7; Verg. *Aen.* 2.632; Hesych. s. v. Ἀφρόδιτος = Ἐρμαφρόδιτος and Philochorus 328F184 Jacoby.

²¹⁵ This is a remark made to us by Professor Jerzy Danielewicz.

²¹⁶ There is a terracotta from Perachora showing a bearded Aphrodite. Laevius apparently plays with the two deities' double gender.

²¹⁷ Mart. Cap. 2. 181; Börtzler (1928: 188) who discusses Schol. Hom. *Il.* 2.829 and Suda s. v. Ἀφροδίτη on this subject; cf. Ioan. Lydus *Mens.* 2.11 ἀρρενόθης.

²¹⁸ Laevius has probably as a model Theoc. *Id.* 2 *Φαρμακεύτρια*(ι), imitated by Verg. *Ecl.* 8 *Pharmaceutria*. Mirmont (1903: 310) proposes with reserve the title *Pharmaceutria*.

²¹⁹ *Salmasius ad Solinum*, 661 ap. Mirmont 1903: 312.

²²⁰ See Ingallina (1991: 2.643-653) who not only gives abundant –even exhaustive– information on the fragment's polysemantic vocabulary, but he also resumes each and every earlier suggestion and proposes at the end *trochisci*, *iynges*, *taeniae*. See also Bartalucci 1984: 2.79-92.

²²¹ Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 1142; Eur. *Phoen.* 1260; Juv. 6.611; Hyg. *Fab.* 34.2; TGL s. v. and Ingallina 1991: 644, n. 6.

²²² Ov. *Met.* 7.220-237 (inspired by Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.843-865); cf. *Amor.* 1. 8. 7; Verg. *Aen.* 4.513; *Ecl.* 8.65.

is also effective against magic power²²³. *Quaeritur* appears also in Vergil²²⁴, while *trochiscilus* appears only here. The usual word is *trochiscus* = *rhombus* / *inyx*, and it is not a diminutive²²⁵. *Ungues* are nail-clippings, like hair used against the victim²²⁶. Mirmont disagrees, as *ungues* are not artificial objects, as the rest of the verse indicates, and emendates the word to *effigies*²²⁷ considerably modifying the text²²⁸. *Taeniae* are the magic bandelettes, called in Latin *licia* or *vittae*, related to religion and sometimes to sacrificial *hostiae*²²⁹. Two more diminutives are *radiculae*, often appearing in medical texts (cf. *ρίζοτόμοι*, “those who cut plants’ roots” a word applied to sorcerers) and *surculi*²³⁰. *Hinnientium*²³¹ (i. e. *equarum*). *dulcedines*²³² (cut in two verses) is *hippomanes*, an excrescence on the forehead of a new-born pony or a discharge from the mare before she is mounted²³³. *Bicodulus* (< *bis* + *cauda*) refers to two-tailed lizards, i. e. the ones whose tail has grown again after an incident, used for a lethal unguent²³⁴. It is a hapax, formed by a diminutive of *cauda* (*caudula* or *codula*), also unattested. The Greek word *saura* reappears later²³⁵, the Latin one equivalent being *lacerta* or *lacertus*, both of which also indicate the name of a fish, the Greek *λακέρδα*. *Inlices*, means “enticing the beloved to the magician”. Laevius follows the example of Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes and inspired, in his turn, Ovid, Horace and Vergil in similar scenes concerning love magic.

28. Caes. Bass. (GLK 6.261)

Mea Vatienna, amabo

This is the beginning of a poem in anacreontic metre²³⁶. Vatienna might be a freedwoman named after her patron, Vatiennus²³⁷. It could be a variation of the roman

²²³ Plut. *Fluv.* 21.6; Pliny *NH* 37.59 *antipathes nigra* for the first, Mirmont (1903: 313) for the second, Hesych., s. v. *αντίτρομον* for the third hypothesis. According to Courtney (1993: 140) it arouses mutual feelings; cf. [Luc.] *Am.* 27. It was probably a black coral.

²²⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 4.513-5.

²²⁵ Schol. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1139; 4.143; Prop. 4.5.26; Theoc. *Id.* 2.30; cf. A.-M. Tupet 1976: 52-5; Lo Monaco 1989: 261.

²²⁶ For nail-parings used as medicine, cf. Pliny *NH* 28.5.

