Pliny's sources for Book 2, but only Varro and Posidonius demonstrably discussed the phenomenon of the *clarum fulmen*.

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CICERO'S *SILVA* (A NOTE ON *AD ATTICUM* 12.15)*

In mid-February 45 B.C.E., in a tragedy that was to plunge the orator into seemingly irreparable despair, Cicero's beloved daughter Tullia died. She had given birth nearly a month before and at first seemed to be doing well. Soon, however, her health gave out and Cicero took her to his Tusculan villa to recover. In the end, there was little that could be done. After her funeral, Cicero stayed for about three weeks with Atticus in Rome, but the constant stream of visitors offering condolences became too much to bear, and on the sixth of March the heartbroken father retired to a villa he owned on the coast at Astura, some 45 miles south of Rome. Three days later he dispatched the following anguished epistle (*Att*. 12.15):[1]

> Apud Appuleium, quoniam in perpetuum non placet, in dies ut excuser videbis. in hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane me in silvam abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. secundum te nihil est mihi amicius solitudine. in ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris. eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. Bruto, ut suades, rescribam. eas litteras cras habebis. cum erit cui des, dabis.

This brief and poignant letter has been well anthologized over the years, and justly so.[2] Cicero's portrait of himself wracked with grief and unable to hold back his falling tears from the loss of his precious Tulliola is one of the most touchingly personal scenes to have come down to us from antiquity; all the more so because the distinguished Roman statesman whom we are to imagine hiding away the whole day 'in a thick, thorny wood'[3] was now over 60.

But there is something odd in this picture as well. After all, as anyone who has tried will know – although offering the perfect symbolic backdrop for expressing intense grief over the recent loss of a loved one (think of Orpheus, for example, famously conjuring a forest around him with his mournful song; e.g. Ovid, *Met*. 10.86–147) – there is no place less conducive to extended bouts of reading and writing (*sermo cum litteris*)

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[1] *Att*. 12.13 makes explicit Cicero's desire to leave behind the *celebritas* of Rome (cf. 12.16 on the unsuitability of Atticus' house). Citations to Cicero's letters refer to the text and commentary of D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1965–70), with most of the letters found in vol. 5.

[2] This is especially true of anthologies intended for the schoolroom, e.g. J.C. Kirtland, Jr., *Selections from the Correspondence of Cicero* (New York and Chicago, 1898), 69; H. Poteat, *Selected Letters of Cicero* (New York and Chicago, 1931[2]), 58; D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero: Select Letters* (Cambridge, 1980), 90.

[3] Shackleton Bailey (n. 1), ad loc.

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than a rugged and uncultivated (*densam et asperam*) wood. (Spending a summer surrounded by the untamed redwood forests of northern California has taught me nothing more clearly than this.) Even if we grant that Cicero located a reasonably comfortable spot to sit, there is still the problem of securing sunlight enough to read and write by from dawn to dusk in so dense and wild a wood. And this need, of course, would have been felt all the more acutely by the aged ex-consul who, even at times when his eyes were not sore from constant crying, suffered from problems with his vision.[4] Finally, there is an issue of plain logic. Simply put, Cicero had forsaken the crowds of Rome for Astura precisely because there was no one to bother him there.[5] Thus we should ask, with an empty villa entirely at his disposal, what need would there have been to hide himself away in the dark and uncomfortable woods? *Solitudo*, to be sure, is something of a watchword in the letters from these weeks of, as some would have it, excessive mourning,[6] but on every other occasion except this one the empty villa seems to have been enough (cf. *Att*. 12.14.3: *pro malis recte habebat*).

So why did Cicero venture into the woods? My guess is, in fact, he never did. Rather, the key to understanding Cicero's *silva* rests in the *sermo cum litteris*, 'conversation with literature', already mentioned.[7] It is a well-known fact that the woods (Latin *silva*, Greek ὕλη) provided a central metaphor for literary production of all kinds in the ancient world, figuring an author's subject matter, models, rough drafts and even sometimes the physical material on which his works were written.[8] The metaphor is found most commonly among imperial authors – especially poets – but Cicero himself employs *silva* on numerous occasions in his rhetorical treatises to signify a collection or mass of raw materials.[9] In his early *De inventione* the term is used (along with *materia*,

[4] Cf. *Att*. 10.17.2: *crebro refricat lippitudo*.

