

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE WRITINGS OF JULIUS CAESAR

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Caesar's Poetry in its Context

Sergio Casali

Caesar's poetical oeuvre has been almost completely lost. We are left with a handful of fragments (seven lines in total) and scattered bits of information: in young age he composed a poem called *Laudes Herculis* and a tragedy *Oedipus* (Suet. *Iul.* 56.7); in 46 BCE, during his voyage to Spain, he wrote another poem, entitled *Iter* (*Iul.* 56.5); and he produced some *versiculos parum severos* ("verses far from serious," Plin., *Ep.* 5.3.5). Of the seven lines that have been preserved, six form an epigram encapsulating Caesar's judgment on Terence and one, whose very attribution to Caesar is debated, deals with an ointment (Isid. *Etym.* 4.12.7). Before analyzing these scanty remains we shall briefly consider Caesar's relation to poetry.

Caesar wrote verses with facility and composed poetry for recreation. Allegedly, in 75 he wrote poems and recited them to the Cilician pirates who had kidnapped him: "he called barbarous and uncouth those who did not like his works, and often laughingly threatened to hang them" (Plut. *Caes.* 2.4). They were not the last ones to dislike Caesar's verses: Tacitus, with his usual sarcasm, remarked that Caesar's literary fame benefitted from the scarce renown of his poetry (Tac. *Dial.* 21.6); and Augustus forbade the publication of Caesar's juvenile works, including the *Laudes Herculis* and the *Oedipus* (Suet. *Iul.* 56.7). These works have been interpreted differently: Alfonsi (1983) suggested that the Greek poet Sophocles was the model both for the *Laudes Herculis*, an encomiastic poem, and for the *Oedipus* and that both developed the same theme – a hero achieving immortality through suffering. Building on this idea and placing it in the political context, Zecchini (1993) rejected the notion that Augustus damned those poems out of jealousy or in order to defend Caesar's literary reputation.¹ Rather, by the prohibition, which Zecchini

I wish to thank Andrea Cucchiarelli, Joseph Farrell, Luigi Galasso and Fabio Stok, for having read and criticized earlier drafts of this chapter.

¹ Cf. e.g. Spaeth (1931, 598).

dates to 4–12 CE, Augustus attempted to prevent the Caesarian-Antonian opposition from reading those writings “prophetically”: Caesar heroized and worshipped like Hercules, and Caesar, father of two “sons,” Octavian and Antony, who sparked off a devastating civil war, like Oedipus. It is a suggestive hypothesis, even though, of course, highly speculative.

Realizing that Caesar wrote verses might cause some surprise, but there is nothing strange about it. Already Q. Lutatius Catulus, a blue-blooded aristocrat and consul (102 BCE), wrote lascivious poetry and founded the so-called pre-neoteric poetry.² By Caesar’s time, writing poetry was amongst the leisure activities practiced by the elite, as exemplified by Cicero, the famous orator Hortensius, the great jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and Gaius Memmius among others. Equally, various *poetae novi* were more or less intensively engaged in public and military activity: C. Helvius Cinna, Q. Cornificius, and T. Licinius Tica actively supported the Caesarian party; Cornelius Gallus was a great poet and the first Prefect of Roman Egypt; and Augustus wrote a poem in hexameters called *Sicilia* and a book of *Epigrams* (one of which is, perhaps, preserved by Martial, 11.20).

