Now the *uerum* of 1366 was never easy to understand as an adjective. What does the soldier know to be true? It could be Palaestrio's faithfulness to him. *Verum* in the following line would need then to be understood in the same way. But Palaestrio has not been faithful to Pyrgopolynices at all – just the opposite. One half of the riddle – the half that the audience is meant to understand, the soldier not – is thus out of line with the facts. Alternatively, one might take *uerum* in 1366 as predicate to an unexpressed *te esse. Me esse* must then be supplied for *uerum* in 1367.[2] A double meaning can then be had: the first *uerum* would mean 'sincere', 'speaking truth', and the soldier would assume the same sense for the second *uerum*, but Palaestrio would intend also 'in my true nature'. The train of thought is, however, not the clearest, and it is in any case not Palaestrio's truthfulness, but rather his faithfulness, that has been at issue.

Friedrich Leo redistributed the speaking-parts so as to give the soldier *scio et perspexi saepe*, Palaestrio everything from *uerum quom antehac* on.[3] His arrangement affords the economy of retaining *scies* in 1367; the solution should accordingly proceed from it. Leo himself conjectured *hodie me tuom* for *hodie(m) eorum*, citing as parallels *Mil.* 614–15 (*quodne uobis placeat displiceat mihi? quis homo sit magis meus quam tu es?*) and *Poen.* 1218 (*istoc pretio tuas nos facile feceris*). If the former is followed we should have to render *me tuom factum* 'I became your special favourite'; if the latter, 'I was won over to you'. In either case, the string of ambiguities must end in the flatly univocal and in the untrue.

We can have a double meaning, without obscurity, at no higher palaeographical price than was paid for *uerum* or *me tuom*. The last two lines should be printed:

> PYR scio et perspexi saepe. PAL uerum quom antehac, hodie maxume
> scies. immo hodie memorem factum faxo post dices magis.

PYR. I know, and have often observed it. PAL. But you will know it especially today, even if you did before. Why, I'll make sure you say afterward it was today that you were made more aware of it.

Université de Montréal BENJAMIN VICTOR
benjamin_victor@hotmail.com
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[2] So J. Brix, 'Zu Plautus', *NJPhP* 102 (1870), 761–81, at 772–3.
[3] First proposed in 'Lectiones plautinae', *Hermes* 18 (1883), 558–87, at 585; printed in Leo's edition of Plautus (Berlin, 1895–6).

CATILINE'S RAVAGED MIND: *VASTUS ANIMUS* (SALL. *BC* 5.5)

The portrayal of Catiline (*BC* 5.1–8) – which should not, as Karl Büchner among others has pointed out, be considered a digression – continues three major aspects of the proem (but does not form part of it).[1] On the one hand, the fundamental

[1] K. Büchner, *Sallust* (Heidelberg, 1982[2]), 131. I agree with K. Vretska, *De Catilinae coniuratione. Ein Kommentar* (Heidelberg, 1976), ad loc.: 'Mangelnde Formbewältigung in der ersten Schrift? Doch wohl […] zwanghafte Folge aus der Auffassung des Stoffes'. For a discussion

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dichotomy of *animus et corpus* (*BC* 1.2) is recalled when Sallust first describes Catiline's *corpus* as *patiens inediae algoris uigiliae*, then his *animus* as *audax subdolus uarius*. His *lubido maxuma rei publicae capiundae* (*BC* 5.6) along with the *facinus memorabile* (*BC* 4.3) resulting from it, on the other hand, is the attitude and action of someone who strove *ne uitam silentio transiret ueluti pecora* (*BC* 1.1, adapted);[2] this is emphasized by the metaphorical allusion, when in the face of defeat Catiline challenges his followers *neu capti potius sicuti pecora trucidentur* (*BC* 58.21, adapted) – Sallust's imagery used by Catiline.[3] His characterization, finally, resembles Sallust's portrait of himself as a young man, which makes the differences the more conspicuous and throws a positive light on the strength of the historian's personality. In his youth he was driven by *honoris cupido* (3.5), in the grip of *ambitio mala* (4.2), and only later in life, *ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requieuit* (4.1), could he turn to the task of history. Catiline was excessively desirous (*ardens in cupiditatibus*, *semper cupiebat*: 5.4–5), seized by *lubido … rei publicae capiundae* (5.6), and continuously of a restless mind (*agitabatur … animus*: 5.7). This resemblance also reinforces Sallust's notion of the interconnection between society and individual.[4] For, sociologically, the conspirator (as much as Sallust) is 'a product of the times': he is spurred on by the *corrupti ciuitatis mores* (*BC* 5.8), which lead the historian naturally to reflect *de moribus ciuitatis* (*BC* 5.9), a topic to be examined in the subsequent Archaeology.[5]