²²⁷ Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4.508; *Ecl.* 8.86; Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.30, for *effigies* made of wax, wool or clay.

²²⁸ For Scaliger's emendation *trochisci inynges*, see *contra* Courtney (1993: 140-1) who explains that if *inynges* means wheels, than it duplicates *trochisci*; if it means birds attached to wheels, then it violates the arrangement of the poem and it would be an unicum, because these birds seem to have gone out of use by this time and therefore they never appear in magic papyri or works of Latin writers.

²²⁹ Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 7.73-5; *Aen.* 3.64,81; G. 3.487; Ov. *Amor.* 1.8.7-8; *Fast.* 2.575; Prop. 3.6.30; 4.9.27.

²³⁰ Cf. the *uerbenae* of Verg. *Ecl.* 8.65.

²³¹ *TLL* 6.3.2009.21.

²³² *Dulcedines* is a very rare plural (*TLL* 5.1.2182.74), due to it's similarity with *deliciae*, the medical term for “scabies”, according to *TLL* 1. 2184.71.

²³³ See Ov. *Amor.* 1.8.8; Verg. G. 3.281; *Aen.* 4.515.

²³⁴ Theoc. *Id.* 2.58

²³⁵ In Isid. *Orig.* 12.4.37 *saura lacertus*.

²³⁶ Cf. Catull. 32 *amabo, mea dulcis Ipsitilla, / meae deliciae, mei lepores, / iube ad te ueniam meridiatum*; Titin. 109 *Paula mea, amabo, pol tuam ad laudem addito / 'praefiscini'*; Alfonsi 1958: 359. For the interconnection between the two poems and the “motto” technique, see Courtney 198: 160-4.

name Vatinia²³⁸, probably a member of the family of the *tribunus plebes* (in 59 BC) P. Vatinius, about whom Cicero wrote the aggressive *Oratio In Vatinio*. *Amabo* is a future imperative belonging to the colloquial vocabulary (it is very common in comedy), meaning, "please" (used only by women or by men addressing women)²³⁹. Alfonsi²⁴⁰ comments on the ability of the poet to take tragic themes and to re-elaborate them thanks in an Alexandrine style using a dramatic technique of mixing oral and literary language. This fragment also reminds of the *nugae* ("trifles" or "trivia"), the light verses made by *poeti novi*²⁴¹. As Mirmont points out²⁴², the fact that she does not appear in the indiscreet catalogue²⁴³, revealing the real names of various poets' mistresses, demonstrates that Laevius used her real name.

29. Fronto, *Ep. ad Caes.* 1.1.5 v. d. Hout.

(Nulla) decipula (tam insidiosa)

Nulla decipula tam insidiosa *Laevi verba esse putant Naber, Baehrens, van den Hout, nihil nisi decipula Leo, Traglia*

This is either the plural of *decipulum* (attested also in Apuleius and others²⁴⁴) or a rare singular of *decipula*, a very late form synonym to *laqueus* or *dolus*, found for the first time here²⁴⁵.

30. Prisc. 1.258 (*GLK* 2.258).

Omnes sunt denis syllabis uersi.

Priscianus gives this verse as if it belonged to the work *Polymetra*. Laevius (perhaps in iambic dimeters-Blänsdorf) plays with the number ten (*deni*, "ten at a time") which is written in the verse, and, at the same time the verse has ten syllables, being the first of a series of lines with this characteristic. A rare feature is the use of the second declension noun *syllabus*, "catalogue", "summary"²⁴⁶ instead of the more common first declension noun *syllaba*, "syllable" or "verse"; then *uersi* is a synonym of *syllabis*. Apparently Laevius is playing here with both meanings. According to

²³⁷ For this name, see Syme 1956: 208.

²³⁸ Mirmont 1903: 328.

²³⁹ F. ex. Plaut. *Mostell.* 166; 343; 385.

²⁴⁰ Alfonsi 1958: 5.360.

²⁴¹ This is the opinion expressed by Traglia 1957: 102. He additionally thinks that it might be a part of a love-letter written by him and addressed to a lady, as the Catullian poem 32 is, presents a similar affective, erotic and familiar vocabulary, which is often found in Plautus and the *poetae novi* and before them in the Hellenistic epigram full of sentimentalism. For nugatory poetry speak also Conte and Sokolow 1994: 139.

²⁴² Mirmont 1903: 328.

²⁴³ Apul. *Apol.* 10.