Members of the elite composed tragedies as well. Julius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus, Caesar’s uncle, is an example; apparently Q. Cicero, the brother of Marcus, wrote four tragedies in sixteen days, while he was lieutenant of Caesar in Gaul in 54; Vergil and Horace praise Asinius Pollio as tragediographer; and Augustus himself attempted to write a tragedy, *Aiæx* (Suet. *Aug.* 85.2).³

Caesar’s engagement with poetry, however, went beyond his composition of verses. He actively cultivated relationships with poets, taking pains to reconcile with C. Licinius Calvus (a poet and great orator) and Catullus after their ferocious attacks.⁴ Other poets instead praised him, even if he did not try to control their literary production (as Augustus and Maecenas will do): M. Furius Bibaculus composed an epic in at least eleven books praising Caesar’s Gallic war; and P. Terentius Varro Atacinus’ *Bellum Sequanicum* celebrated his campaign of 58 BCE against Ariovistus.⁵ Cicero himself composed a poem on Caesar’s British expedition. Perhaps

² Tellingly, Pliny lists Catulus as the earliest aristocratic writer of amateur poetry (*Ep.* 5.3.5, with Courtney 1993, 75–8); for a similar list, cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 2.433–66.

³ On Q. Cicero, see *Q. fr.* 3.5(5–7).7 with Courtney (1993, 179–81) and Hollis (2007, 216–17); on Pollio, see Verg. *Ecl.* 8.10, cf. 3.84–7; Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.42–3, *Carm.* 2.1.9–12; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.5; Tac. *Dial.* 21; and on Augustus, see Courtney (1993, 282–3); Hollis (2007, 282–6).

⁴ Spaeth (1937); Suet. *Iul.* 73. On Calvus, see Courtney (1993, 201–11); Hollis (2007, 57–8). On Catullus’ relationship with Caesar, see Bellandi (2012). On Lucretian echoes in Caesar’s *Gallic Wars*, see Krebs (2013a, 752–7).

⁵ Courtney (1993, 195–200 and 235–53); Hollis (2007, 118–45 and 178–9).

it was never published (*Q. fr.* 2.14(13).2, 3.1.11, 3.7(9).6), but Cicero knew that Caesar had been informed about this, and thus felt impelled to resume the work after an interruption (*Q. fr.* 3.6(8).3).⁶ On another occasion, Cicero sent verses from his *De Temporibus Suis* to Caesar; but his mixed judgment led Cicero anxiously to inquire of Quintus whether it was subject or style that was not to Caesar's liking (*Q. fr.* 2.16(15).5).

Caesar's Poetry

Isidore attributes a short iambic line on an ointment (*telinum*) to Caesar (*Etym.* 4.12.7):

corpusque suavi telino unguimus
 "and we anoint our body with pleasant *telinum*".

Courtney suggests that this fragment might come from the *Iter* (perhaps because it may refer to an incident on the voyage), while the editors of the fragments of Roman tragedy attributed it to Caesar Strabo.⁷ But even if it did come from the *Iter* it would reveal little about it: what type of poem was it? Tone and style remain impossible to define, but it was probably embedded in the literary tradition of journey descriptions, which is documented before and after Caesar: Lucilius had described his voyage in Sicily (Book 3, 97–147 Marx), and after Caesar Horace narrated his journey to Brundisium (*Sat.* 1.5), and C. Valgius Rufus (consul in 12 BCE) his travel from the Adriatic up the Po.⁸

The only other fragment of Caesar's poetry we have is a judgment on Terence's poetry, which Suetonius preserved and attributed to Caesar:⁹

Cicero in Limone hactenus laudat:
tu quoque qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum
in medium nobis sedatis †vocibus† effers,
quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens.
item C. Caesar:
tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.
lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis

⁶ Quintus Cicero too may have planned to write an epic on Caesar's British expedition: see Marciniak (2008, 213–15) with bibliography; cf. *Q. fr.* 2.16(15).4, 3.4.4, 3.5(5–7).4.

⁷ Courtney (1993, 187). Schauer fr. 3 (2012, 133) attributes it to Caesar Strabo but calls it *incertum*.

⁸ Fr. 3–4 Courtney = 167–8 Hollis. Cf. also Cinna, *Propemptikon Pollionis*, fr. 4 Courtney = 4 Hollis. Cf. also Hollis (2007, 296).

⁹ Suetonius–Donatus, *Vita Terenti* 7; text of Courtney (1993, 153).

