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ÉDITIONS LATOMUS

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EXTRAIT

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Sergio CASALI, Fabio STOK (edd.)



ÉDITIONS LATOMUS – BRUXELLES

Servius and the City of *Amyclae* Case

In memory of Giorgio Brugnoli
"Ma è possibile, / lo sai, amare
un'ombra, ombre noi stessi."
(E. Montale, *Xenia* 1,13,12-13)

1. Among the victims of Aeneas' homicidal fury during the battle, in book X of the *Aeneid*, there is a certain Camers, whose homeland Virgil mentions, in an obscure periphrasis – see 561-564 :

*protinus Antaeum et Lucam, prima agmina Turni,
persequitur fortemque Numam fuluomque Camertem,
magnanimo Volcente satum, ditissimus agri
qui fuit Ausonidum et tacitis regnavit Amyclis.*

The reason why *Amyclae* is defined as *tacitae* cannot be reconstructed on the basis of Virgil's text, the stylistic feature of which, also in this case, is in line with that cryptic preciousness which is typical of Hellenistic techniques. And Servius' *ad locum* gloss does not solve the problem. On the contrary, the numerous exegetical interpretations leave us with a series of hypotheses, and this indicates just how problematic and obscure the overall issue is :

"inter Caietam et Terracinam oppidum constitutum est a Laconibus, qui comites Castoris et Pollucis fuerunt [...] et ab Amyclis, prouinciae Laconicae ciuitate, ei inditum est. Lacones itaque isti cum secundum Pythagoream sectam a caede omnium animalium abstinerent [...] et ex uicinis paludibus natas serpentes occidere nefas putarent, ab iisdem interempti sunt : unde Amyclas tacitas dicit, id est Pythagoreas : nam Pithagorica uirtus est quinquennale silentium. Cicero propter nimiam modestiam perisse illos ait, dum a finitimis accipiunt iniurias et tacent eas. est alia expositio : cum frequenter falso nuntiarentur hostes et inani terrore ciuitas quassaretur, lata lege cautum est ne quis umquam hostis nuntiaret aduentum. postea cum uere hostis ueniret, nullo nuntiante, ex improuiso ciuitas capta est : unde tacitae Amyclae dictae sunt, quod periire silentio. hinc est quod ait Lucilius mihi necesse est loqui : nam scio Amyclas

tacendo perisse. uel 'tacitis' de quibus taceatur, id est ignobiles et non dignae aliqua opinione : uel hypallage est pro 'ipse tacitus'."

Clearly we see here the juxtaposition of different themes which generate just as many motifs. The first, of a mystical nature, concerning the observance of a Pythagorean silence, derives directly from the paradoxographical topos of the city devastated by invasions of animals. We might mention a similar case, that of the extinction of the city of Cosa, following an invasion of rats (1).

On the other hand, drawing upon the symbology of an enemy attack, the conclusion we arrive at seems to emerge from rationalistic positions, directly mirroring previous fable-like reconstructions, in line, perhaps, with the Ciceronian fragment, quoted by Danielinus, which does in fact mention neighbouring and threatening populations (2).

Once more it is Danielinus who makes another two suggestions. The first is that *Amyclae* was *tacitae* in that it was *ignobiles*, unfit to be mentioned, the second that it constitutes a hypallage. Thus *tacitus* refers to Camers.

Servius' gloss puts forward the quotation of a prestigious *testimonium*, Lucilius (frgg. 696-97 Warmington*) who associates the ruins at *Amyclae* (and its disappearance) with the silence motif and Servius' reflection on the mystic-Pythagorean silence might also derive from this. Lucilius' testimony coincides perfectly with Afranius' text, quoted by SCHOL. *Verg. Aen.* 10, 564 p. 447 Hagen (= frgg. 274-275 Ribbeck) :

«Amyclis ex prouerbio <sum>ptum est, cuius Afranius meminit in Prodito : 'deliberatum est non tacere <me> amplius : / Amunculas tacen<do p>erisse audio'»

(1) Of the analogous destiny of Cosa, Rutilius Namatianus speaks in *red.* 1, 265-266. I have recently made the hypothesis – based on the Aymclae-Cosa coincidence – that Rutilius is using a lost Virgilian written glossographic record which would indeed have recalled the reasons for the end of Cosa : PRIVITERA (2001). The article was inspired by BRUGNOLI (1985), in which, among other things, he mentions the complete list of the geographical areas involved and stories concerning animal devastators.