²⁴⁴ Apul. *Flor.* 18.21; *Met.* 8.5; [Quint.] *Decl.* 3b.6.

²⁴⁵ Cf. *excipulum* (Pliny *NH* and glosses).

²⁴⁶ See *OLD*, s. v.

Castorina²⁴⁷, this is an indication that he was a *grammaticus*, having composed a manual on metrics, similar to that of Terentianus Maurus.

31. = 34 B = 34 M

Suet. *Gramm.* 3. 5.

Πανός αγάπημα.

agacema vel agatema vel agarema et sim. codd.: αγάπημα. Toup.: άγαλμα Aldus: agasma Salmasius: Salmasio praeunte lacunam indicavit Gron.

This is a reference (the only one written in Greek by Laevius although Suetonius' manuscripts contain different versions in Latin) to the homoerotic love between Daphnis²⁴⁸ and Pan, a theme found also in other poets as well²⁴⁹. In Morel's edition, the fragment belongs to the *dubia*. Lammert attributes it to Melissus, an opinion shared also by Holford-Stevens²⁵⁰. A similar word to *αγάπημα* is *μέλλημα*.

32. = 31 M [Dubium]

Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 16.

*hac qua sol uagus igneas habenas
inmittit proprius iugatque terrae.*

2. proprius MB

Laevius created here the first Latin hendecasyllable phalecians, a metre used also by Varro throughout the *Menippean Satires* and then in the neoteric poets. The sun is *uagus* as one of the planets in the ancient view²⁵¹. It could mean "having a constant movement" or even "having a brutal acceleration"²⁵². Anyway, the feminine is a usual epithet for the moon, *luna uaga*²⁵³. Mirmont²⁵⁴ analyzes the old hypothesis that the sun also has the name *Liber* (usually attributed to the Roman equivalent of Dionysos), because it freely maintains its own course. *Habenas* is related to the bridle (*χαλινός*) of the celestial gods' chariots²⁵⁵. The fragment, rich in metaphors, brings to mind the myth of Phaethon as it is treated by Euripides and Ovid. The fragment is omitted by Blänsdorf in his edition.

33. Serv. *Buc.* 4. 19. [Dubium]

²⁴⁷ Castorina 1949: 23.

²⁴⁸ Knaack 1901: 2145.28; Theoc. *Epigr.* 3 G = 19 G-P.

²⁴⁹ Accius, M. Aemilius Scaurus, and Q. Catullus.

²⁵⁰ Lammert 1927: 251-3; Holford-Stevens 1981: 181-2. See also Dahlmann 1982: 7-10.

²⁵¹ Courtney 1993: 143; cf. Catull. 64.272; [Tib.] 3.7.76.

²⁵² Granarolo 1973b: 326, n. 64.

²⁵³ See Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.21; Stat. *Silv.* 1.4.36 etc.

²⁵⁴ Mirmont 1903: 331.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Petron. *AL* 465.2 *hiemen tepidis spectabat Phoebus habenis*; Stat. *Theb.* 6.320 *igneas lora*.

flexipedes hederas.

Servius attributed it to an unknown poet (*antiqui lyrici*), which Norden²⁵⁶ conjectured that it was the work of Laevius²⁵⁷. Moreover, there is an imitation by Ovid²⁵⁸, who seems to have read Laevius, despite the fact that he never mentions him. The metre is hemiepes, anapaestic (Courtney) rather than dactylic or epodic verse (Granarolo). *Flexipes* (< *flecto* + *pes*), "twine" can be an adjective for *hedera*, "ivy"²⁵⁹.

There are more fragments²⁶⁰ attributed from time to time to Laevius, but now definitely rejected from modern editors as being his poems.

One thing is sure, his plurality and vivacity in creating images is impressive. Elements such as the sky, the sea, the earth, the underworld, the plant and animal kingdom and ordinary or bizarre human beings blend into an exquisite poetry. To summarise the above, we can place Laevius' lexical material, into the following categories²⁶¹:

1) *Hapax* or *Dis legomena*, words used for the very first time and rarities:

a) Adjectives, adjusted according to various metres: i) [paeon] *ueliuola*, ii) [dactylus-choriambus] *intolerantibus*, *expavida*, *foedifragos*, *multigrumis*, iii) [iambus²⁶²-anapaestus] *bicodulae*, *exsensa*, *gracilens*, *gracilenticolore*, *obeso*, *pudoricolore*, *trisaeclesenex*, iv) [logaedicus] *nocticolore*, *noctiluca*, *pestilenta*, *puluerulenta*, *tardigenulo*, v) [falecian or sapphic hendecasyllabus] *dulciorelocus*, vi) [iambic scazon] *reduuiosa*.