[5] In addition to its distance from the city, which would make unwanted visitors less likely to appear, another reason why Cicero seems to have chosen Astura is because of the lack of memories associated with Tullia, cf. *Att*. 12.46.1. The villa is not mentioned in earlier letters and, as suggested long ago by T. Petersson, *Cicero: A Biography* (New York, 1963), 525, was perhaps acquired by Cicero after his daughter's death for exactly this reason. J. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples and Other Essays on Roman Campania* (Bari, 2003), 49–78 and *passim* offers much by way of context regarding the physical settings of *villae maritimae*, though he mentions Cicero's villa at Astura only in passing. As for exactly how alone Cicero was at Astura, there were, of course, servants (e.g. *Att*. 12.14.3 mentions *librarii* and 13.26.2 makes mention of those *qui mecum sunt*, claiming that they were eager to return to Rome); but they hardly would have given Cicero cause to hide in the woods. Potential disturbances came only with the arrival of Philippus, who popped by briefly and left (*Att*. 12.16, 12.18.1), and from a dreaded visit by Cicero's newly acquired in-laws (mentioned in *Att*. 12.32.1, 12.34.1), which sent the grieving orator into hiding at another villa for a day.

[6] In addition to its two occurrences in this letter, *solitudo* is also found at *Att.* 12.13.1, 12.14.3, 12.16, 12.18.1, 12.23.1, 12.26.2. For criticisms by some of Cicero's friends (including Atticus and Brutus) that he was grieving excessively, and his response that his prodigious literary output (on which more below) proved otherwise, see *Att*. 12.20.1, 12.38a.1, 12.40.2–3, 12.41.3.

[7] That Cicero seems to gloss the content of his metaphor here should not be taken to imply any lack of intelligibility in his earlier *silva*. Rather, *in ea* [sc. *solitudine*] *mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris* stands as a corrective to the parallel yet contradictory claim made above: *in hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio*. At first, Cicero claims to talk with no one, but then (perhaps spurred by his statement about hiding away in the woods?) corrects himself: he converses with no one, that is, but literature.

[8] See e.g. the discussions in S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Studies in the Dynamics of a Tradition* (Cambridge, 1998), 12–13; D. Wray, 'Wood: Statius' *Silvae* and the poetics of genius', in A. Augoustakis and C. Newlands (edd.), *Statius's Silvae and the Poetics of Intimacy, Arethusa* 40 (2007), 127–43, at 128; S. Butler, *The Matter of the Page: Essays in Search of Ancient and Medieval Authors* (Madison, 2010), 17–18; cf. A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots* (Paris, 1967[4]), s.v. *silva*, 626.

[9] The testimony of Gell. *praef*. 6 indicates the commonplace nature of *silva* as a title for hasty

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another rendering of ὕλη in Latin) of the shapeless raw materials for constructing arguments in a case (*Inv. rhet.* 1.34: *verumtamen non incommodum videtur quandam silvam atque materiam universam ante permixtim et confuse exponere omnium argumentationum*). In the third book of his *De oratore*, the character Crassus employs the metaphor on three separate occasions: first, in reference to the abundance of material available for students of rhetoric (*De or.* 3.93: *rerum est silva magna*); then, to signal the need to gather a mass of suitable material before speaking (3.103: *primum silva rerum comparanda est*); and, once more, when claiming that the entire topic, or *locus*, concerned with duties consists of virtues and vices (3.118: *quae vero referuntur ad agendum, aut in officii disceptatione versantur – quo in genere quid rectum faciendumque sit quaeritur, cui loco omnis virtutum et vitiorum est silva subiecta*). Last of all, in the *Orator*, Cicero's final treatise on the subject of oratory, our author returns, so to speak, to the metaphorical woods two more times: once, in claiming that the rich style and substance of oratory is drawn from the philosophers (*Orat*. 12: *omnis enim ubertas et quasi silva dicendi ducta ab illis est*); and later, in remarking that a mass of material is available with regard to the preparation of a speech (139: *hoc in genere – nam quasi silvam vides – omnis eluceat oportet eloquentiae magnitudo*).

To be sure, none of these examples provides an exact parallel to Cicero's bold and unqualified[10] claim in our letter to have hidden himself away in the woods (*me in silvam abstrusi*). Reasons for this discrepancy, however, are not hard to find. After all, there prevails in the treatises a certain literary decorum that is entirely absent from – and even alien to – Cicero's private correspondence with his closest friend, in which, we might note, are found numerous expressions unattested in Cicero's strictly public works.[11] More to the point, as has already been suggested with reference to Orpheus above, there is something altogether fitting about the conceit of the lone figure weeping in the wilderness that perhaps even helped recommend the unexpected twist here given to a common metaphor. Utterly forlorn he may have been, but Cicero never lacked the capacity for apt expression. In this case, unfortunately, he was a bit too apt. The image of the inconsolable statesman crying alone in the woods from dawn to dusk is so compelling that over time it has all but obscured Cicero's primary meaning: surely, that he has buried himself for the entire day in literary work to forget his sorrows.[12]

