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The Use of 'Italus' and 'Romanus' in Latin Literature, with Special Reference to Virgil

John Macinnes

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ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἀεὶ . . . ἰκνεῖται, Od. 10. 80
 ἐξῆμαρ . . . πλέομεν, Eur. *Phoen.* 401 ἐπ'
 ἡμαρ εἶχον, *El.* 425 ἐν γ' ἐπ' ἡμαρ, Dio
 Cass. 51. 22 ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας.

It does not seem to me probable that Sophocles would have broken off abruptly at Θρήκιον κλύδωνα to interject the irrelevant τελεῖν γὰρ κτέ (Hermann's suggestion adopted by Jebb), and then have begun again even more abruptly with τόν, ὃ πυρφόρων . . . νέμων. Of the various interpretations of the MSS. τέλει Jebb 'had for some time been disposed to acquiesce in Elmsley's as the least strained.' Of the many explanations of the passage and the dozen emendations, more or less, all seem to

me totally inadequate. No scholar feels thoroughly satisfied with τέλει, which is declared to be 'clearly wrong' by Schneidewin-Nauck, who approve of Arndt's substitution of ἀεὶ. But in Bodl. Barocc. 66 we find τέλη—merely a corruption of βέλη, which could not stand when ἐξ was divorced from ἀφῆ and married to τιν' in such a manner as to generate a new subject for the verb of the subordinate clause (τινέξ becoming τινυξ). Arndt's ἀεὶ is already in the text, substantially, in the words ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἐρχεται.

J. E. HARRY.

University of Cincinnati.

THE USE OF 'ITALUS' AND 'ROMANUS' IN LATIN LITERATURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO VIRGIL.

My purpose is briefly to examine the use of the adjectives *Italus* and *Romanus* in Latin literature to see if any evidence can be found as to the attitude of the writers towards the position and the functions of Italy and Rome respectively. It will appear that Virgil and Horace are the first and the only authors, except perhaps Julius Caesar, who conceived of Italy as other than an appanage of Rome, and who by their use of language tried to rouse a regard for the value of the independent personality of Italy. Though, as has often been noted, nearly all the great writers of Latin were provincials, born, and in boyhood reared, in small country towns, their works manifest no trace of sympathy with that co-ordination of national and local patriotism which is recognised to-day as one of the vital elements in the spiritual life of a people.

From the beginning of the Roman conquest of Italy, local patriotism in the conquered tribes was undermined by the desire to be reckoned among the conquerors. In the sphere of art only one indigenous form, namely satire, had strength enough to persist; native painting and sculpture were displaced by exotic productions coming from the capital. Thus early arose a disastrous craving for that *urbanitas* in action and

speech which could not be acquired except in Rome (Cic. *Brut.* 171). It is part of Virgil's greatness that he deplored the spirit which accepted foreign importations in place of native growths, and saw the value of the spontaneous rustic mummeries (*G.* 2. 385).

The Calabrian Ennius was the first writer who accepted without hesitation the Roman estimate of the provincials: 'Nos sumus' Romani qui fuimus ante Rudini' (*Ann.* 371; cp. *A.* 169 'ciues Romani tunc facti sunt Campani'). In his fragments we find often *Romana iuuentus* for the army, but *Italus* seems not to occur. Once (*A.* 467) he makes a distinction: 'qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere uoltis.' In *A.* 276 he has one of those enumerations of tribal names in which Virgil delights: 'Marsa manus, Peligna cohors, Vestina uirum uis.' In Tragic and in Comic writers *Italus* does not seem to occur, but the nature of their topics makes this not surprising. Plautus, when he refers (*Most.* 770) to his birthplace in Umbria, Sarsina, distinguished as the last town in Italy proper that so late as 266 B.C. offered opposition to Rome, seeks merely the occasion for a pun; he also scoffs at Praenestine idiom in *Trin.* 609, though in *Trin.* 545 he praises the 'Campanum genus' for endurance. The first to feel that the

Italian cities had a value in themselves seems to have been that stern opponent of all foreign influences, Cato the censor, for according to Nepos (*Cato*, 3. 3) the Second and Third Books of the *Origines* told 'unde quaeque ciuitas orta sit Italica.'