b) Substantives (mostly diminutives and compounds) many of which form autonomous metrical units and are integrated into each fragment's general metre (as occurs with adjectives): i) nouns of adjectival type and use: *claustritumus*, *opsaeculae*, ii) hapax or rare nouns: *admissum*, *decipula*, *dolentia*, *dominio*, *famultas*, *obito*, *senium*.

c) Verbs: i) denominatives and frequentatives: *accipitret*, *latibulet*, *risitantes*, ii) inchoatives and compounds: *fortescere*, *praepandere*.

d) Adverbs: *dubitanter*, *lasciuiter*.

²⁵⁶ Norden 1925: 39.

²⁵⁷ See also Courtney, 1993, 143 who cites Holford-Strevens pointing to Gell. *NA*. 2.22.1-2 for the authorship of it. See Alfonsi (1971: 4.359) mentioning also Norden (1925: 320) for the argument favouring Laevius as the author, for which a strong argument is the formation of similar strange compounds. Catull. 36.7, uses the similar compound *tardipes* (for Vulcan); cf. Varr. *Sat. Men.* 55 C *pedatus versuum tardor*.

²⁵⁸ Ov. *Met.* 10.99 *uos quoque, flexipedes hederarum uenistis et una*.

²⁵⁹ Cf. *TLL* s. v.; Schol. Dan. *Ecl.* 4.19 ...*Flexipedes hederas quod hac atque illac vagantur*. A similar construction is found in Pacuv. 177 *flexamina* and Catull. 64.330 *flexanimo*.

²⁶⁰ Fulg. *Myth.* s. v. *frigittire*, p. 562, 23; Varro *Ling.* 6.94; 7.24; Non. 72 M, s. v. *assulatim*; 139 M, s. v. *morsicatim*; 513 M, s. v. *asperiter*; Chalcid. in *Tim.* c.75 etc. These fragmentary remains (collected by Mirmont 1903: 333-341) belong to other poets, mainly Naevius.

²⁶¹ Traglia 1957: 91-108, with our additions.

²⁶² Tempesti (1986: 181-199) explains how the poet breaks down his iambi into 8 elements (fr. 1, 4, 6, 15, 18, 23, 27), using this pattern as an artistic and functional instrument.

2) Archaisms, which we can not be sure as to whether they are Laevian innovations or loans from previous poets: *Fiere, hostit, impete, Laertie, praecipem, quie*. Here, we can add *nocte, pellicuit, persi, oblitterus, cresti*.

3) Diminutives (mostly having an affective tone, except from the technical magic terms of fr. 27): *lasciuola, tenellula, tardigenuclo, puluerulenta, tenellis, miserulo, hilarula, opseculae, liquidula*. In addition, we could mention fr. 28, which is full of tender affection.

4) Grecisms (Greek loan-words), explained as receptions from the Hellenistic poetry, which the poet imitated and reinvented: *antipathes, philtra, saura, trochiscili, herois, delphini, hippocampi, papyrina stigmata, onychino*.

There are also some changes of grammatical gender: *umum humidum, Venerem alnum* and other rarities, as well as lexicial, metrical and grammatical particularities, such as neologisms formed by analogy; also an analogical grammatical construction, etymological word play or words given a new meaning through etymology, diminutives, and compounds²⁶³, as we explained in the analysis above²⁶⁴.

As only fragments of Laevius' poetry have survived it is not easy to trace his philosophical influences. Nevertheless, some references to luxury (*luxuria* or *luxuries*) and a comfortable lifestyle (frg. 12a, 18) may point to Epicureanism. Bodily pain (*dolor*) is almost absent, offering a hint that the poet followed the Epicurean notion of *aponia*, perhaps together with *ataraxia*, the state of tranquillity, related in some extent to the Roman *otium*²⁶⁵, which is a fundamental philosophical notion, an abstract term indicating retirement from public life for the sake of a peaceful private life, away from worries (*curae*), or just the availability of simple leisure time that is frequent but irregular.

