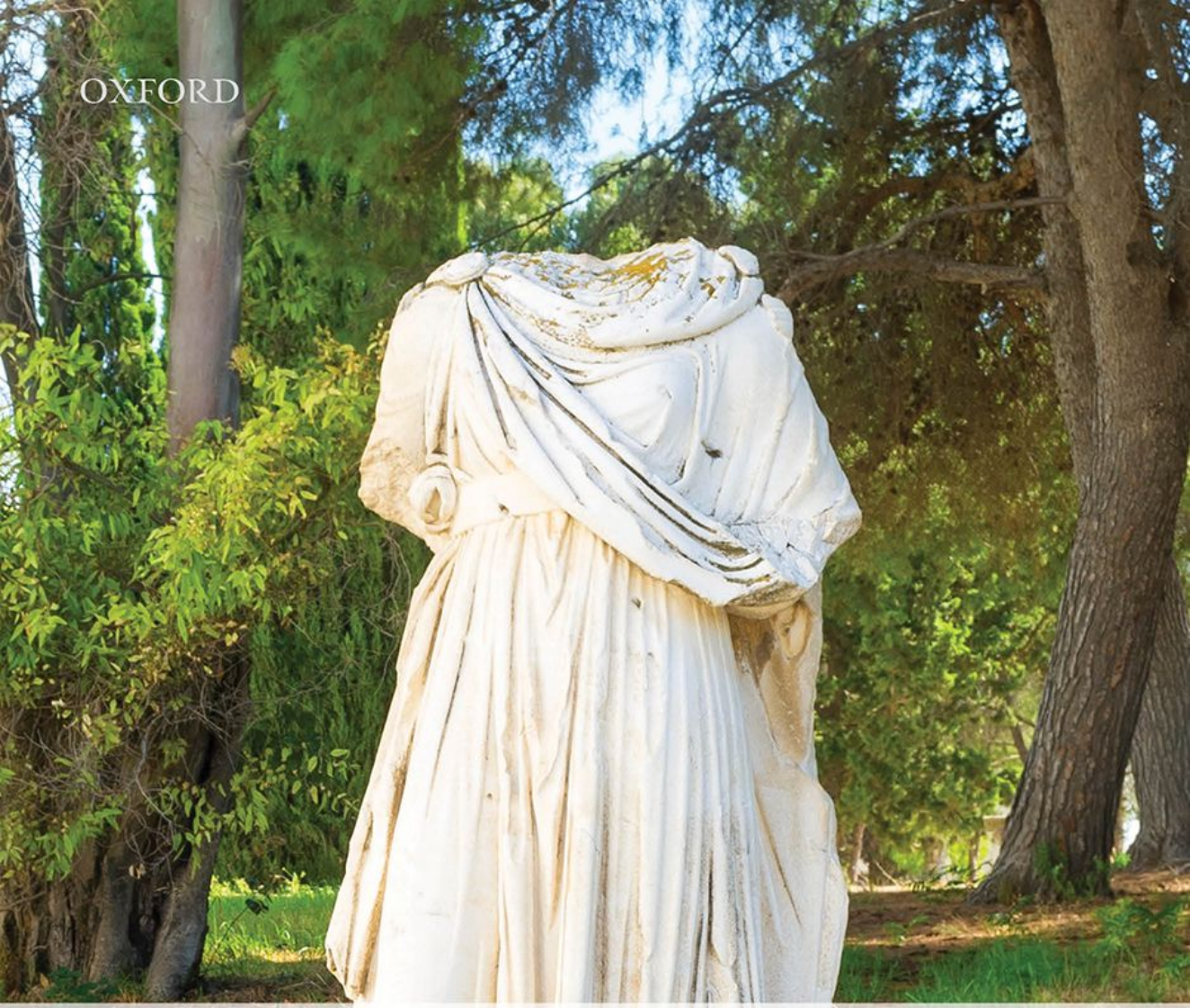

CONSTRUCTING AUTHORS *and* READERS *in the* APPENDICES VERGILIANA, TIBVLLIANA, *and* OVIDIANA

T. E. FRANKLINOS & LAUREL FULKERSON

·PSEUDEPIGRAPHA LATINA·

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PSEUDEPIGRAPHA LATINA

Pseudepigrapha Latina offers a new series of modern commentaries on frequently neglected, falsely attributed, and anonymous Latin texts. The individual commentaries engage with questions of authorship and dating, traditional philological issues and style, as well as the literary context of these works.

Constructing Authors and Readers in the *Appendices Vergiliana*, *Tibulliana*, and *Ouidiana*

T. E. FRANKLINOS AND LAUREL FULKERSON

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

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First Edition published in 2020

Impression: 1

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020936719

ISBN 978–0–19–886441–7

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

Preface

This volume gathers together a number of papers from a conference of the same name that took place in Oxford in September 2018. It brings together a range of perspectives on, and approaches to, the texts that have been associated with, but are not necessarily by, Vergil, Tibullus, and Ovid. The chapters are concerned with how authorship and readership are construed and figured within these texts, and how such constructs have been, and continue to be, imposed on these texts by readers. A number of the chapters take a relatively traditional approach to the questions surrounding authorship of these works. Others complement such perspectives by avoiding the question of authorial identity altogether and by bringing different sorts of questions to bear on these texts, discussion of which has thus far been so focused on *Echtheitskritik*. Perhaps surprisingly for a collection of chapters on Latin poetry, the question of authorial intention looms large in many of our explorations of these anonymous texts. The volume hopes to encourage further engagement with these poems by making them more accessible, and by inviting readers to approach them anew with different questions in mind.