compositions; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.17 (discussed below) and Stat. *Silv*. 1 *praef*. 1–5, 13–14 and 2 *praef*. 7–12. B. Gibson, *Statius. Silvae 5* (Oxford, 2006), xviii–xxviii urges that the latter be interpreted with some caution; cf. Wray (n. 8), 129–33. Isid. *Orig*. 13.3.1 suggests that *silva* is a term especially favoured by poets. On the metaphorical implications of *Silvae* as a title for Statius, see H.J. van Dam, *P. Papinius Statius. Silvae Book II: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1984), 4; C. Newlands, *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Empire* (Cambridge, 2002), 36–7; Wray (n. 8); C. Newlands, *Statius. Silvae Book II* (Cambridge, 2011), 6–7. The penetrating discussions of Hinds (n. 8), Butler (n. 8) and D. Petrain, 'Hylas and Silva: etymological wordplay in Propertius 1.20', *HSPh* 100 (2000), 409–21 shed light on the extent to which this simple metaphor could be elaborated on in the works of Roman poets.

[10] Cic. *De or*. 3.165 discusses the common practice of softening metaphors by use of a qualifying word or phrase (as with *quandam* at *Inv. rhet*. 1.34 and *quasi* in the citations from *Orat*. 12 and 139 above).

[11] An analysis of such features and an illuminating discussion of the different stylistic registers of Cicero's works can be found in M. von Albrecht, *Cicero's Style: A Synopsis*, Mnemosyne Supplementum 245 (Brill, 2003), especially 27–71, where specific consideration is given to the treatises and letters. On reading the letters as literature, see G.O. Hutchinson, *Cicero's Correspondence: A Literary Study* (Oxford, 1998), with further distinctions and reservations voiced by P. White, *Cicero in Letters: Epistolary Relations of the Late Republic* (Oxford, 2010), 89–99.

[12] Many letters from this period say exactly this, only without the metaphor: *Att*. 12.14.3 (*totos dies*

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In what literary wilderness, then, was Cicero taking refuge? While at Atticus' house in Rome we know that he had busied himself with all the philosophical books about dealing with grief that he could get his hands on in his friend's vast library (*Att*. 12.14.3: *nihil enim de maerore minuendo scriptum ab ullo est quod non domi tuae legerim*). After two weeks in Astura, he is still filling his days and nights (for sleep will not come) with the same books – a *densa et aspera silva* indeed![13] What were these works the raw material for? Sadly, the same Fates who stole Tullia away from her loving father have also snatched from us the final fruits of Cicero's anguished labours, the now lost *Consolatio* or *De luctu minuendo*.[14] The grieving statesman addressed the treatise about managing sorrow to himself,[15] and wrote it during his first couple of days at Astura. The earliest reference comes, in fact, in the letter immediately preceding our own, where Cicero mentions that he has completed the work and will be sending a copy along to Atticus as soon as he can (*Att*. 12.14.3). Actually, the version included for Atticus' perusal was little more than a draft, written in haste and lacking the details of numerous *exempla* he still intended to include, and subsequent letters reveal Cicero asking his friend for specifics regarding other famous Romans who had lost their children (cf. *Att*. 12.20.2, 12.22.2, 12.24.2).[16] Exactly when he completed the final draft of this treatise is unknown, but the sketchy and preliminary character of the version sent to Atticus cannot help but put us in mind of the *silva* that Quintilian would later disparage in his chapter on how to write (*Inst*. 10.3.17):

scribo, non quo proficiam quid sed tantisper impedior) and 12.18.1 (*quos nunc lectito auctores*) mentions reading and writing as a source of distraction from grief; 12.20.1 (*possumne magis quam quod totos dies consumo in litteris*?) and 12.38.1 (*at ego hic scribendo dies totos nihil equidem levor, sed tamen aberro*) have Cicero spending all day in literary work to the same end.

[13] I take *densa* to refer to the large mass of consolatory works Cicero has been reading, though it could theoretically also be a comment on the terse style of his particular models, cf. *OLD* s.v. 4. As to *aspera*, Cicero's distraught letters from this period make it abundantly clear that he found the process of coping with grief quite painful, and at *Att*. 12.21.5 he likens his reading of works on dealing with grief to taking unpleasant medicine (*accipere medicinam*), which we should no doubt imagine as bitter and hard to swallow (cf. Lucr. 2.404 *amara atque aspera* on medicinal absinth, with the famous honeyed rim simile at 1.936). See also e.g. *Att.* 12.16: *me scriptio et litterae non leniunt, sed obturbant*. Further examples of this medicinal metaphor occur e.g. at Cic. *Acad*. 1.11: *doloris medicinam a philosophia peto* and *Tusc*. 3.1, where philosophy is characterized as *animi medicina*. R.B. Rutherford, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius: A Study* (Oxford, 1989), 19 provides a concise overview and a list of relevant bibliography (with further references in n. 54).

