



«Горит восток зарею новой» (Hor. Epod. 9, 17)

Егорова Софья Кондратьевна

Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет (СПбГУ), Санкт-Петербург,
Россия

«The new dawn burns the eastern sky...» (Hor. Epod. 9, 17)

Egorova Sofia

Saint Petersburg State University (SPSU), St. Petersburg, Russia

Аннотация

В докладе рассматривается текстологическая трудность в 9м эпосе Горация. В 17–18 стихах в рукописях читаем: **adhuc/ad hunc** *frementes verterunt* is mille equos / Galli canentes Caesarem. Обычно под местоимением *hunc* понимают Марка Антония (упомянутого в стт. 11–13), хотя предшествующий стих также содержит сущ. м. р. *sol*. На мой взгляд, автор чтения *adhuc* понимал его как *ad solem (orientem)* – «повернули коней на восток»: представляется, что выражение *solaspicit conopium* (солнце узрело москитную сетку) указывает именно на рассвет – время, когда в древности производился осмотр диспозиций врага.

Abstract

The article deals with a textology question in Ninth Epode by Horace. The verses 17–18 gives as follows: **adhuc/ad hunc** *frementes verterunt* is mille equos / Galli canentes Caesarem. The usual understanding of the noun *hunc* is to him,

i. e. to Marc Antony, mentioned in vv. 11–13. Meanwhile the previous line has a masculine noun *sol*. In my opinion, the author of the reading *ad hunc* might have understood it as *ad solem (orientem)* – «the Galatians turned their horses toward the rising sun, i. e. to the East». It is quite possible, that the phrases *solaspicit conopium* ('the Sun saw a mosquito net') describes sunrise – the time usual for observing the enemies' arrangement in ancient armies.

Ключевые слова: битва при Акции, Гораций, рукописная традиция Горация, эподы Горация.

Keywords: the battle of Actium, Epodes, Horace, manuscript tradition of Horace.

I have chosen this verse from «Poltava» (tr. by I. S. Eubanks) as a title not only because it expresses well my assumption for the passage in question, but also suggesting imagining the situation when we would use this Pushkin's poem as one of the courses for reconstruction of the battle. Meanwhile it occurs often for one



of the Epodes by Horace that depicts the battle of Actium (2 September 31 BC; for more information and the scheme of action see e. g. [The Cambridge Ancient History 2001, 54–59]).

Ninth Epode by Horace

The Epode (a iambic poem, 38 lines long) has a ring composition: the beginning and the conclusion deal with the topic of a festive banquet – and here we can observe that this content is familiar for a young poet; the center part, i. e. the description of the news of the battle itself, is rather indistinct, though it contains some particular details. The following verses refer to the overland phase of the battle and first of all the desertion of the Galatian cavalry. (The text with the manuscript variants and scholars' conjectures are given according to the edition of István Borzsák.)

Romanus, eheu (posterinegabitis)
emancipatus feminae
fertvallum et arma miles et spadonibus
servirerugosis potest,
interquesignatur pemilitaria 15
sol aspicit conopium.

Alas! A Roman <probably Marc Antony> – this will be denied by the posterity – being rented by a woman, marches as a soldier and can serve to wrinkled eunuchs, and the sun sees a mosquito net <of Cleopatra / her effeminate court> between army standards.

«Locus difficillimus»

Further we find the most difficult passage («locus difficillimus» as Richard Bentley calls it [Horati Opera... Bentleii 1711, 191–192]), the difficulty being still worse because of a text corruption represented in all the medieval manuscript tradition.

†**adhunc**† frementis verterunt bis mille
equos

Galli canentes Caesarem,
hostilium quena vium portu latent
puppes inistrorsum citae. 20

Two thousand Galatians turned their snorting horses [†...] praising Caesar <=Octavianus>, and the sterns of the enemies' ships are closed in a harbor, being swift to the left (For the meaning of the verses 19–20 describing some naval actions, see the article by E. Wistrand).