We would like to thank all the speakers and delegates who participated in this conference for the stimulating contributions which they made to fruitful and amicable discussion, and which have helped and encouraged our own engagement with these texts. The conference was hosted by the Faculty of Classics and Trinity College, Oxford, and was supported by the generosity of the John Fell Fund, the Craven Committee (Faculty of Classics), the Lingen Fund (Trinity College), and the Classical Association; TEF was the holder of a British Academy postdoctoral fellowship at the time of the conference. We are also grateful to Nik Nicheperovich for his help in keeping the show on the road.

The editors of the *Pseudepigrapha Latina* series (Antony Augoustakis, Bob Kaster, and Chris Kraus) have been generously patient, supportive, and encouraging, and we are grateful for the astute and stimulating comments of the readers for the press. Karen Raith, Charlotte Loveridge, and Sophie Robinson of OUP have been helpfully meticulous in guiding the volume to completion.

Finally, Laurel would like to thank John Marincola, Megan Drinkwater, and A. E. B. Coldiron, and Tristan is grateful to Peta Fowler, Steve Heyworth, Talitha Kearey, Mel Marshall, and Barney Taylor. They know why.

TEF/LF

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Authoring, reading, and exploring an *Appendix*

Some introductory thoughts

T. E. Franklinos and Laurel Fulkerson

Why this volume and why now?

This volume, and the conference from which it derives, originate in our recognition of the increased interest that the various poetic appendices of some of the major authors in the Latin canon have been receiving. We wanted to juxtapose the three sets of appendices to see whether those who worked on them faced similar sets of problems or whether the purported differences in authorship created important variations in how the texts were viewed. What we found, unsurprisingly, was some of both. But more on that anon.

The burgeoning interest in pseudepigrapha comes from a variety of quarters, but one of its clearest manifestations is Peirano (2012), which admirably sets out many of the terms of the debate. A majority of previous scholarship on these poems has been preoccupied with who wrote them and has based much of its deliberation on the dubious foundations of subjective aesthetic judgement and incorroborable stylistic criteria. But more recent trends have seen readers, including Peirano, asking rather different questions, such as: how do these works situate themselves into a historical context (whether genuinely or anachronistically)?; do they seek to be taken as authentic or 'seen through', and why?; are these poems acts of appropriation or homage?; are there particular cultural moments, or historical time periods, when such texts are more likely to be written? That is to say, many of those now focusing on these poems are less interested in assigning a name to their author, and more interested in learning how and why the works themselves came to exist.[1]

Texts of disputed authorship, however they come to gain that label, hold a peculiar fascination for modern scholars precisely because of the questions they raise about canonicity (to which we shall return) and because they seem to offer a proving ground for our hard-won abilities: can those of us who are inevitably

[1] See Connolly (2018) 314 on 'how?' as a fruitful question with which, and from which, to proceed.

T. E. Franklinos and Laurel Fulkerson, *Authoring, reading, and exploring an* Appendix: *Some introductory thoughts* In: *Constructing Authors and Readers in the* Appendices Vergiliana,Tibulliana, *and* Ouidiana. Edited by: T. E. Franklinos and Laurel Fulkerson, Oxford University Press (2020).
DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198864417.003.0001

latecomers and outsiders tell the difference between cultural artefacts, between real and fake, good and bad? From Varro's sorting of the plays of Plautus into authentic and spurious, through Richard Bentley's exposé of a fake set of letters (*A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris* (1699)), to the present day, professional and amateur philologists have pitted their wits against disputed texts, seemingly at times trying to prove themselves through the precision of their critical acumen and the impeccability of their aesthetic judgement. As we know, however, but all too often fail to recognize, the exercise of scholarly acuity—meticulous though it may be—does not necessarily result in a sure conclusion on questions of authenticity, nor is immutable truth to be found in assessment of a text on aesthetic grounds.

Pitting oneself against the text—as Peirano (2012) intimates—may well be an unhelpful tactic: when we work with 'fakes', we tend (for the most part implicitly) to assume acts of deliberate forgery, an evil genius trying to fool readers to his or her own ends. A hermeneutic concern with the (il)legitimacy of texts has been re-inscribed in the study of Classics since antiquity;[2] indeed, the centrality often afforded by scholars to *Echtheitskritik* has been reinforced by an underlying disciplinary uncertainty about what it is exactly that we do—or should—study. The idea that some texts are 'fake' or illegitimate has often encouraged us to position ourselves as gatekeepers, protecting the integrity of the authoritative and authorial canon that is of such (often unspoken) importance to our disciplinary identity. It is likely, however, that the majority of the 'spurious' texts considered in this volume were never meant to deceive anyone, were not 'fakes'. The repetitive, minute, and painstaking emulation of models that we find in some of them was almost certainly the result—indirect or otherwise—of the conditions of ancient education, which focused on close engagement with, and imitation of, earlier writers.[3] An increased acceptance of this notion, and of the inherent ambiguities that follow from it, means that discussions surrounding the authenticity of 'spurious' works have begun to move away from the aggressive language of duping and falling victim, toward a more fruitful rhetoric that allows for texts to remain worthy of scholarly consideration whatever their parentage.[4] It is perhaps partly in the

[2] Peirano (2012) 37–42 provides an overview of, and further reading on, ancient modes of *Echtheitskritik*. The language of bastardy or legitimacy was common to both Hellenistic and Roman criticism: a fake or forgery was *νόθος* or *subditus*, while authentic works were *γνήσιος* or *genuinus*. (See also Fielding's chapter in this volume at pp. 195–6.) Quintilian writes of *grammatici* taking it upon themselves to disinherit texts of canonical status, as if they were *subditi* needing to be excluded from the legitimate family line (*Inst.* 1.4.3), and Seneca the Elder notes that one of his concerns in preserving the texts of declaimers is that, while there are no extant drafts of the greatest of them, what is worse (*quod peius est*) is that there are forged ones (*falsi*) in circulation (*Controu.* 1 praef. 11).