With the strong sympathy for the Italian provincials shown by the Gracchi in their political proposals we have not here anything to do, for the word *Italus* does not seem to occur in the remains of their speeches. But it is surprising that the vehement nationalist Lucilius, whose external provenance even subjected him, after the publication of the First Book of his *Satires*, to the law of Pennus which banished *peregrini* from Rome, should have used the name *Italus* only once, though *Romanus* occurs several times. Varro, in the *De Re rustica*, has occasion to speak of *Italia* and the *Itali* some four times, but in each case the terms are used in a strictly geographical sense with reference to facts of agriculture. Lucretius seems to use the poetical word *Romulidae* once (4. 687); *Romani* once in the ordinary wide significance for the whole of Italy (1. 41), but he also once by a poetic licence uses *Italae gentes*, as it seems, for all Italy including Rome (1. 119). Catullus uses *Italus* in the widest sense in his first poem addressed to Nepos, *Romanus* never. The use made by Sallust is peculiar; in the *Jugurtha* c. 21 he speaks of *togati* meaning Roman citizens, in c. 26 he calls them *Italici*, and also *negotiatores*. Here we seem to be upon the way to the Virgilian use of *Italus*.

The standpoint of Cicero is interesting. Although he was sneered at for being a *peregrinus* (*Pro Sulla* 22 ff.) and allows by implication that to be so called is *contumelia*, this native of Arpinum early sold his birthright and became in heart and soul a Roman of the Romans. For him Rome is the 'domus uirtutis imperi et dignitatis' (*De or.* 1. 196); cp. *ib.* 105 'Roma domicilium imperi et gloriae,' the 'lux orbis terrarum et arx omnium gentium' (*Cat.* 4. 11); 'Roma in terris nihil melius,' he says (*De nat. deor.* 3. 21). Any distinction between Rome and Italy is rare. Though in the *De or.*

3. 43 (date of action 91 B.C.) Crassus confesses 'nostri [that is, the Romans] minus student litteris quam Latini,' he goes on to boast that the most uneducated native Roman easily surpasses 'litteratissimum togatorum omnium, Q. Valerium Soranum, lenitate uocis atque ipso oris pressu et sono.' This recalls the complacency with which the Romans claimed that their accent was superior to the best of provincial speech (*Brutus*, 171, etc.). In *De har. resp.* 19 Cicero couples *Itali* and *Latini* together: 'nec numero Hispanos nec robore Gallos nec calliditate Poenos nec artibus Graecos nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis ac terrae domestico natioque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos sed pietate ac religione . . . omnis gentis nationesque superauimus.'

Julius Caesar, in this as in so many other matters, was a wise innovator. Suiting the character of the legislator who widened the bounds of *Italia* by including the Transpadane region, Caesar in his Commentaries uses *Italia* where other writers would almost certainly have used *Roma*, e.g. *B. G.* 6. 1. 3, 'magni interesse . . . ad opinionem Galliae existimans tantas uideri Italiae facultates ut . . .'; cf. *B. C.* 1. 2. 2; 6. 3; 9. 4; 35. 1 ('debere eos Italiae totius auctoritatem sequi'; a remarkable phrase). Noteworthy are *B. C.* 3. 12. 2. [se] 'neque sibi iudicium sump-turos contra atque omnis Italia populusque Romanus iudicauisset,' and 3. 57. 4: 'quod si fecisset, quietem Italiae, pacem prouinciarum, salutem imperi uni omnes acceptam relaturom.' The spirit of these phrases is different from that of the framer of the Agrarian Law in 63 B.C. who provided: 'quae in municipia quasque in colonias decem-miri uelint, deducant colonos quos uelint et iis agros assignent quibus in locis uelint' (*Cic. Leg. Agr.* 1. 6). Julius Caesar, we may be certain, would on many grounds have disapproved of the action of Augustus in assigning to his veterans after Actium the territory of Cremona and Mantua because they had been neutral in the civil war.

In Virgil we find no longer an indifference to provincial life or contempt for it; instead there is a passionate insistence that life in the country is the best

for man. Though Rome was 'rerum pulcherrima' (G. 2. 534), yet in word and in deed Virgil preferred 'diuini gloria ruris.' He cared little for the cheap wit of the smart cockneys who uttered the scoff: 'nostri sic rure loquuntur' (Servius on *Ecl.* 3. 2). His love for Rome, greater and wiser than their petty pride, comprehended in its scope not mere the material city on the Tiber, but the idealised centre of righteousness and justice for the whole world.