With the help of 'hard, clear-cut and overemphasizing lines' Sallust accentuates Catiline's characteristics, one of which has attracted the attention of all recent commentators[6]:

uastus animus inmoderata incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat. hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxuma inuaserat rei publicae capiundae; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat.

of the extent of the 'preface', see C.S. Kraus and A.J. Woodman, *Latin Historians* (Oxford, 1997), 13 (with further bibl.). In spite of weighty arguments for the other standard interpretations, I follow Quintilian (3.8.9), who seems to think that the *principium*, chapters 1–4, forms a clearly defined unit, the relation of which to the subsequent narrative is different from and less obvious than 5 and 6–13 and 14–16.

[2] These two points are made by M. Rambaud, 'Les prologues de Salluste et la démonstration morale dans son oeuvre', *REL* 24 (1946), 115–30, 120 and 125.

[3] As noted by Vretska (n. 1, ad loc.). I discuss other and more elaborate instances of 'metaphorical allusion' in 'The imagery of the way in the proem of Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* (1–4)', *AJP* 129.4 (forthcoming).

[4] For Sallust's selection of persons, characteristics and happenings as 'illustrative material for his theme' see the survey in P. McGushin, *C. Sallustius Crispus. Bellum Catilinae. A Commentary* (Leiden [*Mnemosyne* supp. 45], 1977), 57–9. See also: W.W. Batstone, 'The antithesis of virtue: Sallust's synkrisis and the crisis of the late Republic', *Classical Antiquity* 7 (1988), 1–29, and next note.

[5] The quotation is taken from A.T. Wilkins, *Villain or Hero. Sallust's Portrayal of Catiline* (New York, 1994), 33, who also elaborates the repetition of 'corrupti mores' as a *transitio* from the portrait to the Archaeology (33–4). 'For Sallust the moral collapse of the Republic could be explained most convincingly through the characterization of an individual who personified the evils that were symptomatic of the times': M.L.S. McConaghy, *Sallust and the Literary Portrayal of Character* (Diss. Washington University, 1973), 91. One stylistic aspect of the parallelization between Catiline and Roman society is, as Vretska remarks (n. 1, 121), the near equality of length of the characterization of Catiline (*BC* 5, 14–16) and the two parts of the history of Rome, its rise (6–9) and fall (10–13).

[6] The quotation is from: A. Leeman, 'Sallusts Prologe und seine Auffassung von der Historiographie', *Mnemosyne* 7 (1963), 323–39, 357, who is reminded of late republican marble portraits.

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Vastus animus is, as Karl Vretska has observed, a singular juncture, and also, therefore, singularly difficult to understand and translate, as evidenced by vernacular variety and comments often quite fanciful.[7] Scholarly opinion is divided on the question of whether *uastus* emphasizes 'dimension' (*OLD* 3) rather than 'desolation' (*OLD* 1).