[3] Morgan (1998) 90.

[4] On the changing rhetoric of textual criticism—and with a call for further change—see Tarrant (2016). In the course of his discussion he notes by way of example the unhelpful aspects of his own rhetoric in expressing his arguments against the authenticity of *Heroides* 15 (in Tarrant (1981)), and 'regret[s] some of what [he] previously wrote about the poem. In particular, [his] low opinion of the poem's quality…strikes [him] as misguided, and [he] would now take a different view of the many

light of the distance that separates us from these works, and because of anxieties about our inevitably compromised ability to understand the past, that we have turned the question of authenticity into a major concern: once scholars learn to ask more interesting questions, this one may not actually matter all that much.[5]

A possible next step, if one allows that the issue of authenticity per se is not always of paradigmatic importance in approaching texts whose authorship remains unclear, may be to ask how a scholarly move away from questions of authorship could affect the ways in which we consider indisputably authentic texts. It is not our intention to suggest that the author of a given text is irrelevant (of course it matters that the author of the *Aeneid* is also the poet of the *Eclogues*), but rather to emphasize that our understanding and appreciation of an ancient author—and thus our expectations of his or her work—are largely predicated on our own extrapolation of that figure from the texts associated with him or her. It is, therefore, worth asking what it is exactly that matters about Vergil's authorship of both the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*. To take a small example, how does a self-citation of a pastoral poem in an epic context differ from any other form of intertextuality? Or—to take a larger one—what would be different about each work if we were to discover that there were actually two Vergils, one of whom wrote the *Eclogues*, the other the *Aeneid*? What if the epic Vergil were a Neronian poet? And—perhaps most interestingly—how would we go about deciding which of them wrote the *Georgics*?

A traditional author-intensive focus is prevalent in the study of many periods, but seems to matter especially to those who work on pre-modern authors where, on the whole, there is far less contextual information on which to draw. The author of an ancient text—inasmuch as he or she can be conceived of—is a readerly construct, and one that is therefore, in many significant ways, necessarily subjective and constrained by the expectations of any given reader; 'Vergil' is a creation that has been adorned by generations of readers, each influenced to some degree by their predecessors, in a process that began in antiquity (consider, for example, the influence of Ovid's or Quintilian's canons of authors on our own; see below).[6] Were the discipline of Classics to take more seriously the tendentious

echoes of Ovid that it contains, seeing them not as signs of ineptitude or lack of imagination but as deliberate markers' of the poem's Ovidian character (103).

[5] Cf. the incisive discussion in Geue (2019) 1–20 of the scholarly anxiety about anonymous or authorless texts and its embeddedness in early imperial literature, the period in which many of the texts considered in this volume seem likely to have been penned. Geue's book seeks to move beyond this anxiety and to consider anonymity as 'a constitutive effect of the text, an enabling force fundamental to the way it works': '[w]hat', he asks, 'if we were to treat texts as deliberately or, better, *autonomously* anonymous—not always in the strict sense that they were designed that way by their primary authors… but that the coauthors of history, time, and accident have [produced works in which] anonymity is a nonnegotiable *part* of them [which critics ought to explore]?'. (5). As do we, he notes the sense of 'need' that has compelled Classicists to provide an author or a context for an anonymous text so that it is able to 'qualify for full citizenship rights within the canon' (4).

[6] Goldschmidt (2019) 1–21 engagingly considers how ancient authors encoded (fictional or constructed) biographies into their respective works, and how readers expected to (and were expected to) discern aspects of the lives of an author from the latter's writings: she demonstrates the integrity of

nature of authorship, were we to be more assertive in challenging our (implicit) perception of *auctoritas* (even without divesting ourselves wholly of authors), we might find ourselves able to adopt more flexible and engaging hermeneutic standpoints.

As we have already suggested, the scholarly pitting of astute reader against apparently authorial or authoritative text inevitably participates in the context of another long-standing tension within the discipline of Classics about issues of aesthetics. The texts that come to us from the classical world have survived for a variety of reasons. Some of them, such as those associated with Vergil, were instantly recognized as masterpieces, were copied hundreds of times, and therefore always stood a pretty good chance of making it to us. Others, such as the poems of Lucretius or Catullus, have had more complicated receptions, and their transmission history is much more tenuous, however much we (now) think of them as 'good' poems. Still others, despite having perfectly respectable manuscript traditions, have not been generally considered worthy of serious engagement or study.[7] (And that is to leave aside the vast majority of ancient literature that has been lost, again for reasons that do not correlate with intrinsic value.) We know all of this, but often forget that managing to survive two thousand years is not synonymous with possessing 'quality'. For much of the history of classical scholarship—despite our awareness of the vagaries of transmission—scholars have maintained that the works which we study are 'good', or even that they are better than others, since they are ('the') foundational texts of western civilization.[8] At the same time, changing subsets of the corpus have, over time, been considered 'second rate' for a variety of reasons. In the field of Latin poetry, one of the more interesting revolutions in the past generation has been in the reputation of the Neronian and Flavian poets: they used to be thought of as self-evidently propagandistic, overly fulsome, and not worth reading, but now, basking in the glow of being taken seriously, they are turning out to be rich meditations on the nature of power and empire.