*comica, ut aequato virtus polleret honore
cum Graecis neve hac despecte ex parte iaceres.*¹⁰
unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.

Cicero in his *Limon* praises (Terence) up to this point:

You too, who alone with select speech, Terence, bring Menander into the middle of us, translated and reproduced in Latin language with quiet utterances (?), speaking with something urbane and saying everything sweetly.

And similarly C. Caesar:

You too, you too are ranked with the highest, o half-sized Menander, and rightly so, you, lover of a pure style. If only comic force had joined to the elegance of your writings, so that your valor would equal the Greeks in honor, and you did not lie neglected, you despised in this regard! It worries and pains me that you lack this one quality, Terence.

As Suetonius suggests, Caesar's hexameters must be read in connection with Cicero's. Cicero praises Terence for having perfectly translated Menander with *lectus sermo*; and Caesar begins with *tu quoque*, thus citing Cicero's opening. Moreover Caesar's remark that Terence is rightly placed amongst the highest poets by virtue of being *puri sermonis amator* echoes Cicero's verses.¹¹ Caesar's judgment, however, also coheres well with what we know of his stylistic preferences: his analogistic view of the eloquence was based on the "proper choice of words" (*delectus verborum*, *Brut.* 253 = fr. 1A Garcea); and a well-known fragment recommends avoiding any unfamiliar and unusual word (Gell. 1.10.4 = fr. 2 Garcea).¹² Caesar, however, addresses Terence as a *dimidiatus Menander*, "half-sized Menander,"¹³ and this remark, at the end of the first line and between *in summis* and *poneris*, is surprising. The explanation of this "halving" is delayed until line 3, when we learn that Terence's writings are indeed *lenes*, but are lacking in *vis*: evidently, according to Caesar, Menander had both qualities, *lenitas* and *vis*, but Terence only the former. Cicero, then, was wrong in presenting him as a kind of perfect Latin Menander.

¹⁰ Baehrens's reconstruction (with *despecte* vocative) was approved by Leo (1913, 253 n. 2). Most editors read *despectus* (Calphurnius) instead of *despecta ex*.

¹¹ Cf. also Ter. *Haut.* 46 *in hac est pura oratio*, even if *pura oratio* here means "dialogue pure, unspoiled by excessive activity" (Kidd 1948, 13); cf. Müller (2007, 112–16 and 117–24) with *TLL* 10.2.2726.72–5 and Müller (2013, 368–70).

¹² For Cicero and Caesar on linguistic purity, see Garcea (2012), esp. 49–68, 83–6.

¹³ A famous episode confirms Caesar's interest in Menander: "let the die be cast" (Ἀνερίφθω κύβος, Plut. *Pomp.* 60.2), as Caesar allegedly exclaimed upon crossing the Rubicon (and officially starting the civil war in January 49), is a quotation from a lost comedy of Menander; cf. Spaeth (1931, 602–3).

In other words, these fragments unveil a sort of minor controversy, which mirrors Cicero's and Caesar's different views on *analogia* and *anomalía* and/or on historiography. Inevitably, Caesar's criticism calls to mind those that Terence received in his lifetime. In *Phormio* Terence himself writes: "and he (an old poet) blathers that the comedies composed by him [Terence] until now are feeble in their dialogues and fragile in their style" (*qui ita dictitat* (sc. *vetus poeta*), *quas ante hic fecit fabulas | tenui esse oratione et scriptura levi*, 4–5). As Tatum notes, this "means that, even if this poem represents Caesar's sincere judgment on Terentian comedy, it can hardly count as anything like an advance in Roman literary criticism. It is instead a witty expression of a conventional judgment" (2011, 376).