It is in the cunning juxtaposition of the two potent ideas of the majesty of Rome and the glory of Italy that his originality in this matter lies. He had early vowed that his triumphs in poetry should be laid at the feet of his native Mantua (G. 3. 10 ff.), though they were to be gained by singing the songs of Ascræ 'Romana per oppida' (G. 2. 176). That is commonly the order of the emphasis; so the inheritance of Iulus is to be 'regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus' (A. 4. 275). Henceforth the whole, Italy, is to be greater than the part, Rome. At Actium, you should note, it was an *Italian* host that Augustus led to battle (A. 8. 678); the shield of Aeneas portrayed 'res Italas Romanorumque triumphos' (*ib.* 626). The most striking phrase of all is one that, as far as I know, no writer had been so catholic as to use (*ib.* 715) 'dis *Ital*is uotum immortale sacrabat.' Henceforward it would not be necessary to go up to the temples in the chief city to pray, for the hour was come when gods should not be restricted to one local habitation, but should be worshipped in spirit and in truth as the protectors of a whole land.

Evidence for one element of this combination, his love for Rome, is not hard to find. He heaps up epithets for her beloved 'alta moenia' (A. 1. 7) in A. 12. 168, G. 2. 534, A. 4. 781, 7. 603; *Cul.* 360; her very stones to him were dear. But his deepest feelings are for Italy; as Aeneas says, 'hic amor, haec patria est' (A. 4. 396). No other land can vie with her in goodness (G. 2. 136 ff.); in Italy was set that earlier time of Eden, Age of Gold (A. 8. 319 ff.) It is to be noted that even then Italy, in the poet's eyes, had many of the advantages that were to mark the return of the Age of

Gold (*cf.* G. 2. 151-4 with E. 4. 21-24). When the Trojans first saw 'humilem Italiam,' the triple iteration of the name (A. 3. 523) shows the elation that the poet also felt as he pictured to himself the scene. I need not speak of the fervent patriotism shown in the sonorous lists of towns and tribes (*e.g.*, A. 6. 773 ff., 7. 631 ff., 710-716, 10. 165 ff., etc.) that were as musical to the poet as his lists of Lowland and Highland warriors to Sir Walter Scott, or of places and streams of England to the Elizabethans, Drayton or Brown of Tavistock.

The emphasis is unmistakable with which Virgil dwelt on the contribution of the Italian element to the greatness of Rome; thus Anchises predicts to Aeneas (A. 6. 757) 'qui maneat *Italia* de gente nepotes'; *ib.* 762 'Silvius primus ad auras | aetherias *Italo* commixtus sanguine surget'; 7. 643, and above all in 12. 826, where the bargain is made for peace on terms of perfect equality; 'sit Romana potens *Italia* uirtute propago.'

Tibullus and Propertius, it need hardly be remarked, manifest no such marks of statesmanship. In Tibullus the idea represented by *Italus* does not occur; in Propertius (1. 22. 4) there is use of *Italia*, but no emphasis; in 4. 1. 34-5 there is a weak imitation of Virgil: '*Itala* per Graios orgia ferre choros.'

The use made by Horace of the words *Italus* and *Romanus* is not perfectly precise, but there seem to be enough instances to show that he was conscious that behind what appeared there lurked serious elements, that it was not possible to use the term *Roma* for *Italia* without the use affecting the ideas.¹ It may safely be inferred that he did not use *Italus* only as an equivalent of the narrower word in such lines as 'si quid abest *Italis* abiudicat armis' (*Epp.* 1. 18. 57; 'res *Italas* armistuteris' (*Epp.* 2. 1. 2); 'artes . . . per quas *Latinum* nomen et *Italae* | creuere uires' (*Od.* 4. 15. 13); *cf.* further *Od.* 2. 7. 4; 4. 4. 4; 3. 2. 40; 3. 30. 13; *Epp.* 1. 12. 29; *Sat.* 1. 6. 35;

¹ It is of interest that Scotsmen who protest against the use of 'England' instead of 'Britain,' and Germans who dislike 'Prussia' being used as if it applied to all Germany, might draw some support from the deliberate purism of Virgil and Horace in the use of 'Italia.'

Car. S. 66. But just as even perfervid Scots must speak of the *English* language, so *Romanus* is the word applied by Horace in literary matters, e.g., *Epp.* 2. 1. 29; 2. 2. 94; 1. 7. 9; *Od.* 4. 3. 23.