The fact that fashions change does not affect the basic principle: disciplinary norms impose an impetus to classify and to judge. It is no longer very common

'biofictional reading and autofictional writing' to Roman poetry, and shows how 'deeply entrenched' such practices were (quot. at 15).

[7] See Edmunds (2018) on Manilius, who, he claims, became 'canonical' without being a 'major' poet (299); such classifications come about for a variety of reasons. See too his illuminating discussion on the distinction between the profession of, and the discipline of, Classics, and compare Formisano (2018) for the ways in which the Anglo-American academic environment in particular is susceptible to such a narrowing and delimiting set of practices.

[8] It is also the case that 'among scholars of other fields there is a widespread expectation that classics *should* deal with canonical authors and texts, because classical antiquity is the canon par excellence and the discipline devoted to classical antiquity has the task of preserving this canon. . . . Interestingly, [however,] this process of canonization of the classics has run in parallel with a disempowerment of Greek and Roman classical authors and texts as active ethical and aesthetic models for contemporary literature' (Formisano (2018) 5).

for scholars to offer explicit aesthetic judgements, even in commentaries, but the implicit privileging of certain works over others remains prevalent. The texts that survive from the ancient world represent a minute fraction of what must originally have been written. It is perhaps surprising, then, that, as students of the milieux in which these works were produced, we have, often unthinkingly, been content to set aside any number of them on grounds that are always to a greater or lesser degree subjective. The conspicuous place held by the various and variable criteria of aesthetic value in the continual redefining of the canon has already been touched upon above; it is worth noting, however, that many other influences—political, moral, ethical, ideological—affect our choices about what is worthy and unworthy of serious attention.[9] The likelihood that these influences invisibly guide our scholarly and pedagogical decisions about the canonical and the marginal ought to be a matter of serious and frequent discussion. (We hope this volume will contribute to that debate.) Whether a particular text is deemed worthy of study on aesthetic grounds during a given historical period may or may not be problematic; of more serious concern, however, is the silent and sometimes unwitting combination of aesthetic criteria with other impulses in order to justify inclusion or exclusion.

One reaction to the issues surrounding the processes of canonization and marginalization might be to (attempt to) abandon the notion of a canon altogether. This has been the route of some text-based disciplines such as English literature (at least in the United States, where some of the most vociferous opponents of 'great books' lists can be found). The notion of canon has been more consistently challenged in other text-based disciplines, which have sought to decentre through expansion and/or redefinition.[10] This move has in turn brought a wide variety of interesting and neglected texts to scholars' attention; it remains the case, however, that these are most frequently considered in the context of the more commonly known ('canonical') works of literature, perhaps even on the (implicit) assumption that they can only be fully understood in this light.[11]

Still, we are of the opinion that a more useful way forward, at least in the short term, is to expand upon the canon rather than abandoning it. Indeed, we seek to

[9] Szegedy-Maszák (2001) 21–5 draws attention to the ways in which communities shape canons, but also the less obvious ways in which canons also shape communities.

[10] See Formisano (2018) on many of the issues raised by the existence of a canon; he suggests that most of the attacks on the (Anglo-American) canon have been alterations or expansions, rather than interrogations of the fundamental principle of canonicity (14).

[11] A useful comparison is the growth of interest in the study of late antique Latin literature (especially poetry) from the latter part of the twentieth century, prompted in Anglophone quarters by Roberts (1989), who sets out 'to understand late antique poetry in its own terms' (1); for a more recent overview of the developments in this field of study, see the collection of papers edited by Elsner & Hernández Lobato (2017). In spite of this growth of interest, Formisano (2018) 4 has drawn attention to the 'implicit tendency [driven by underlying notions of canonicity] to discuss the literariness of late antique texts *as a result of* their relationship with classical texts (which, in turn, are most often taken to represent the aesthetic and literary standard)'.

further extend the canon,[12] to make the case that the works studied in this volume—alongside other marginal texts—ought to be read, taught, and thought about on their own terms more energetically by more people.[13] As with so many other neglected texts, we predict that increased attention will lead to increased appreciation; if and when we do discover significant differences between understudied texts and canonical ones, we can continue asking questions. Genuine variations in quality—whatever we understand them to be—can be helpful in thinking through how we might define and redefine the canon, as well as in bringing to light what our criteria for judgement are.[14] If we discover that poems written by nonentities are in fact not very well executed, it is worth insisting upon precision about what makes them inferior, and in thinking through how fixed these criteria are: for instance, certain features of 'amateur' poets, such as extending words beyond their 'usual' meanings, are also found in our 'best' poets. Also worthy of consideration is the idea, touched upon by Farrell in his chapter in this volume, of 'virtually bad poetry', literature that 'is meant to read as inferior to some standard or other'.[15]

In sum, then, it is the opinion of the editors of this volume, and of many of our contributors, that we do not yet know enough about the texts that make up the *Appendices* of Vergil, Tibullus, and Ovid to make aesthetic judgements about them (if indeed, there is any value in making such judgements). These appendical texts have for a long time been overshadowed by poems with more securely attested authors, and scholarship has concentrated almost exclusively on establishing their authenticity or bastardy, with the result that we simply have not done the necessary work of locating them within their literary (and, where possible, historical) contexts.