The majority are in favour of the first (and in agreement with the *OLD*, where *BC* 5.5 is listed under 3c, 'awesome or very great in range or intensity'), but varying in their discernment of possible connotations. To render *uastus* simply as 'immense' seems insufficient. The unusual order of adjective and noun is frequent in Sallust,[8] and it has been observed that the so-called rhetorical sequence is particularly frequent in the case of *animus* as one of those words, 'die wegen der ihnen eignenden weiten Begriffssphäre zu den am häufigsten gebrauchten gehören und vielfach erst durch die adjektivische Beifügung Wert und Bedeutung erhalten'.[9] Still, a comparison with similar expressions in the characterization of Catiline (*animus audax, subdolus, uarius* [5.4] and *animus ferox* [5.7]) as well as the additional prominence gained from the first position in the sentence, indicates the special emphasis put on the adjective – unnecessary if merely size were being addressed. The arrangement alone raises the reader's awareness.

More in keeping with this emphasis, Heurgon suggests that Sallust uses *uastus* because he could not bring himself to say *magnus* (which would have triggered associations of *magnitudo animi*, see *OLD* 14), but had to concede 'sinon une grande âme, du moins l'âme grande';[10] a man audacious rather than courageous, and reckless rather than resolute. This interpretation could adduce in its favour that it would seem to be in line with Rambaud's observation (see above) that Catiline is of the kind Sallust approvingly sketches in the beginning of the proem – yet one led astray. *Animus non tam magnus quam uastus* would make this point rather succinctly.

The majority in this first group, however, probably inspired by *cupiebat* and *inmoderata* (*OLD* 2),[11] add an association of gluttony in their translations and glosses: 'his insatiable appetite', 'son esprit insatiable', 'unersättlich begehrte er', 'insaziabile'. This, to quote David West, is murder.[12] If Sallust had wanted to say 'insatiable', he would have. The comparison with his description of *auaritia* is instructive (*BC* 11.3): *ea … semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur*.

Proponents of an emphasis on desolation are few. There is, however, J.C. Rolfe's translation of *uastus animus* as 'his disordered mind'.[13] And Vretska takes it a step further when he explains that just as Italy was devastated (*uasta*) 'in the wake of robbery, flight and slaughter' (*rapinis fuga caedibus*), so is Catiline's mind *uastus* because of the burning desires mentioned immediately before (*ardens in cupiditatibus*: *BC* 5.4).[14] I agree with Vretska's understanding of *uastus* as an expression of

[7] Vretska (n. 1), ad loc.

[8] See W. Kroll, 'Die Sprache des Sallust', *Glotta* 15 (1927), 280–305, at 299.

[9] A. Reckzey, *Über grammatische und rhetorische Stellung des Adjektivums bei den Annalisten, Cato und Sallust* (Berlin, 1888), 6.

[10] J. Heurgon, 'Note sur "l'âme vaste de Catilina" ', *BAGB* 7 (1949), 79–81.

[11] J.T. Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae*[2] (Oxford, 2007), 70, considers *uastus* as 'appropriate to describe a grasping desire that is never surfeited but always has room for more'. McGushin (n. 4, ad loc.) glosses 'insatiable', then cites Heurgon affirmatively, and finally adds that 'uastus' 'may also contain an element of the meaning inherent in uastare'.

[12] D. West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius* (Edinburgh, 1969), 3.

[13] J.C. Rolfe, *Sallust* (Loeb, Cambridge, 1980), 11.

[14] 'Wie *uasta Italia rapinis fuga caedibus*, so ist *animus* durch die eben geschilderten Leidenschaften *uastus*': Vretska (n. 1), ad loc.

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desolation more than dimension, but not with his reasoning. Three arguments seem relevant.