(2) In actual fact, in Cicero's fragment there is no explicit mention of *Amyclae*. It is the position of the sentence which prompts this sort of illusion. We cannot exclude a priori that the annotator, conjecturing about the reason for the silence of *Amyclae*, comes up with a backup quotation which is meant for effect ; it is entirely decontextualised, then reassembled in what seems a totally consistent manner.

as is shown by the analogous expedient of the poet's personal intervention, which probably serves to bear out the authenticity of the information (*scio / audio*) and the use of the identical formula *tacendo perisse*. This agreement between the two testimonies is clearly the basis of Virgil's synthetic locution. The interest of Afranius' testimony lies also in the fact that it provides us with the Italic variation *Amunculae* of the corresponding Greek toponym *Amyclae* used by Virgil. As for the term *Amyclaeus*, which is quite common, it is generally used as an epithet concerning the myths alluding to Sparta. *Amiclaei* is a formula for the Dioscuri, as Virgil's expression *Amyclaei domitus Pollucis habenis / Cyllarus* (*Georg.* 3, 89-90), indicates. This is Servius' gloss :

«atqui Castor equorum domitor fuit. sed fratrem pro fratre posuit poetica licentia, ut quas illi Philomela dapes pro 'Progne' [...] aut certe ideo Pollucem pro Castore posuit, quia ambo licenter et Polluces et Castores uocantur; nam et ludi et templum et stellae Castorum nominantur. et aliter : Amyclae ciuitas Laconicae».

In actual fact, the nature of the epithet *Laconicae*, used in the gloss for *Amyclae*, is not at all clear, since it could be interpreted either as the genitive singular for the region Laconia or the nominative plural agreeing with *Amyclae*. The problem could be solved by another of Servius' glosses, which comments on the expression *Amyclaeumque canem* (*Georg.* 3, 345), thus :

«Amycla : Lacona. et est species pro genere. Amycla autem ciuitas est Laconicae».

What's more, testifying to a single form *Amycla*, in the place of the more common plural ⁽³⁾.

We suspect that Virgil, in choosing the epithet *tacitae*, referring to the homeland of Camers, wanted to create or suggest, once more, an identification between the Italic city *Amuncula* and the Spartan *Amyclae*, (and perhaps this was already clear in Cicero or even in Cato), and played on the almost identical pronunciation of the place names. A sort of ideal twinning between the Italic neo-foundation and the corresponding Greek archetype, which Virgil often has recourse to – more or less allusively –

(3) As for the significant coupling, in one gloss of the city of *Amyclae* and the myth of Procne and Philomela, which was to leave a trace in later rewritings, see *infra*. For the *amicleo* epithet, cf. GARGIULO (1984).

to ennoble Latin cities. Thus, *Amuncula-Amyclae* is to be defined *tacita* because it is *laconica* or “*Amyclae* of the laconic name” (4).

As for Servius’ gloss, the final layer in a stratification going on for centuries, is a case of so-called open exegesis. Either the question already existed at the time of Virgil’s initial comments, just after the publication and immediate circulation of the *Aeneid*, or, on the contrary, the current state of the gloss is an extreme and therefore simplified synthesis of a discussion which was originally more elaborate. The fact that it might have concerned the Italic city directly or that it is an episode concerning the Spartan *Amyclae* is unknown to us, it is impossible to establish (5).

However, there is a singular coincidence in the narratological elements in the *Amyclae* gloss and another place in Servius’ commentary, which might offer an interesting interpretative key for this debated passage. In the *Aeneid* 7, 730 the expression *Oscorum manus*, concerning the maniple of Oscans who intervene as Turnus’ allies in the traditional catalogue of Italic contingents, is glossed thus :

«Capuenses dicit, qui ante Ὀπικιοί appellati sunt, quod illic plurimi abundare serpentes» (6).