Finally, we want to remind readers of two ever-present but still sometimes forgotten facts. The first is that the manuscript traditions for many of these poems is

[12] On the 'inescapability of the canon' in the study of Classics, see Formisano (2018), esp. 11–16. Güthenke & Holmes (2018) offer an insightful discussion of the benefits of, and difficulties surrounding, the (indefinite) expansion of the canon (hyperinclusivity) and the specialisation of scholars' work within the limits of a canon (hypercanonicity); they advocate the development of an 'open field', of 'new ways of *imagining* the work of the discipline, ways that channel and celebrate its increasingly centrifugal tendencies, rather than continuing to use models of the field that can only figure these tendencies as threats to containment and so seek either to recuperate them into a canon or to marginalize them' (73). For a striking depiction of the expanding of the canon to include everything, cf. Borges' Library of Babel: Jansen (2018), discussing Borges' awareness of 'levels of presence of classical texts that are either temporarily eclipsed or permanently lost to us', writes that 'Babel is a metaphor for the eternal character of the universe and our inability to grasp its immense totality, whether this is conceived in terms of space or time. It also represents the extraordinary concept of what would be known in Borges' Spanish as "la literatura completa"—the "Universe of Letters"—that exists in and outside the world of human letters, as well as inside and outside human time, and where nothing remains unwritten and therefore unread' (12–13).

[13] Not coincidentally, the goal of the commentary series *Pseudepigrapha Latina* is to make these texts more accessible, with the aim of enabling just such scholarship.

[14] It is also worth noting the vicious circle whereby quality is implicitly but ineluctably tied to authorship: the more we like a work, the more likely we are tend to think it is by a well-known author, and especially vice versa (well discussed by Ross (1975a) 239).

[15] See Farrell, p. 54 n. 20.

far inferior to those of the authors they apparently resemble (compare, for example, the textual state of the *Aetna* and that of the *Aeneid*; note also Harrison's polemical chapter in this volume regarding the *Halieutica*). The second, already noted, is that we have lost the vast majority of Latin poetry: much of what seems peculiar ('marginal') to us might well be part of, even integral to, a larger tradition that is mostly unknown or undiscovered.

What's in a name? *appendices* vs *opuscula*

One of the issues that was prominent in discussion at the conference was that of terminology: more recent scholarship has tended to refer to these poems as 'appendices', whereas previous generations conceived of them as 'opuscula'. There are two rather different sets of connotations implicit in these terms, and it is worth expanding upon what is at stake in each.

The metaphor of the 'appendix' suggests a detachable, unnecessary appendage, but one with a close relationship to genuine texts; there would be no appendix without a body. The 'appendix', then, is an accessory, of interest primarily insofar as it does or does not belong to the authentic corpus. By contrast, the term 'opusculum' does not inherently focus on authenticity; rather it suggests that the work has been or should be thought of as a less significant part of an author's output—however 'significance' is to be determined. Such texts are nominally held to belong to the authentic body of a writer's works, but have generally suffered a more adverse reception by their readers than their established siblings. The description of a text as an 'opusculum' appears implicitly to suggest that, were the work better understood, it might more straightforwardly seem to belong within the canonical corpus of a given author's oeuvre.[16] A possible *comparandum* may be found in the treatment of Ovid's *Ibis*: its poetic display of erudition has often been neglected by scholars and readers on account of 'the highly periphrastic and allusive mode in which it is written',[17] and this feature, seen as unappealing, has 'long dictated the nature of [its] readers' responses and confined them within a narrow spectrum'.[18] More recent scholarship, however, has sought to recuperate the poem by considering its content, structure, genre, and the like on their own terms, and has demonstrated that 'any understanding of Ovid's exile poetry is incomplete without recognition of what the *Ibis* contributes to the overall collection'.[19]

[16] See again Edmunds (2018) on the distinction between majority/minority and canonical/non-canonical works, which operates in parallel to our distinction between 'appendix' and 'opusculum'.

[17] Krasne (2013) 67. [18] Williams (1996) 1.

[19] Williams (1996) 4; for a de-familiarizing and abnormalizing reading of Ovid's exile poetry through the *Ibis*, see Hinds (forthcoming). Note also Geue (2019) 53–79 on the potential of anonymity in the *Ibis*.

The use of the terms 'appendix' and 'opusculum', then, carry with them very specific implicit connotations that ought to be borne in mind, and at times challenged. The approach with which we are concerned here is neither primarily interested in authenticating or de-authenticating texts (although some of our contributors do ask these questions), nor with bestowing upon them canonical status (although some of our chapters do make such attempts). Rather, we aim at a hybrid approach, one that looks holistically at the texts in their literary and (where possible) historical contexts, and in terms of their transmission. We opt for the term 'appendix', despite its inevitable connection to questions of authorship, as a way of emphasizing the dependent nature of these texts on the poetic and literary traditions in which, and against the background of which, they were written. Certainty about the authenticity of most of these texts will continue to evade scholars, as it is difficult, if not impossible, to find incontrovertible criteria from which firm conclusions may be drawn. While we remain agnostic, on the whole, about the authorship of these appendical texts, some of the contributors to this volume make an explicit case one way or the other. In general, the underlying assumption here will be that these are texts that are probably not by the authors with whose works they have been associated, though we will sometimes—as will contributors—speculate on how particular texts seem to have—or to make for themselves—an integral place within the authentic corpus of a given author, or adhere closely to our stylistic, metrical, lexical, and thematic expectations of the identifiable works of a poet or poets. Some of the authors in this volume, for example, explicitly engage with the 'Ovidian-ness' of the poems they are treating. In general, this is not meant as an argument about authorship, but rather as a way of recognizing that many canonical poets write in distinctive and imitable styles.[20]

