infinitely more Plautine than Menandrean, and in many cases even bilingual puns on Greek words and names seem to have been introduced by the Latin playwright.[12] To give a well-known example from *Bacchides* itself, the multiple puns on the name Chrysalus and χρυσός cannot possibly have been present in *Dis Exapaton*, since the slave's name there was Syrus, and indeed it seems at least possible that Plautus chose the name of his *seruus callidus* precisely in order to facilitate these puns.[13] It is true that, at 240, Plautus employs the Greek loanword *chrysus* in *opus est chryso Chrysalo* ('Goldman has need of gold'), which makes it easier to recognize for a spectator with little Greek than *Priamus*/Πρίαμος/πρίαμαι/*emptor*. Yet it may well be that Plautus' motivation is less to make the audience's job easy, than to produce an emphatic and amusing jingle, since at 703–4 the play is on *aurum* and *Chrysalus*. Even there, as often, the etymological wordplay is more or less explicitly signalled: *quid mi refert Chrysalo esse nomen, nisi factis probo?* ('What point is there in my having the name Chrysalus, if I don't prove it by my actions?', 704). This sort of wordplay, which still requires the spectator to cross the linguistic boundary but which clearly signals the need to do so, can be paralleled in *Stichus* when Gelasimus derives his name from *ridiculus* (γελάσιμος).[14] Yet there are also puns which are less clearly signalled, as in the recurrent association of the fisherman Griphus in *Rudens* with his net (*rete*/γρίφος).[15] That some, and perhaps a large proportion, of Plautus' audience would have had enough Greek to pick up such wordplays is very likely.[16] For such a spectator, Chrysalus' fourfold repetition of the basic idea that he intends to have Nicobulus 'bought' would surely be sufficient for him to make the connection between *Priamus* and πρίαμαι.

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[12] On puns in Plautus, see G. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment* (Princeton, NJ, 1952), 348–9 (plays on names), 350–6 (puns in general); M. Fontaine, *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy* (Oxford, 2010).

[13] Fraenkel (n. 11), 21; Barsby (n. 1), 119. Slater (n. 2), 103–4, attractively sees Chrysalus' assertion 'I don't care for those Parmenos and Syruses' (*non mihi isti placent Parmenones, Syri*, 649) as an intertextual declaration of *aemulatio*, outdoing his Menandrean model.

[14] *St.* 174–5, with Fontaine (n. 12), 239–41.

[15] Notably *non uides referre me uuidum rete sine squamoso pecu?* ('Don't you see that I'm carrying my sodden net back without the scaly herd?', 942); *meum quod rete atque hami nancti sunt, meum potissimumst* ('What my net and hooks have caught is mine and no one else's', 985); … *mea opera, labore et rete et horia?* ([That which I caught] with my own effort, hard work, and net and boat?', 1020). Griphus is the speaker in all three cases, and the prominence of the first-person pronouns is thus suggestive.

[16] Fontaine (n. 12), 163–4.

## A TEXTUAL NOTE ON PROPERTIUS 2.26.23*

non, si Cambysae redeant et flumina Croesi,
dicat 'De nostro surge, poeta, toro'.

In these two lines Propertius is proud to say that his *puella* would not dismiss him for the fabulous treasures of some *dives amator*. The problem is caused by the

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interpretation of *Cambysae* as given in all the manuscripts; it is difficult to understand both as a genitive singular and as a nominative plural. This form of the genitive is not, in fact, recorded before Apul. *Fl*. 15.12, and the concurrent form *Cambysis* is even less common.[1] Moreover, the Persian king Cambyses was not an example of opulence in Antiquity like the Lydian king Croesus,[2] but of cruelty. The only passages where he is linked with the idea of richness are Apul. *Mun*. 26.13–15: *Cambyses et Xerxes et Darius potentissimi reges fuerunt. Horum praepotentiam, quam ex opibus collegerant, lenocinium vitae effecerat celsiorem*, and (indirectly) Juv. 14.328–31: *Si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra, | nec Croesi fortuna umquam nec Persica regna | sufficient animo nec divitiae Narcissi, | indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius | paruit imperiis uxorem occidere iussus*, where we find apparently the same connection between Persian royalty and Croesus' richness that we read in Propertius' line.

Even though the transmitted text was accepted by several editors of Propertius' elegies, including Lachmann, Enk, Barber, and Fedeli, all the difficulties listed above have led several scholars to a conjectural emendation of *Cambysae*. Schrader's emendation *iam Gygae* (accepted by Baehrens, Rothstein, Hanslik, and Fedeli in his commentary on Book 2) is based on passages such as Archilochus fr. 19 West: οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, and Strabo 14.5.28: ὡς ὁ μὲν Ταντάλου πλοῦτος καὶ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Σίπυλον μετάλλων ἐγένετο […] ὁ δὲ Γύγου καὶ Ἀλυάττου καὶ Κροῖσου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Λυδίᾳ. But against this solution it is important to note that the Lydian king Gyges was likewise not a paradigm of wealth in Latin literature. Strabo moreover clearly speaks about gold mines, μετάλλων, and not about gold sands, which is the sense we would expect since *flumina Croesi* clearly refers to the golden sands of the Pactolus river.[3] Other emendations – such as Palmer's[4] *gaza Midae* accepted by Heyworth in his recent edition or Housman's *tam invisi* and *imbres Danaae* – have no paleographical plausibility and offer no explanation for the hypothetical corruption *Cambysae*.[5]

What I suggest is that we accept D'Orville's emendation *Cambyses* for *Cambysae*, but with a completely different meaning.[6] There seems to have been no discussion of the fact that *Cambyses* is not only the name of a famous Persian king but also of a Persian river not far from the ancient cities of Susa and Ecbatana: see for example Plin. *HN* 6.39: *flumina per Albaniam decurrunt in mare Casus et Albanus, dein Cambyses, in Caucasis ortus montibus, mox Cyrus, in Coraxicis, uti diximus*; Mela

[1] It is found for the first time in Amm. 23.6.36 and later in Jerome, *passim*.