In this case too, snakes are recalled as correlated with the population mentioned, although here, the exegesis, in its bareness, presents itself – rather more than the rest of the discussion concerning *Amyclae* – as a small residue. However, it is clear that the mention of *plurimi serpentes*, so closely associated with the Greek toponym, constitutes an aetiological motif. The essence of the information (the proliferation of snakes in the area) indicates a certain consistency with an analogous event, which took place in the Pontine marshes where *Amyclae* was supposed to have been situated. Thus, I would suggest as an alternative hypothesis that by means

(4) Cf. PRIVITERA (2001) p. 32. Carlo SANTINI, in the forthcoming paper *Materiali per un’indagine sui toponimi di alcuni oppida nei commenti di Servio*, read at the seminar *L’onomastica dell’Italia antica : aspetti linguistici, storico-culturali, tipologici e classificatori* (Rome, 13-16 november 2002), observes that “the overall framework of the etymological and heroic world we presuppose for Virgil’s Italy is that in which the Greek language prevails”.

(5) On *Amyclae*, cf. CANCELLIERI (1984).

(6) I am following the text of the new edition of RAMIRES (2003) p. 106. Thilo’s *lectio* is however *Ophici*.

of the serpent reference, Servius wishes to suggest, in fact, an Oscan origin for the city of *Amuncula-Amyclae* too (7).

And if the aetiological snake element was derived from the topic motif of ferocious animals invading and destroying cities – a picturesque variation of the cliché of the city in ruins – this shows us even more, how, in interpretations of Virgil, over the centuries, elements of a heterogeneous nature are, in various ways, assembled and/or broken down (8). We are tempted at this point to conjecture about an original unity of facts, hypothesising that the two glosses were once united in a single context and only later separated into the two passages mentioned. Alternatively, we might suggest that it was the mention itself of the Oscan origin of a population or a city which produced the snake motif, repeated on the right occasions. Or even that we have here a sort of internal quotation, a self-referential recall within the *commentarius* (9).

An analogous aetiological case might be that of Halesus, one of Turnus's allies, quoted in the *Aeneid* 7, 723-725: *hinc Agamemnonius, Troiani nominis hostis / curru iungit Halaesus equos Turnoque ferocis / mille rapit populos*, whom Servius, using a phonetic device, indicates as the Faliscan eponymous hero:

(7) On the other hand, the same presumed placing of *Amuncula-Amicle*, between Gaeta and Terracina according to Servius, could well have been part of the area under Oscan control. Cfr. SCARCIA (2002) p. 752: "Taking this collective name are Samnite migratory fringes occupying the area near the sea, from the limit of the territory of the Volsci (Anzio and Terracina etc) to Capua and Pompei, in the middle of areas of Greek colonisation (Cuma, Naples etc)". Cfr. RUSSI (1987). Furthermore, I would like to point out that there is a second ethnic element which calls up Volsci territory, the name Volcens, father of Camers, in *Aen.* 10, 563 cit., might correspond to the Volsci ethnic group, through the allusion mechanism, typical of Virgil, by which the placename is correlated with the name of a mythical character. SANTINI (n. 4) observes thus: "a specific tendency in ancient etymology with respect to toponymy consists in correlating the toponym with the name of a mythical character who features in general in the aetiological story as the *ecista* hero, the leader of a migrating people and the founder". SANTINI also mentions analogous cases of allusive or concealed etymology behind the placenames of certain *oppida* of the Campania of Book VII of the *Aeneid*, like Abella, Labico and Preneste. In the case of Abella, we should stress that the epithet *malifer* (precisely like the case of *tacitae* for *Amyclae*), attributed by Virgil to the city constitutes a coded way of alluding to the Oscan etymology of the placename.

(8) On the motif of cities which die, cf. LABATE (1991).