Indeed, for the texts under consideration in this volume, in a way different from, but nonetheless similar to, Latin literature as a whole, derivativeness may well be part of the point. We have already noted that the (creative) imitation of models was integral to Roman education and to Roman culture.[21] This is made explicit at the start of the tenth book of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, where he explains that the *praecepta eloquendi* taken on board by the orator—and it seems reasonable, *mutatis mutandis*, to apply this more widely to poets—need to be shored up by a *firma facilitas* based on his own writing, reading, and speaking: each of these acts is integral to one's education, and they are intrinsically linked (*sunt inter se conexa et indiscreta omnia*, 10.1.2). The best of models are to be heard or read, and then followed (*id . . . consequemur optima legendo atque audiendo*, 10.1.8); were one not to do so, one's efforts would be quite at sea (*citra lectionis exemplum labor ille carens rectore fluitabit*, 10.1.2). But Quintilian is not

[20] To take a single example, consider Cicero's parody of the 'neoteric' poets at *Att.* 7.2.1, with discussion in Lyne (1978a).

[21] Peirano (2012), but see as far back as West & Woodman (1979).

stingy in his understanding of *optima*: the number of those worthy of imitation is considerable (10.1.46–131).[22] Open acknowledgement of the imitative creativity inherent to the composition of Latin literature through catalogues of one's predecessors is not uncommon in prose or poetry;[23] it is perhaps most conspicuous in verse in the lists of poets after whose example Ovid has written, and in whose number he would be counted: *forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis | nec mea Lethaeis scripta dabuntur aquis*, *Ars am.* 3.339–40.[24] In these catalogic passages, Ovid's creation of a canon for his own ends not only implies that derivativeness is an integral aspect of composition, but enshrines the idea that literary quality is assured through the imitation of models: it is, in part, the very fact that Ovid's poetry is like-but-different-from the oeuvre of the poets whom he names that ensures it will be worth reading (and, in due course, imitating). For our immediate purposes, it is worth noting that Ovid names Vergil and Tibullus (amongst others) as predecessors worthy of imitation, and that all three appear in Quintilian's canon.

Ancient testimonies, then, also focus on the imitability of the authors with whom our three appendices have been associated, and of their authentic texts: these poets are culturally significant landmarks in the Roman world and therefore also for us, and their biographies were (in the cases of Vergil and Ovid) well known and (in the cases of Vergil and Tibullus) provided the kind of intriguing biographical or temporal gaps that might be filled by later imitators.[25] Stylistically, too, as some of the chapters in this volume will argue, our three authors are distinctive enough that copying them is both a reasonable endeavour and one that could be rewarded by the instant recognition of one's efforts by one's audience. On the other hand, and interestingly, some of our poems seem to eschew the most obvious linguistic, metrical, and stylistic features of their putative models in favour of somewhat more sophisticated or hybrid imitations: this helps to confirm the notion that disguise may well not have been a primary motivation for the appendical poets.

The three *Appendices*: what we think we know

The poems that are now referred to as the *Appendix Vergiliana* are an eclectic congeries ranging from epigrams of a handful of lines in a range of metres,

[22] As Vardi (2003) helpfully notes, the Roman texts seen as worthy of canonization were explicitly designed to be parallel to their Greek/Hellenistic models.

[23] On such catalogues, see Hutchinson (2013) 7–24; Feeney (2016) 1–4.

[24] Notably, *Ars am.* 3.329–46; cf. the catalogues at *Am.* 1.15.9–30 and *Rem. am.* 759–65; in contrast, and representative of a much less common type of list, *Pont.* 4.16 provides a catalogue of contemporary poets.

[25] See Hardie & Moore (2010), and further below.

through more substantial elegiacs, to hexameter works of several hundred verses. Some explicitly lay claim to Vergilian authorship (e.g. the *Catalepton*), while others appear to have become associated with the poet of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid* on account of the seemingly Vergilian *persona* of their poets (e.g. the *Culex*); in the case of the *Moretum* and the *Copa*, there is little to suggest any association with Vergil besides the fact that their content and diction look to the authentic works. The majority of the poems belonging to the *Appendix Vergiliana* were believed in antiquity to have been authored by Vergil, though they are by no means the only poems to have been ascribed to him.[26]

The *Culex*, perhaps because of the conspicuously Vergilian persona adopted by its poet, was believed to be an authentic work of Vergil's youth by Martial,[27] Statius,[28] and perhaps Lucan,[29] and *Catalepton* 2 was attributed to Vergil by Quintilian;[30] other works were ascribed to the poet in ancient lives. The *Vita Donati* writes that, as a boy, Vergil authored an epigram on a schoolmaster called Ballista, *deinde Catalepton et Priapea et Epigrammata et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem . . . scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetnam*; meanwhile, the *Vita Seruii* notes that Vergil, after writing a distich on Ballista, *scripsit etiam septem siue octo libros hos: Cirin Aetnam Culicem Priapea Catalepton Epigrammata Copam Diras*. It is worth dwelling on these two lists for a moment, as they raise a handful of pertinent issues. Even at this relatively early stage, there is slight confusion about the number of 'juvenile' poems ascribed to Vergil (*septem siue octo libros*), and there are concerns surrounding the authenticity of at least one of the poems (*de qua ambigitur Aetnam*). The uncertainty about the number of poems may look to the debated authenticity of the *Aetna*; more likely, however, is that this confusion results from the apparent omission of the *Copa* from the *Vita Donati* and from the seemingly unknown *Epigrammata*. In his summary discussion of the transmission of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, Reeve asserts that '[t]he *Epigrammata* cannot be identified';[31] another possibility might be to suppose that, in the *Vita Donati*, the term *Catalepton* is used as a catch-all for the *Epigrammata* and *Priapea* mentioned after it, and that *et . . . et* functions epexegetically.[32] Were the author of the

[26] McGill (2019) provides a useful overview of the texts that constitute the *Appendix Vergiliana* and the issues surrounding their association with Vergil in antiquity.