Unfortunately, our lack of information on Cicero's *Limon* further complicates our understanding of its relationship to Caesar's poem.¹⁴ Possibly, Cicero's *Limon* was a catalogic poem of literary criticism (along the lines of those by Porcius Licinus and Volcarius Sedigitus)¹⁵ or, perhaps more likely, it simply comprised a catalogic poem in a more varied collection.¹⁶ The fragments hint at the collation of a "canon" of "classic" Latin writers, in the wake of the similar Greek canons.¹⁷ At any rate, Cicero's judgment on Terence is clear enough, but, we may wonder, who preceded Terence? Probably Cicero ranked Caecilius Statius first and Terence second, as Leo supposed (1914, 195), given that Cicero places Caecilius first amongst the comedy writers also elsewhere (*Opt. Gen.* 2).¹⁸

Caesar's hexameters sound like a correction of Cicero's: but are we dealing with a self-contained epigram, or were Caesar's lines also part of a broader catalogic poem, or of a cycle of epigrams on poets? The second hypothesis, advanced by Leo (1913, 253) and approved by Courtney (1993, 155), has encountered little success: on the one hand, Caesar's initial *tu quoque* looks like a quotation echoing the opening of Cicero's

¹⁴ Pliny (*HN* pr. 24) and Gellius (*NA* pr. 5–6) mention *λειμῶν* "meadow" as one of the many "flowery titles" (Courtney 1993, 154) used by the Greeks for works of miscellaneous content; cf. *RE* s.v. *Pamphilos* 25, 18.2.336–7 and Suetonius' *Prata*.

¹⁵ On Porcius Licinus and Volcarius Sedigitus, see Courtney (1993, 82–96).

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Soubiran (1972, 21–2). On Terence in Latin literature, see Müller (2013). On Menander's ancient reception, see Nervegna (2013).

¹⁷ On canons at the end of the Republic, see Citroni (2006), esp. 214–20.

¹⁸ Perhaps, Cicero was not too fond of Caecilius' style (*Att.* 7.3.10) but admired his ability in constructing plots and in arousing emotions. Cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 399 (Astbury = fr. 99 p. 225, Funaioli, ap. Non. p. 596 Lindsay) and Varro, fr. 40 p. 203 Funaioli = fr. 60 Goetz-Schoell, ap. Charis. *GLK* 1.241.27–9 = p. 315.3–6 Barwick.

fragment and so it does not necessarily imply that Caesar dealt with a multiplicity of poets. Also, the concluding phrase *maceror ac doleo* ironically recalls Plautine and Terentian language, and this device would make an appropriate epigrammatic ending.¹⁹ But on the other hand, the fact that Caesar's epigram is self-contained does not rule out the possibility that it was part of a cycle of epigrams.²⁰

Similarly, it is impossible to tell if Caesar's lines were part of a lost but known work. Did they come from the *Dicta collectanea* (a collection of memorable sayings, attributed to Caesar's adolescence by Suetonius, *Iul.* 56.7)?²¹ Or were they preserved in Cicero's *Limon*?²² Given its content, it is improbable that they belonged to the *De Analogia*, so that it has even been suggested that Cicero's and Caesar's pieces were born as exercises in the school of M. Antonius Gniphos, who taught them both.²³ Whichever their origin, the interpretation of these lines has been further complicated by a rather technical discussion regarding Suetonius' text.

Textual Problems

In 1930–2 Herrmann started a curious chapter in philological exegesis: he proposed to expunge “*item C. Caesar*” from the text, and thus he attributed to Cicero also the second group of lines, that would have formed a continuous whole with the first one. This extravagant suggestion was based on feeble arguments and, even if it had some influence, it does not need to be confuted again.²⁴ More interestingly, Herrmann observed that the words introducing Cicero's poem, “praises until this point” (*hactenus laudat*), conflict with the entirely laudatory verses that follow. But is this really the case? Are Cicero's verses entirely laudatory? The fact that Cicero confines his praise of Terence to the form of his plays might explain

¹⁹ Cf. Perrotta (1939, 121), and Tatum (2011, 177) with references.

²⁰ Leo (1914, 282 n. 1) compares the cycle of epigrams on playwrights by Dioscorides and Aristotle's *Peplum* (with Gutzwiller (2010)). On the use of the second person referring to poets of the past in many epigrams of the *Anthologia Palatina*, see Degl'Innocenti Pierini (1975).