(9) PAIS (1906) attributes an historical foundation to the legend of the *Amyclae* snakes and precisely on the basis of the thematic coincidence with the gloss concerning the Oscans, hypothesises the end of *Amyclae* due to an Oscan attack.

«Faliscos Halesus condidit. hi autem, inmutato H in F, Falisci dicti sunt, sicut febris dicitur quae ante hebris dicebatur, Formiae quae Hormiae fuerunt, ἀπο τῆς ὀρμηῆς : nam posteritas in multis nominibus F pro H posuit».

That the *quaestio* concerning *Amyclae* was perceived already by the first “users” of the *Aeneid* as being an open one, is indicated by the self-assurance of the treatment of the myth on Silius’ part. He indicates an obvious coexistence of two cities of the same name, one Spartan, the other Italic, as shown in the passage 8, 527-530 :

*Sinuessa tepens fluctuque sonorum
Vulturnum, quasque euertere silentia, Amyclae,
Fundique et regnata Lamo Caieta domusque
Antiphatae...*

in which *Amyclae* features in a catalogue of Campania’s cities. He calls, once more, upon the theme of silence, responsible for the ruinous end of the city, which is used as a qualifying feature, seemingly indispensable. The expression comes from Virgil, although not exclusively so. Silius, indeed, seems to base his image on the suggestion of a commented Virgil, which perhaps already included Lucilius’ backup quotation, as seems to be proved by the *euertere silentia* link, which seems to make the Virgilian epithet *tacitae* clear. On the other hand, elsewhere, Silius mentions the Spartan *Amyclae*, linked to the myth of Leda’s descendants⁽¹⁰⁾.

The *Amyclae* question, as such, is destined to remain open, even though it constitutes a significant case of stratification and interference in the *ad auctores* exegesis.

2. Silius’ behaviour is symptomatic of the confusion generated by the calculated obscurity of the Virgilian *iunctura*. Virgil speaks indeed of a single *Amyclae* and the fact that this is not to be identified with the Spartan city is not possible to infer with certainty from the context either. It is Virgil’s gloss which brings forward the affair of the Italic city, with all the implications just examined.

(10) For example in 2, 434 *Ledaeis...Amyclis*, in 4, 358-359, in which Xanthippus is defined *Ledeo* associated with the *nobile Amyclae / nomen* and again in 13, 44, *Ledae rediturum nomen Amyclae*, where *nomen Ledae* equals Helen.

It is obvious that a complex text like the *Aeneid*, open to a number of different interpretations and also compulsory reading, because of its ideological importance, on school curricula from the first decades of its publication onwards, would have required intensely detailed exegetic work⁽¹¹⁾. It is precisely the stratification, at different operational levels, of this work of exegesis which deeply conditioned later literary comment, which took account of it as much as the text itself. Whereas an Ovid is able to stand up to, if not obstinately compete with, the *Aeneid*⁽¹²⁾, scholastic practice in late antiquity presupposes another attitude altogether, i.e. memorisation of Virgil's text (perhaps already anthologised) with literary reproduction in mind, undetached from the matching comment, indispensable for an understanding of the text, which ends up taking on the same authority.

The hypothetical reader and intellectual has before him a single corpus to take material from, the text as such, and the gloss. Or in certain cases only the glossemic device, which becomes the only focus, by means of which we accede partially to the *auctor*. It seems obvious that such an open system of exchange is intrinsically subject to a progressive stratification, since, by definition every comment is open, on the part of the reader and the other annotators to every sort of addition, enlarging and intervention, which make a live text of it, work in progress⁽¹³⁾. The case of *Amyclae* indicates that the operation of superimposing information does not take place only diachronically but also synchronically, in a sort of horizontal contamination between the glosses, which thus come to take the shape of a material whose main characteristic is extreme fluidity, open to interference.

The most glaring consequence is seen in the so-called 'intertext', the rewriting done by later authors, who seem to bring together the authoritative text and glossographical device, as if they were on a par, bringing forth images which would otherwise be incomprehensible.