In Livy *Italia* is used in its geographical sense only; the comprehensive word for the country which is charged with emotional connotation is *Roma*. This was not unnatural in a writer of anti-democratic bias whose sympathies were with the nobles of the city and the policy of centralisation which the Senate had upheld. Probably for the same reason Tacitus regards Rome as the focus of national life, and thinks more of intrigues on the Palatine than important social and economic changes in Italy—a view reflected in his

use of the word, which is similar to Livy's use. From Juvenal, the most thorough-going cockney in Roman literature, no wider social consciousness was to be expected. It is similar with the foreigners, Lucan, Seneca, and Quintilian; to Spaniards the difference between Rome and Italy as a name was unimportant. By Quintilian's time the narrower name came to be almost invariably used; *Or. Inst.* 1. 5. 56, 'Pollio deprehendit in Liuvio Patauinitatem, licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam.' Statius, however, seems to follow the usage of Virgil, preferring to use Rome when speaking of the city only; see *Silv.* 2. 7. 65; 3. 6. 161; *Ach.* 1. 14; *Theb.* 12. 815.

JOHN MACINNES.

NOTES

ΩΣ ΑΡΑΗΙ ΝΗΔΥΝ (*Eur. Suppl.* 207).

IN his enumeration of the blessings which the gods bestowed on man Euripides mentions intellect and language, and adds: τροφήν τε καρπού τῇ τροφῇ τ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ | σταγόνας ὑδρηλάς, ὡς τὰ γ' ἐκ γαίας τρέφῃ | ἄρδῃ τε νηδύν. The fruit of Demeter is for the nourishment of man, the rain from heaven to nurture the fruit, and to water—what? Liddell and Scott say 'the earth,' since they define νηδύν here by *gremium telluris*. But both the use of the word and the context show that the poet is thinking of a human being, not of the soil. He conceives the καρπὸς Δήμητρος (*Hipp.* 138) and the σταγόνες as essential to the sustenance of the body. Both water and wheat are necessary for our τροφή. Cp. *Fr.* 892 Δήμητρος ἀκτῆς πώματος θ' ὑδρηχόου, ἅπερ παρέστι καὶ πέφυκ' ἡμᾶς τρέφειν. Euripides might have written τρέφῃ | τρέφῃ τε ἡμᾶς in *Suppl.* 207, but he prefers to substitute ἄρδῃ τε νηδύν and avoid the unpleasant juxtaposition of τρέφῃ | τρέφῃ and a repetition of τρέφειν in either the verbal or substantival form. True, we find ἄρδων πεδίον (*Xen. An.* 2. 3. 13, *Aesch. Pers.* 487, 806), χθόνα (*Prom.* 852 ἄρδευει), κήπους (*Hdt.* 1. 181), χώρας (3. 117), αὐλώνα (*Nauck, Adesp.* 196);

but νηδύς in this sense is never used, either in the classical or in the later literature. Cp. *Ar. Eq.* 96, 114 νοῦν ἄρδων, *Lys.* 384 ἄρδω σ' ὅπως βλαστάνῃς. The verb is used of watering animals as well as man: *Hdt.* 5. 12 ἤρσε τὸν ἵππον, *Hom. Hymn* 9. 3 ἵππους ἄρσασα, *Ar.* 263 ἄρδόμενοι οὐρήες. Cp. an inscription found in Thessaly: μαστῶ τ(ε) ἀρδεύσειν χεῖλος ἐοῖο βρέφους (*Hel-lenic Herald*, September 1909).¹

The word νηδύς never means γῆ, πεδίον, λειμῶνα, χώραν, or any part of them. The train of thought in *Suppl.* 205-207 is simply: wheat nourishes man, rain nourishes wheat; but rain has two uses: it is essential to the growth of wheat and also of man himself (directly); it is not for mere external application (ὑδωρ δὲ νύψαι χεῖρας). The poet has *man* in mind during the whole enumeration of benefits conferred: σύνεσιν—γλώσσαν—τροφήν (and, parenthetically, for the τροφή itself, *rain*—to nourish τὰ ἐκ γαίας and to ἄρδων νηδύν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου)—προβλήματα—ἡ μαντική. All these constitute a not insignificant κατασκευὴ βίου (214). He might have added one more: ἤρξατο τρέφειν ὃδ'

¹ Cornutus gives us a curious etymology of 'Zeus': ἀπὸ τοῦ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ζῴσι ζωτικῆς ἰκμάδος (*Epidrome* 2).