²¹ As suggested by Alfonsi (1946, 41) and Garcea (2012, 26 n. 21). Cicero (*Fam.* 9.16.4) calls this work *Apophthegmata* (as assembled in 46).

²² As suggested by Alfonsi (1946, 42–3).

²³ Müller (2013, 368) suggested *De Analogia*. On Gniphos as Cicero's and Caesar's teacher, cf. Suet. *Gram.* 7. Already Sihler (1912, 5, cf. 1905, 17) proposed a relationship between Caesar's lines and Gniphos's teaching (Oldfather and Bloom (1927, 587–8); Courtney (1993, 155); Marciniak (2008, 216–17); Fantham (2009, 44)).

²⁴ In favour of Herrmann's idea, see Ferrarino (1939) and Coppola (1942, 75–83). *Contra*, see esp. Perrotta (1939); Alfonsi (1946); Schmid (1952, 229–31, 253–5); D'Anna (1954, 116–33); D'Anna (1956, 39–46); Scarcia (1993, 511–12).

hactenus;²⁵ and moreover, a limitation of such praise has long been seen in the phrase *sedatis †vocibus†*.

Scholars have formulated various hypotheses to correct, or explain, the transmitted *†vocibus†*. Courtney (1993, 154) writes that “*vocibus* is certainly a persistence error from 2, but *motibus* seems too vague a word for this context.” The conjecture *sedatis motibus* goes back to Barth (1624, 1559), who equally suspected the repetition *vocel/vocibus*. Ritschl’s edition of the *Vita Terenti* gave the seal of approval to *motibus* (1877, 264). According to Ritschl, Cicero meant that Terence had mitigated the *pathe* of Menander, as suggested by a comparison with the judgments expressed by Varro²⁶ and by the *critici* of Horace, who believed that “Caecilius wins for gravity, Terence for art” (*vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte, Epist. 2.159*). Without explicitly saying that Cicero attributed this flaw to Terence, Ritschl believes that in his poem Caesar picked up that same criticism, this time in a highly negative sense. Ritschl’s explanation has become standard in the editions of the fragmentary Latin poets, and many scholars have defended the view that Cicero’s *sedatis* (*motibus* or *vocibus*) points to a flaw of Terence.²⁷ The best explanation of *sedatis*, however, is that of Schmid (1952, 232–43): Cicero’s *sedatis vocibus* aligns Terence with Menander by comparing him to previous Roman comedy. *Sedatis vocibus*, then, is concerned with Terence’s successful mitigation of the archaic style typical of Plautus and Caecilius: as Menander polished language and style of Old Greek comedy according to the οἰκείον the *proprium*, of comedy, so did Terence with Plautus and Caecilius.²⁸ Tellingly, Schmid’s interpretation works well not only with *vocibus*, but also with *motibus* or indeed with Courtney’s *versibus*. In short, whichever the reading, *sedatis* (*†vocibus†*, or *motibus* or *versibus*),²⁹ Cicero does not criticize Terence, but rather praises him as a Roman Menander.

The negative slant comes in only with Caesar, who appropriates Cicero’s laudatory point and gives it an undesirable turn.³⁰ What exactly

²⁵ Luiselli (1965, 122–3 n. 28); cf. already Alfonsi (1946, 35 n. 1). For Perrotta (1939, 118) *hactenus* reveals that Cicero praised Terence less than Afranius, quoted before by Suetonius (in sequence: Afranius, Volcacius, Cicero).

²⁶ See n. 21.

²⁷ Leo (1913, 253 and n. 1) and Ferrarino (1939, 57), however, read *vocibus* and think that Cicero praised Terence because he “mitigated the style” of Menander. On *sedatis motibus* as a Terentian flaw see e.g. Perrotta (1939), esp. 112–14; Malcovati (1943, 244); D’Anna (1956, 41, 44); Lomanto (2002, 247). On *sedatis* (*motibus* or *vocibus*) as a praise of Terence, see Alfonsi (1946, 38).