[2] See e.g. [Theoc.] 8.53 with Gow's commentary ad loc.; Catull. 115.3; Ov. *Tr*. 3.7.42; Sil. 13.776.

[3] The references to this Lydian river and its golden sands are very common in both Greek and Latin literature: see e.g. Soph. *Phil*. 394; Verg. *Aen*. 10.142; Prop. 3.18.28; Sen. *Oed*. 467; A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), 261.

[4] This emendation was suggested independently by Housman too: see S.J. Heyworth, *Cynthia: A Companion to the Text of Propertius* (Oxford, 2007), 224.

[5] For other suggested emendations see Heyworth's edition, *Sexti Properti Elegos* (Oxford, 2007), ad loc.

[6] D'Orville meant the Persian king. This emendation is found in his *Miscellaneae observationes criticae novae in auctores veteres et recentiores in Belgio collectae & proditae*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam, 1751), 304.

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3.41;[7] Amm. 23.6.39–40.[8] It is true that this river called *Cambyses* was certainly less famous than the Pactolus, but it is also true that it was probably known in Rome from 63 B.C. onwards, when Pompeius' soldiers reached it during the war against Mithridates VI of Pontus.[9] There are also other passages where Propertius seems to challenge his readers to recognize a difficult geographical reference, or at least an uncommon one: see, for example, Prop. 1.3.5–6: *nec minus assiduis Edonis fessa choreis | qualis in herboso concidit Apidano*, where we find for the first time in Latin literature a reference to the Thessalian river *Apidanus*;[10] and Prop. 1.20.33–4: *hic erat Arganthi Pege sub vertice montis | grata domus Nymphis umida Thyniasin*, which is the only mention of the mountain *Arganthus* in Latin.[11] A corruption from *Cambyses* to *Cambysae* is very easy to explain: perhaps a copyist, mistaking the name of the river for the homonymous king, tried to 'correct' the then inexplicable nominative into a genitive to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *flumina*, thereby deleting the elegant construction of a name paired with periphrasis that we find again just a couple of poems later at Prop. 2.28.54: *et Thebae et Priami diruta regna senis*.[12]

If my interpretation is correct, then line 23 simply means 'even if the treasures of Asia [namely Persia, *Cambyses*, and Lydia, *flumina Croesi*] came back to our times'.[13] The construction of a land being referred to by its rivers is a commonplace in Latin poetry and quite frequent in Propertius too, as at 2.23.21: *et quas Euphrates et quas immisit Orontes*, and 3.11.42: *et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas*.[14] Furthermore, Asia, with or without further specifications, was a very common example of richness in Antiquity.[15] The challenging – but not impossible – reference to the *Cambyses* river was probably meant, in Propertius' mind, to become clearer once balanced by *flumina Croesi* in the second half of the line.

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[7] *Cyrus et Cambyses ex radicibus Coraxici montis vicinis fontibus editi in diversa abeunt, perque Hiberas et Hyrcanos diu et multum distantibus alveis defluunt, post non longe a mari eodem lacu accepti in Hyrcanium sinum uno ore perveniunt.*

[8] *Inter quas opibus et magnitudine moenium conspicuae sunt Heraclia et Arsacia et Europos et Cyropolis et Ecbatana sub Iasonio monte in terris sitae Syromedorum. Amnes has regiones praetereunt multi, quorum maximi sunt Choaspes et Gyndes et Amardus et Charinda et Cambyses et Cyrus.*

[9] See Cass. Dio 37.3.5: κἀντεῦθεν πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσην (*sc.* Πομπήιος) πορευόμενος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἔπαθεν.

[10] After Propertius, this river is found in Ov. *Met.* 1.580 and 7.228 (but it is a conjecture in both cases); Luc. 6.373; V. Fl. 1.357.

[11] The (few) mentions of this mountain in Greek literature are listed in P. Fedeli, *Sesto Properzio: il primo libro delle elegie* (Florence, 1980), 477.

[12] I thank the anonymous reviewer who brought this very similar passage to my attention. In this line it is important to notice that *Thebae* is a persuasive emendation made by Scaliger and accepted by almost all the editors of Propertius, while all manuscripts have *phoebi*, showing here too the same misunderstanding (and the consequent corruption) of a nominative into a genitive.

[13] For this meaning of *redeo*, see *OLD* s.v. 9; Ov. *Pont.* 4.6.67: *utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae*; Mart. 11.5.5: *si redeant veteres, ingentia nomina, patres.*

[14] On this topic see too R.F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry: The Ethnographical Tradition* (Cambridge Philological Society Supplementary Volume no. 7, Cambridge, 1982), 38.

[15] See e.g. Prop. 1.6.13–14: *an mihi sit tanti doctas conoscere Athenas | atque Asiae veteres cernere divitias*. Other examples are listed by D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Amsterdam, 1967), 271.

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