[27] Mart. 8.55.19–20 (*protinus Italiam concepit et* ARMA VIRVMQVE, | *qui modo uix Culicem fleuerat ore rudi*) and 14.185 (*Accipe facundi Culicem, studiose, Maronis,* | *ne nucibus positis* ARMA VIRVMQVE *legas.*).

[28] Stat. *Silu.* 1pr.7 (*et Culicem legimus*) and 2.7.73–4 (*haec primo iuuenis canes sub aeuo* | *ante annos Culicis Maroniani*).

[29] Suet. *Vita Lucani* (*ut [Lucanus] aetatem et initia sua cum Vergilio conparans ausus sit dicere: 'et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem'*).

[30] Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.27–8.

[31] Reeve in Reynolds (1983) 437.

[32] These are the sorts of texts that are liable to accrue later additions, and one might suppose that *et Diras* was added after the *Epigrammata* as some such; alternatively *item Copam* may have been omitted before it: did the *Vita Donati* once read *deinde Catalepton et Epigrammata et Priapea, <item Copam> et Diras, item Cirim et Culicem*?

Vita Seruii then to have used the *Vita Donati* as a source, confusion could have arisen if the *Catalepton*, *Priapea*, and *Epigrammata* were thought of as three separate entities (of which one appeared to have left no trace) rather than two components (*Priap.* & *Ep.*) of a single larger categorization (*Catal.*); hence *septem siue octo libros*. The absence of the *Copa* from the Donatan list could be accounted for by supposing either that the words *et Copam* or *item Copam* were omitted by a scribe, or that the *Copa* only gained currency as a Vergilian poem later and was added to the list by the author of the *Vita Seruii*. In any case, it is clear that, while these poems were held by some to be authentically Vergilian, there was uncertainty and confusion in antiquity too.[33]

Alongside the mentions of these poems in the ancient *uitae*, a list of nine works in a manuscript known to us only from a ninth-century catalogue from Murbach has encouraged scholars to constitute modern editions of the *Appendix Vergiliana* as they have done. The so-called Murbacensis included the *In Maecenatem* and the *Moretum* alongside the *Dirae*, *Culex*, *Aetna*, *Copa*, *Ciris*, *Catalepton*, and *Priapea*. It is far from clear whether or not the lost Murbacensis, or any other single manuscript, is the ancestor of those that survive to us.[34] The majority of manuscripts in which the parts of the *Appendix Vergiliana* survive contain only two or three of the poems. It was principally in early printed editions that the Vergilian *minora* were gathered together; in these they were referred to as his *opuscula*. Doubts about the authorship of some of the works were voiced early:[35] Jodocus Badius Ascensius, for example, casts doubt on the authenticity of the *In Maecenatem* in his 1501 commentary, citing the views of Domizio Calderini,[36] and, following Angelo Poliziano, asserts that the *Priapeum* must, on account of its obscenity, be Ovidian.[37] In the light of the pedagogical and moralizing bent of his work, Badius omits the *Priapeum*, and cites similar grounds for his omission of

[33] Zogg (2016) has demonstrated that, although Martial, Donatus (and thus Suetonius), Servius, and the author of the catalogue from Murbach all attribute (some of) these works to Vergil, their treatment of the appendical works is such that it marks these *opera* out as conceptually separate—even in antiquity—from the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*.

[34] For the stemma of the manuscripts containing parts of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, see Courtney (1968) and Reeve in Reynolds (1983) 437–40 (with further bibliography); see also Salvatore et al. (1997) xii–xxx. A renewed effort has been made by Zogg (2018) to demonstrate that the Murbacensis is the archetype of all extant manuscripts of the *Appendix Vergiliana*; he offers a number of thoughts on the inconsistent ordering of the components of the *Appendix Vergiliana* in different manuscripts.

[35] Zogg (2018) 40–1 demonstrates that there were doubts about authenticity even before the humanists scrutinized the texts; by way of example, he discusses Vincent of Beauvais' comments on the *Culex* and *Aetna* in his encyclopaedic *Speculum historiale* of the thirteenth century: after mentioning the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, Vincent writes *proinde Virgilius de culice, et Virgilius de Aetna, quos Aurelianenses ad ostentationem, et ad iactantiam circunferunt: inter autores Apocriphos separandi sunt.* [*Benedictini Collegii Vedastini in Academia Duacensi* (1624) 4.194].

[36] Badius Ascensius (1501) fol. 49r. introduces the poem with the following: *Elegia in Mecoenatis obitu, quae a quibusdam dicitur Virgilii, cum tamen non sit*. He cites Calderini's commentary: *non compertum habemus cuius haec elegia fuerit: neque enim Virgilio ascribi potest ex dicendi charactere, nec est alter auctor quem ea tempestate existimemus scripsisse*.