²⁸ Schmid (1952, 250). Cf. also Brink (1982, 420–1).

²⁹ *Moribus* (proposed and rejected by Ritschl, and approved by Büchner (1939, 1258) and De Lorenzi (1948, 46)) is less probable.

³⁰ Cf. Courtney (1993, 155).

is Terence lacking, according to Caesar? The response to this question depends on the punctuation of lines 3–4. Should we construct *comica* with *vis*, in enjambement, or with *virtus*, with a comma after *vis*? The common expression *vis comica* originates in this passage, but since Bentley (*ad Hor. Ars P.* 26) the great majority of the interpreters has preferred to put a comma after *vis* (thus taking *comica* with *virtus*); among the editors of the poem, only Courtney and Blänsdorf (1995, 191) put a comma after *comica* (thus taking *comica* with *vis*).³¹ Courtney writes that “it is hard to find conclusive arguments, but *vis* (cf. *Part. Or.* 81 *vis oratoria*) seems to need an adjective more than *virtus*” (1993, 154). The rhythm of the period, however, seems to suggest the opportunity of a pause after *vis*, that would also allow to emphasize the contrast between the first word of the line, *lenibus*, and the last one, *vis*.³² The *vis* Terence is lacking, according to Caesar, is to be taken in a purely stylistic and rhetorical sense: “forcefulness or vigour of expression” (*OLD* s.v. *vis* 6d), as already suggested by Leo (1913, 254).³³

In conclusion, these fragmentary poems leave many questions unanswered, but they reveal that Cicero and Caesar joined the debate on the canon of Latin playwrights. Fragments by Varro, Volcacius Sedigitus, and Porcius Licinius and by the *critici* of Horace's *Ars* demonstrate that they took part in this same debate. In this tradition, Cicero and Caesar express an aesthetic judgment on Terence's works. The six hexameters analyzed above, whichever their provenance, surely make an elegant and witty epigram that, *pace* Tacitus, does not detract too much from Caesar's literary fame.

FURTHER READING AND RESEARCH

The most thorough analysis of the Terence fragment remains Schmid (1952), which however is dense and not always easy to follow. A more accessible introduction especially to the stylistic aspects of the fragment is Tatum (2011). Cairns (2012) searches etymological plays in Caesar's lines. For the sexual imagery

³¹ So Lomanto (2002, 247); Fantham (2009, 44–5). The most elaborate (but ultimately unconvincing) attempt at reading *vis comica* is that of Schmid (1952, 250–68), according to which the phrase would mean “the essence, the substance of the comic.”

³² Cf. Ferrarino (1939, 63). Cairns (2012, 372) adds that “taking *comica* with *virtus* would make the structure of line 4 visibly parallel to that of line 3, i.e. both would consist of adjective; postponed conjunction; noun in agreement with adjective; and verb.”

³³ Cf. also Perrotta (1939, 124); Rostagni (1944, 44); Alfonsi (1946, 35–6); Abbott (1962, 245–6); Tatum (2011, 375–6) with references. For the sexual imagery in Caesar's comparison of Terence with Menander, see Woodman (2016).

in Caesar's comparison of Terence with Menander, see Woodman (2016). The 'dialogue' on poetry between Cicero and Caesar is studied by Marciniak (2008).

Of course, the very limited number of poetry lines attributed to Caesar remains a great impediment in assessing his poetry, but we can always hope that more fragments are found, especially through the discovery of new papyri; for those which we presently have it would be important to assess in a better way the text and the meaning of Cicero's poem on Terence, especially in the case of the phrase *sedatis vocibus*: from that it depends the exact interpretation of Caesar's fragment. Still debated is also the construction of lines 3–4 of Caesar's Terence fragment: does Terence lack, in Caesar's eyes, *vis comica* or simply *vis*?

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