In all other instances of the noun or the verb in the historian's œuvre, the word expresses a desolate (rather than simply vast) wasteland, its desolation frequently brought about by military action (*OLD*, s.v. *uastus* 1c); most specifically (and literally) in conjunction with fields: *ceterum, qua pergebat, urbis agros uastare, praedas agere, suis animum hostibus terrorem augere* (*BJ* 20.8);[15] more generally in connection with Italy and Rome: *eoque uecordiae processit, ut studiis ciuilibus bellum atque uastitas Italiae finem faceret* (*BJ* 5.2);[16] and finally metaphorically, for example when Gaius Memmius criticises the power-hungry nobility: *quod si tam uos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica sicuti nunc uastaretur et beneficia uestra penes optimos, non audacissimos forent* (*BJ* 31.16).[17] And when Sallust speaks of a *mons … uastus ab natura et humano cultu* (*BJ* 48.3), *loca arida atque uasta* (*BJ* 75.2), *multi uastique loci* (*BJ* 78.5), *omnia uasta, inculta, egentia aquae* (*BJ* 89.5), *uasta Italia rapinis, fuga, caedibus* (*H* 1.23), *uastis circum omnibus locis* (*H* 4.49.15), and *uastam urbem fuga et caedibus* (*H* 1.55.17), the adjective conveys a desolate state, as indicated by accompanying epithets.[18]

A.J. Woodman observes that in Tacitus' comment on the death of Augustus (*Ann.* 1.8.6) the chiastic unity of *crudi adhuc seruitii et libertatis improspere repetitae* for reasons of what could be called metaphoric coherence[19] involves exactly one gastronomic metaphor, with *crudi* expressing 'undigested' (instead of the commonly held 'unripe') and *repetitae* 'served up again' (rather than 'resought'). Similarly, for an understanding of Catilina's *uastus animus* it would appear necessary to take into account that Sallust uses another metaphorical expression clearly connected to the one in question, when he writes (*BC* 5.6): *hunc [animum] … lubido maxuma inuaserat rei publicae capiundae*. Though *inuadere* can serve as a medical as well as a military metaphor,[20] in this particular context, *uastus* and *inuaserat* mutually specify their respective senses, creating what in semantics is often referred to as 'enrichment'.[21] A helpful parallel can be found in *BJ* 41.9: *ita cum pollentia auaritia sine modo modestiaque inuadere, polluere et uastare omnia*, on which Eiliv Skard has commented: 'In dem Ausdruck Jug. 41.9 *auaritia … inuadere …*, *uastare omnia*, wird die "militärische" Auffassung von *inuadere* durch den Gebrauch von *uastare* gestützt'.[22] It should also be taken into account that in the description of Catiline's state of mind the second occurrence of a military metaphor is added in the form of the 'belated pluperfect' ('verschobenes Plusquamperfect')[23]: the tyrannical desire had attacked his mind (*lubido inuaserat*) and – as a consequence – left it ravaged.[24] This reading of

[15] For other instances, see Sall. *BJ* 44.5, 54.6, 55.6, 62.1, 69.1, 70.5.

[16] Other instances can be found in: *BJ* 31.16, 41.9, 48.3, 75.2, 78.5, 89.5, 102.13. For the *Historiae*, in addition to the expressions quoted above, see 1.112 and 2.98.9 (Maurenbrecher).

[17] Cf. *BJ* 41.9 (quoted below).

[18] And *BJ* 78.5 and 89.5 are listed in *OLD* 1 accordingly.

[19] 'Whatever the metaphor in *crudi*, it is sustained by *repetitae*' ('Tiberius and the taste of power: the year 33 in Tacitus', *CQ* 56 [2006], 178). This is one of the requirements in the employment of imagery, according to Quintilian (8.6.50): *nam id quoque in primis est custodiendum, ut, quo ex genere coeperis tralationis, hoc desinas.*

[20] *TLL* s.v. 1. *uim admouendo incurrere, adoriri*; 2. *de accessu morborum et affectuum animi.*

[21] See A. Cruse, *Meaning in Language. An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics* (Oxford and New York, 2004), 118–19.

[22] E. Skard, 'Die Bildersprache des Sallust', *SO* Suppl. 11 (1942), 141–64, at 154.

[23] Kroll (n. 8), 290, with further ref.

[24] In other words: both metaphors belong to the same (military) *scheme*. In the case of *uastus*

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uastus animus receives further support from Sallust's later comments, when the narrative 'returns' to Catiline after the Archaeology (*BC* 15.4): *ita conscientia mentem excitam uastabat*.