[14] Cicero makes reference to this lost work at *Tusc.* 1.65, 1.76, 1.83, 3.70, 3.76, 4.63, and presumably preserves some of its substance in the surrounding discussion. Fragments are collected in M. De Marco (ed.), *La consolazione* (Milan, 1967) and C. Vitelli (ed.), *Consolationis fragmenta* (Milan, 1979). T. Van Wageningen, *De Ciceronis libro Consolationis* (Groningen, 1916) briefly, and not without substantial problems, attempts to reconstruct the contents of this work from extant fragments. K. Kumaniecki, 'Die verlorene *Consolatio* des Cicero', *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 4 (1968), 27–47 offers a sensible discussion, as does F. Lillo Redonet, *Palabras contra el dolor: La consolación filosófica latina de Cicerón a Frontón* (Madrid, 2001), 195–215, who analyses the fragments, situating them against the backdrop of a proposed consolatory genre. J.H. D. Scourfield, *Consoling Heliodorus: A Commentary on Jerome, Letter 60* (Oxford, 1993), 19–20 also discusses the work briefly, noting Jerome's debt to Cicero at p. 13 (with n. 50) and *passim* in the commentary proper. Letters from later weeks show Cicero, still at Astura, engaged in further literary pursuits besides *Consol*. to distract him from his loss, cf. *Att.* 12.20, 12.21.5, 12.38a, 12.40.1–2, 12.44.4, 13.26.2.

[15] As Cicero says at *Att*. 12.14.3, such a dedication was entirely unprecedented; cf. Lillo Redonet (n. 14), 197–8.

[16] *Att.* 12.23.3 seems to reveal that Atticus had received the promised copy and was questioning Cicero about certain details. Shackleton Bailey, ad loc. discusses the issue, also noting that 'Cicero did not regard [the draft] as final'.

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Diversum est huic eorum vitium qui primo decurrere per materiam stilo quam velocissimo volunt et sequentes calorem atque impetum extempore scribunt: hanc silvam vocant. repetunt deinde et componunt quae effuderant; sed verba emendantur et numeri, manet in rebus temere congestis, quae fuit, levitas.

It is commonly maintained with regard to *silva* that the term's semantic extension from a composition's raw materials to a rough composition itself took place in the early Empire.[17] But Cicero's letters reveal that this is clearly not so. Rather, in the dense wood mentioned in *Ad Atticum* 12.15, raw materials and rough draft merge: Cicero's *silva* simultaneously points to the mass of consolatory literature that the bereaved statesman was busy reading and the hastily drafted *Consolatio* that he was then writing (and would go on writing) as a result. The harsh wilderness of literary production here uncovered thus not only reconfigures our picture of the landscape at Astura in which Cicero was hiding from his sorrows in March 45 B.C.E.; it ultimately rewrites our understanding of Latin's extant metaphorical landscape as well.

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[17] As is claimed by e.g. S.T. Newmyer, *The Silvae of Statius: Structure and Theme* (Brill, 1979), 5–6. On the metaphorical extension of Greek ὕλη, Wray (n. 8), 134–5, charts a brief itinerary from Aristotle to the late first century C.E. and goes some way toward mitigating the (potentially, from a modern perspective) derogatory overtones of a so-called *rough* composition.

A SYNTACTICAL HELLENISM AT HORACE, *SATIRES* 1.3.120–1, AND A POSSIBLE IMITATION IN LIVY[1]

Horace, *Satires* 1.3.117–23, as transmitted:

adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas inroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
uerbera non uereor, cum dicas esse paris res
furta latrociniis et magnis parua mineris
falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
permittant homines.

Let there be a rule to impose fair penalties for transgressions, lest you pursue with terrible scourge one deserving but the stick. You see, I don't fear that you will strike with a schoolmaster's rod one who has earned more serious lashing when you say mere thefts are of a pair with brigandage and threaten to trim little things and great with like sickle, would the world but grant you power.

Horace is attacking the Stoics for their doctrine that all sins are equal. The overall run of sense must be that given above. If kept, the *ut* of line 120 must then have the value of *ne*: were it allowed its normal meaning in expressions of fear ('lest not') the opposite of

[1] I am indebted to the journal's anonymous reader, and also to Professor Bruce Gibson, for perceptive and valuable remarks.

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