Let us examine the manuscript variant:

adhuc (C1 λ l δ2) 'still, till this time'

This variant is an evident corruption, as this adverb does not suit any of two verbs.

† **athuc** (a2 unus Bland.) 'but here / hither' This poorly represented variant often can be read in the editions with a *crux desperationis*, the general meaning being: But the Galatians turned their horses *to out side* [Mankin 1995, 38, 168].

But the most common reading is **ad hunc** (V A a1 C corr. R F δ1 p u Ott. Ox. P 3) + the reading *adhuc* might go back to it either) 'to it/to him'.

The usual way to explain this *ad hunc* from ancient time is as 'to the Roman <soldier>', i. e. Marc Antony, the preposition *ad* 'to' meaning 'against' here [Watson 2003, 325]. Bentley finds it awkward, if not impossible (who, nevertheless, proposes an unsuccessful conjecture for this reading [Horati Opera... Bentleii 1711, 192]).

Another weakness both of this understanding of *ad hunc* and of the reading *at huc* is a dynamic character of Galatians' moving, as if it were a cavalry field maneuver with a sudden change of direction. Meanwhile the location (and especially a coastline of the Ambracian gulf) makes it highly improbable. Galatians must have left Antony in some other way.



Sources on the desertion of Galatians

Velleius Paterculus mentions the desertion of the Galatian king Amyntas very briefly: rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora secutus (84.2).

According to Plutarch's evidence, Galatian left Antony's camp a week or at least a few days before the battle (Ant. 63.3).

Dio Cassius (50. 13. 8) reports of an interesting detail: he focuses not on a desertion itself, but on Antony's fear to be left by his allies. In the chapter previous to the one describing the naval battle Antony is said to recall Galatians, who had been sent to collect taxes to Thrace. The historian does not mention, if they really came back, and one can assume that they did not.

ad hunc – ad solem

I would like to offer a new understanding for the manuscript reading *ad hunc*, referring the pronoun to the noun *Sol* from the previous verse, i. e. to it = to the sun.

The usage of this pronoun is found in Horace's poetry (47 times only in this particular form, 9 times in lyric poetry). Although it is often the opposition 'this–that' (see e. g. the passage of two mice: Serm. 2, 6, 90: tandem urbanus ad hunc... inquit ...), there are to be found passages, where the pronoun *hic* denotes a person or an object mentioned above: e. g. A. P. 278: post hunc (v. 276 Thespis) personae pallaeque reptor honestae....

The rising sun

The specification «to the sun» has sense only if the sun is in some certain position, for example it rises on the east. The Latin expression *sol oriens* is quite common for the East direction, and then the text will

mean: 'Galatians turned their horses to the rising sun, i. e. to the East'.

The *verbaspectio* in the verse 16 was understood earlier as 'to watch', 'to look at' (with the epic topos «the sun watches all»), but it means rather 'to throw a glance', 'to (start to) see'. For a confirmation two passages from Horace can be quoted, with the context being almost the same: in the 16th Epistle this verb describes the rising sun: sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol (Hor. Epist. 1, 16, 6), and in another passage a rise of constellations is meant: Seu Libra seu me Scorpius aspicit (Hor. Carm. 2, 17, 17). The passage with the word *aurora* is also relevant here: Tertia post Idus nudos aurora Lupercos / aspicit, et Fauni sacra bicorniseunt (Ovid. Fast. 2, 267-8).

The situation itself speaks in favor of the morning, as it was usual time for watching the enemy's camp from afar: see e. g. Caes. B.G. 1, 22, 1-2; Liv. 22, 28; 42.

The origin of the reading *ad hunc*

The author of the reading *ad hunc*, though he most probably was not Horace himself, could refer the pronoun to the noun *Sol*. If this variant comes from Late Antiquity or the Early Medieval time, a scribe or a reviser must have known where the cape Actium is – in the most western part of the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, in his opinion, Galatians intending to leave Antony should turn to the East.

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