3. A typical case, in terms of an exegetic issue going on for centuries, is, without doubt, the finale of *Peruigilium Veneris*, built entirely around the motif of silence, obsessively reiterated, on to which is attached, as a

(11) Cf. SCARCIA (1999).

(12) Cf. BRUGNOLI-STOK (1992).

(13) On Servius' commentary and the two editions, see BRUGNOLI (1988).

conclusive *pointe*, the mention of the city of *Amyclae* and its ruin (vv. 89-92) ⁽¹⁴⁾ :

*illa cantat, nos tacemus. quando uer uenit meum ?
quando faciam uti chelidon, ut tacere desinam ?
perdidi Musam tacendo nec me Phoebus respicit.
sic Amyclas, cum tacerent, perdidit silentium.*

As is clear, the insistence on the motif of ruinous silence, which the poet seems condemned to, for reasons which are still mysterious, is built on the variation of the verb *taceo* which goes directly back to Virgil's epithet *tacitae*. But the page actually seems to nourish itself on a series of suggestions which presuppose not only dependence on Virgil but also the relative exegetic stratification, which reveals the glossographical nature of the passage ⁽¹⁵⁾.

The final line of the *Peruigilium* (*sic Amyclas cum tacerent perdidit silentium*), in fact, seems to show something of a consonance, in the tone and in the lexical choice, with both *auctores* quoted in Servius's comment, so that *cum tacerent* could be interpreted as a clarification of the gerund *tacendo* and the *perdidit* as a morphological variation with respect to the *perisse* of the sources.

Nor should we underestimate the unexpected appearance of the poetic I in the last lines of the poem, at the same time as *Amyclae* is mentioned, consistent with the autobiographical tone of the two *testimonia* adopted by the gloss. And this expressive coincidence should not induce us to hypothesise a direct knowledge of Lucilius or Afranius on the part of the writer of the *Peruigilium*, but more likely that he is utilising Virgil with the relative device of glosses, which already clearly foresaw the joining of the two *auctores*, singled out as Virgilian models. Although the consistency of the information relative to *Amyclae*, with respect to the current state of the work, was presumably much bigger.

(14) Clearly the author of the *Peruigilium*, on the basis of the prestige of previous models, interprets the silence motif as by now definitively linked - and as such obligatory - to the *Amyclae* legend.

(15) It is on a rather later dating of the poem, confirmed by its glossographical nature, which presupposes a scholastic culture, that I have been able to insist very much in recent years. Cf. for example PRIVITERA (1992) or more recently PRIVITERA (2001). The most recent editor CUCCHIARELLI (2003) p. 24-25 seems by now more oriented towards a later date (4th century), rather than the traditional 2nd century.

Furthermore, the fact that the deep structure of the ending of the *Peruigilium* is to be interpreted in the light of the Virgilian gloss is shown also by the fact that in the comment concerning *Georg.* 3, 89-90 (cit. *supra*), together with the myth of *Amyclae* and the Dioscuri, we find the analogous case of *ecl.* 6, 79, in which Virgil hints at the myth of Procne and Philomela. We cannot in any way consider it a coincidence that the final section of the *Peruigilium* also, reminds us of the same myth, see 86-88 :

*adsonat Terei puella subter umbram populi,
ut putes motus amoris ore dici musico
et neges queri sororem de marito barbaro.*

This is important if we wish to understand the quality of the *scriptorium* of the author, who in the case in point, seems to have found a cue for the mention of the two myths (Procne-Philomela and *Amyclae*), which he clearly perceives as correlated ⁽¹⁶⁾.

This cultural behaviour, once more, indicates how scholastic practice in late antiquity, the use of Virgil as poetic material, was not possible without taking into account the exegesis associated with it and that authoritative text and comment were by then read as a single source, which one could, indiscriminately, draw upon, because it was perceived as a single *corpus*.

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(16) But the gloss actually goes together only because of a specious onomastic analogy, since the Castor/Pollux exchange is another thing altogether compared to that of Procne and Philomela.

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