Sallust was an avid and attentive reader of Cicero,[25] and as such it is likely that he noticed how frequently Rome's orator rendered the conspirator's agitations and machinations with expressions of devastation, four times in the first Catilinarian alone. *Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis uastare cupientem nos consules perferemus*? (1.3). *Nunc iam aperte rem publicam uniuersam petis, templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, uitam omnium civium, Italiam totam ad exitium et uastitatem uocas* (1.12). *Eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae uastare iam pridem studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur* (1.21). *An, cum bello uastabitur Italia, uexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt tum te non existumas inuidiae incendio conflagraturum*? (1.29).[26] What Catiline in Cicero is said to cause, in Sallust he is characterized as having suffered. Sallust's adaptation – in line with others[27] – is thus a pointed expression of the above-mentioned notion of Catiline as 'a product of the times'. In the proem he described moral deterioration in the following terms (*BC* 2.5): *uerum ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia inuasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur*. Just as *lubido* is said to have *attacked* Rome, so it *attacked* Catiline; and what his *uastus animus* had suffered, it would in turn bring upon Rome: *uastatio*.[28] Ultimately, Roman society inflicted mayhem upon itself, merely changing transient mediators.[29]

Harvard University CHRISTOPHER B. KREBS
krebs@fas.harvard.edu
doi:10.1017/S0009838808000773

animus the uncommon attribution (of *uastus*) can be explained with the help of the *syntagmatic* relation in the field of the *donor* – the actual, war-related invasion and devastation – which led Sallust to elaborate the military metaphor in the field of the *receiver*: Catiline's state of mind.

[25] R. Banz (*Die Würdigung Ciceros in Sallusts Geschichte der catilinarischen Verschwörung* [Einsiedeln, 1904], 7, n. 3) lists more and less apparent parallels between the *BC* and (mostly) the Catilinarian speeches. See also: R. Funari, 'Motivi ciceroniani nell' "excursus" centrale del "De Catilinae coniuratione" (36,4 – 39,4) di Sallustio', *Fontes* 1 (1998), 15–62, whose list of Ciceronian parallels demonstrates Sallust's intimate knowledge of the Catilinarians. See also n. 27 (below).

[26] J.H. Schmalz, *Über den Sprachgebrauch des Asinius Pollio*[2] (München, 1890), 50–1, lists other passages and concludes: 'Zur Zeit der Bürgerkriege scheint *vastitas Italiae* und *Italiam uastare* … eine Art politischen Schlagworts geworden zu sein'. On the currency of the 'much used phrase' *uastitas Italiae*, see also C. Damon, *Tacitus. Histories, Book I* (Cambridge, 2003), ad 1.50.2.

[27] When Sallust borrows a metaphorical expression from Cicero he modifies it, often making it 'bolder' (and among his contemporaries he was known for his *audacia in translationibus*, cf. Suet. *gram*. 10). I will limit myself to two examples. When Sallust writes (*BC* 12.1), *hebescere uirtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci coepit*, he had Cicero (*Cat*. 1.4) in mind: *…patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis*. But while Cicero's metaphor is unambiguous, Sallust's wavers between three possible associations (to lose its edge, or to grow dull, or to become feeble); I discuss this in *HSCP* 104 (forthcoming). And whereas Cicero had likened the *Catilinae caterua* to a *magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae* (Cic. *Cat*. 1.12, similarly employed in *Cat*. 2.5), Sallust (*BC* 37.5) lists those who as a group *Romam sicut in sentinam confluxerat*, thus changing the meaning of *sentina* and the imagery.

[28] For a similar vicious circle – as enacted by Cato Censorius and Cato Uticensis – see D. Levene, 'Sallust's *Catiline* and Cato the Censor', *CQ* 50 (2000), 170–91, esp. 190.

[29] I am once more indebted to Prof. A.J. Woodman (University of Virginia) for his comments on an earlier version, and more generally for the discussions we have had concerning Sallustian metaphors. The final draft was improved by the diligence of Tim Joseph (Holy Cross) and Clem Wood (Harvard).

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