Although he shares a passion for writing *paegnia* with some Cynics, he does not seem to follow Cynicism, i. e. the philosophy of rejecting the conventional desires of wealth, power, health and fame in order to live a simple life (a notion used also by the Stoics). We cannot be sure whether he is ready for total pacifism and quietism, which is a state of pure *otium*. Death (*mors*) is absent from his work (there is only an indirect mention of the underworld in frg. 9), so we cannot guess his beliefs about life, death and the afterlife. He only mentions the difficult age of *senectus* (7, 9), when youth has faded away and all the energy (mainly the *libido*) has gone for good.

Beauty (18, 20), love (22, 28) and lasciviousness (1, 4, 5, 22, 26-28, 31) are obvious parts of his cosmotheory, bringing him close to hedonism. Moreover, we know that he was a master of converting traditional serious myths into licentious pornographic ones. We also find sporadic abstract destructive vices and emotions such as *voluntas* (1), *dolentia* (9), *cura* (9), *aegra sanitas* (12), *famultas* (21),

²⁶³ They remind us of the dithyrambic tradition of enigmatic compounds; see LeVen (2011: under publication).

²⁶⁴ Traglia 1957: 104-8.

²⁶⁵ See André 1966: *passim*.

cupiditas (21) from which a true Stoic *sophos* should liberate himself, finding the ultimate virtue (*virtus*) using universal reason (*logos*). Thus, it seems to us that Stoicism had only a very limited influence on him. Aristotelianism's metaphysical or theoretical philosophy, in which happiness (*eudaimonia*) and wisdom or intelligence (*phronesis*) are key notions, is also absent.

Another theme, the rebirth of the mythological bird the phoenix after the *magnus annus*, i. e. a cycle of solar years, the duration of which varies in sources from 500 to 1461 solar years, brings to mind various minor astrological cycles (of seven or eight years) concerning the restoration to life of human bodies²⁶⁶. Obsession with numbers and their powers²⁶⁷ appears elsewhere, in Platonism and especially in Pythagoreanism (its branch of *mathematikoi*). Laevius' verses, in which the number of syllables and the length of words play an important part in many of his fragments, echo the perception that numbers possess perfection.

Certain aspects of human existence such as the mind (*mens*), the heart (*cor*) and the body (*corpus*) are affected by age (7, 8), by emotions (3), by sleep or serenity (15, 22), madness (12) or even a simple movement of clothing. The Platonic mind and reason (*logos* or *logisticon*), emotion or spiritedness (*thymos* or *thumeticon*), *joie de vivre* and desire (*eros* or *epithumeticon*) do not appear specifically but are alluded to in his fragments. In conclusion, even though it is impossible to make any firm deductions, we feel that Laevius did not follow a specific philosophical doctrine: his verses reveal a syncretism of different ones.

Laevius is an erudite student of the Alexandrians and the first Alexandrian in Rome²⁶⁸ (or the very last of the ancient poets²⁶⁹), expanding the horizons that Livius Andronicus had already opened by introducing Greek poetry into Rome. Laevius created a blend of fresh poetry, away from the conventions of the traditional one²⁷⁰, full of sensuality but also peculiarity thanks to unusual words, phrases, structures and metres, based on well known themes, myths and traditions. He was accused of debasing noble historic legends and making tragic heroes and heroines into the protagonists of frivolous love affairs²⁷¹, but this was caused by the intolerance towards new trends. He combines poetic sentiment and the intellectual *plaisanterie* with Pythagorean meditation on the immortality of life and love²⁷². This sense of parody and light-heartedness is already known from Apollonius of Rhodes, but Laevius was the first to introduce it to Rome with such courageous and daring innovations in a ludical context²⁷³.

²⁶⁶ See Mantzilas 2005: 64, n. 76.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 65, n. 80.

²⁶⁸ Mirmont 1900: 345. See Glaser (1934: 72) for further bibliography.

²⁶⁹ This is Pascoli's evaluation 1915: XXXVI, n. 1.

²⁷⁰ Perutelli (1990: 257-268) sees on the one hand an innovator, who breaks the traditional images and rejuvenates the poetic language and on the other hand a conservative poet who goes back to ancient comedy's obsolete vocabulary.

²⁷¹ For more details, see Mirmont 1900: 344-5.

²⁷² Rostagni 1964: 416.

²⁷³ A future study over the relationship of Laevius with the Roman satire (*satira*) can be useful.

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