«Горит восток зарею новой» (Hor. Epod. 9, 17)

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«The new dawn burns the eastern sky…» (Hor. Epod. 9, 17)

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Аннотация
В докладе рассматривается текстологическая трудность в 9м эподе Горация. В 17–18 стихах в рукописях читаем: adhuc/ad hunc frementesverteruntb is mille equos / Galli canentes Caesarem. Обычно под местоимением hunc понимают Марка Антония (упомянутого в стт. 11–13), хотя предшествующий стих также содержит сущ. м. р. sol. На мой взгляд, автор чтения adhunc понимал его как ad solem (orientem) – «повернули коней на восток»: представляется, что выражение solaspicitconopium (солнце узрело москитную сетку) указывает именно на рассвет – время, когда в древности производился осмотр диспозиции врага.

Ключевые слова: битва при Акции, Горация, рукописная традиция Горация, эподы Горация.

Keywords: the battle of Actium, Epodes, Horace, manuscript tradition of Horace.

Abstract
The article deals with a textology question in Ninth Epode by Horace. The verses 17–18 gives as follows: adhuc/ad hunc frementesverteruntb is mille equos / Galli canentes Caesarem. The usual understanding of the noun hunc is to him, i. e. to Marc Antony, mentioned in vv. 11–13. Meanwhile the previous line has a masculine noun sol. In my opinion, the author of the reading ad hunc might have understood it as ad solem (orientem) – «the Galatians turned their horses toward the rising sun, i. e. to the East». It is quite possible, that the phrases olaspicitconopium (‘the Sun saw a mosquito net’) describes sunrise – the time usual for observing the enemies’ arrangement in ancient armies.

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of the Epodes by Horace that depicts the battle of Actium (2September 31 BC; for more information and the scheme of action see e. g. [The Cambridge Ancient History 2001, 54–59]).

**Ninth Epode by Horace**

The Epode (a iambic poem, 38 lines long) has a ring composition: the beginning and the conclusion deal with the topic of a festive banquet – and here we can observe that this content is familiar for a young poet; the center part, i.e. the description of the news of the battle itself, is rather indistinct, though it contains some particular details. The following verses refer to the overland phase of the battle and first of all the desertion of the Galatian cavalry. (The text with the manuscript variants and scholars’ conjectures are given according to the edition of István Borzsák.)

Romanus, eheu (posternegabitis)  
emancipatusfeminae  
fervtum et arma miles et spadonibus  
servirerugosispotest,  
terquesignatarpermilitaria  
sol adspicitconopium.  

Alas! A Roman <probably Marc Antony> – this will be denied by the posterity – being rented by a woman, marches as a soldier and can serve to wrinkled eunuchs, and the sun sees a mosquito net <of Cleopatra / her effeminate court> between army standards.

«**Locus difficillimus**»

Further we find the most difficult passage «**locus difficillimus**» as Richard Bentley calls it [Horati Opera… Bentleii 1711, 191–192], the difficulty being still worse because of a text corruption represented in all the medieval manuscript tradition.

†adhunc†fremeninisverteruntbis mille equos  
  Galli canentesCaesarem,  
  hostiliumquenaviuimportu latent  
  puppessinistrorsumcitae.  

Two thousand Galatians turned their snorting horses […] praising Caesar [=Octavianus], and the sterns of the enemies’ ships are closed in a harbor, beingswift to the left (For the meaning of the verses 19–20 describing some naval actions, see the article by E. Wistrand).

Let us examine the manuscript variant:  
**adhuc** (C1 λ1 δ2 ) ‘still, till this time’  
This variant is an evident corruption, as this adverb does not suit any of two verbs.  
† **athuc**(a2 unus Bland.) ‘but here / hither’ This poorly represented variant often can be read in the editions with a *crux desperationis*, the general meaning being: But the Galatians turned their horses to *outside* [Mankin 1995, 38, 168].

But the most common reading is **ad hunc** (V A a1 Ccorr. R F δ1 p u Ott. Ox. P Ε+ the reading **adhuc** might go back to it either) ‘to it/to him’.

The usual way to explain this **ad hunc** from ancient time is as ‘to the Roman <soldier>’, i.e. Marc Antony, the preposition ad ‘to’ meaning ‘against’ here [Watson 2003, 325]. Bentley finds it awkward, if not impossible (who, nevertheless, proposes an unsuccessful conjecture for this reading [Horati Opera… Bentleii 1711, 192]).

Another weakness both of this understanding of **ad hunc** and of the reading at **huc** is a dynamic character of Galatians’ moving, as if it were a cavalry field maneuver with a sudden change of direction. Meanwhile the location (and especially a coastline of the Ambracian gulf) makes it highly improbable. Galatians must have left Antony in some other way.
Sources on the desertion of Galatians

Velleius Paterculus mentions the desertion of the Galatian king Amyntas very briefly: rexAmyntasmeliora et utiliorasecutus (84.2).

According to Plutarch’s evidence, Galatian left Antony’s camp a week or at least a few days before the battle (Ant. 63.3).

Dio Cassius (50. 13. 8) reports of an interesting detail: he focuses not on a desertion itself, but on Antony’s fear to be left by his allies. In the chapter previous to the one describing the naval battle Antony is said to recall Galatians, who had been sent to collect taxes to Thrace. The historian does not mention, if they really came back, and one can assume that they did not.

ad hunc – ad solem

I would like to offer a new understanding for the manuscript reading ad hunc, referring the pronoun to the noun Sol from the previous verse, i. e. to it = to the sun.

The usage of this pronoun is found in Horace’ poetry (47 times only in this particular form, 9 times in lyric poetry). Although it is often the opposition ‘this–that’ (see e. g. the passage of two mice: Serm. 2, 6, 90: tandem urbanusadhunc…inquit …), there are to be found passages, where the pronoun hic denotes a person or an object mentioned above: e. g. A. P. 278: post hunc (v. 276 Thespis) personae pallaequerepertorhonestae….

The rising sun

The specification «to the sun» has sense only if the sun is in some certain position, for example it rises on the east. The Latin expression sol orien is quite common for the East direction, and then the text will mean: ‘Galatians turned their horses to the rising sun, i. e. to the East’.

The verbaspicio in the verse 16 was understood earlier as ‘to watch’, ‘to look at’ (with the epic topos «the sun watches all»), but it means rather ‘to throw a glance’, ‘to (start to) see’. For a confirmation two passages from Horace can be quoted, with the context being almost the same: in the 16th Epistle this verb describes the rising sun: sedutveniensdextrum latus aspiciat sol (Hor. Epist. 1, 16, 6), and in another passage a rise of constellations is meant: Seu Libra seu me Scorpios aspicit (Hor. Carm. 2, 17, 17). The passage with the word aurora is also relevant here: Tertia post Idusnudos aurora Lupercos / aspicit, etFauni sacra bicorniseunt (Ovid. Fast. 2, 267-8).

The situation itself speaks in favor of the morning, as it was usual time for watching the enemy’s camp from afar: see e. g. Caes. B.G. 1, 22, 1-2; Liv. 22, 28; 42.

The origin if the reading ad hunc

The author of the reading ad hunc, though he most probably was not Horace himself, could refer the pronoun to the noun Sol. If this variant comes from Late Antiquity or the Early Medieval time, a scribe or a reviser must have known where the cape Actium is – in the most western part of the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, in his opinion, Galatians intending to leave Antony should turn to the East.

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