[37] Badius Ascensius (1501) fol. 1v.

the *Catalepton*, though he maintains that these are Vergilian;[38] he also notes that there are doubts about the authorship of the *Aetna*.[39] The term *Appendix Vergiliana* is apparently used first by Joseph Scaliger in his 1572 edition and commentary, where most works are no longer attributed to Vergil: only the *Culex*, the *Ciris*, and the *Catalepton* continue to be deemed authentic; the *Aetna* is thought to be by Cornelius Severus, the *Dirae* by Valerius Cato, the *In Maecenatem* by Albinovanus Pedo, the *Moretum* and *Copa* by unknown authors, and the Priapea by a range of poets. By the end of the seventeenth century, all of the works of the *Appendix* had been deattributed. This view prevailed until the early twentieth century, when the possibility of Vergilian authorship of some of the poems was reconsidered.[40] The *communis opinio* is now that these poems are not Vergilian, though there is a minority who maintain that some are authentic.[41]

Three further poems have, since the ninth or tenth centuries as far as we are aware, been associated with Vergilian *minora*: two are by Ausonius (*De institutione boni uiri* and *De est et non*), and the third, *De rosis nascentibus*, remains anonymous and is believed to be a late antique production.[42] Despite the apparently certain ascription of at least two of these poems to other authors, editors of the *Appendix Vergiliana* continue to include them in their editions.[43] This raises the question of whether or not the existence of a Vergilian appendix is meaningful or helpful for scholars considering these texts from anything other than the point of view of their transmission: would our readings of these poems (or collections of poems, sc. the *Catalepton*) be more felicitous were we not to think of them as belonging to an appendix, but as individual pieces which may (or may not) engage with the Vergilian literary and biographical traditions to a greater or a lesser degree? On the other hand, if there is to be an *Appendix Vergiliana*, we may consider whether it ought to be expanded: it could include the autobiographical couplet apparently inscribed on Vergil's tomb;[44] the alternative four-verse proem

[38] Badius Ascensius (1501) fol. 72r. concludes his commentary with the following words: *habes igitur iuuentus optima Vergiliana fere opera familiariter explanata. nam Priapeium obscoenum illud epigramma non Vergilianum, sed Ouidianum esse in facie huius uoluminis seu libelli ultimi praenotauimus; cuiuscumque autem est, indignum est quod Christianis, id est castis auribus, exponatur. Catalecton* [sic] *uero, non Vergilio, sed puerorum lectioni sine iactura subtraximus*. The *Priapeum* referred to here is presumably *Quid hoc noui est?*; in his discussion of this omission, White (2013) 222 notes that Badius omitted the *Priapea*—this misconstrues the remark with which the commentary on the Vergilian *opuscula* is closed, where the omitted poem—*illud epigramma*—is emphatically singular.

[39] Badius Ascensius (1501) fol. 19v.: he ascribes the *Aetna* to Vergil, but notes that it is *a quibusdam Cornelio* [*Seuero*] *tribuitur*; see also White (2013) 229–30 for general comments on Badius' approach to questions of authenticity apropos the *opuscula*.

[40] Fairclough (1922) provides a useful overview of the renewed consideration of questions of authenticity in the early twentieth century.

[41] E.g. Chambert (2004).

[42] On the possibility that *De rosis nascentibus* may also be of Ausonian authorship, see Green (1991) 669.

[43] E.g. Salvatore et al. (1997); Iodice (2002).

[44] Suet. *Vita Vergilii* 36 (*Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc | Parthenope; cecini pascua rura duces*).

supposedly removed from the start of the *Aeneid* by Varius;[45] the Helen episode (*Aen.* 2.567–88);[46] perhaps, even Maffeo Vegio's thirteenth book of the *Aeneid*?

The *Appendix Tibulliana*, by contrast, has a much more mysterious history, in a number of ways.[47] At the moment, scholarly opinion does not incline toward seeing any of the poems as genuinely Tibullan—but this is not surprising, since most of the poems do not claim Tibullan authorship. Unlike the other two appendices, this one contains poems purportedly written by several hands, with only one of them suggesting that it was written by Tibullus himself. So the *Appendix Tibulliana* is a rather different entity from the *Appendix Vergiliana*: instead of filling in the gaps in our knowledge of an author's life and works, it instead provides a context for him, in the persons of other authors who seem to have some connection to Tibullus. Indeed, this is perhaps best conceived of as a 'family collection', although it does not do a terribly good job of clarifying the familial connections it seems to presume. There are four main sections to the corpus: poems 1–6 present themselves as a short elegiac collection written by a poet named Lygdamus about his faithless girlfriend Neaera (famously, he shares a number of lines with Ovid). 7 is the *Panegyric to Messalla*, a 211-line hexameter poem praising the deeds of (probably) the Messalla known to us as a patron of Tibullus and Ovid. 8–18 are shorter poems written by and/or about a female elegist, Sulpicia; they are usually further divided into 8–12, longer poems written by the *amicus* of Sulpicia (some in the first, others in the third person), and 13–18 written by the lady herself, who says she is the niece of a Messalla. Then follow two elegies, 19 and 20, of which the first claims Tibullan authorship.[48] In one of the most important manuscripts, the now-lost *Fragmentum Cuiacianum*, Domitius Marsus' epigram on the deaths of Tibullus and Vergil, and two *Priapea* followed; others contain the *Priapea* and/or a short prose life of Tibullus.

Again unlike the various poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, the manuscript tradition of Tibullus is relatively coherent: so far as we can tell, it was transmitted as a unit from an early date. This, however, is not much help in determining how early the *Appendix Tibulliana* was attached to the two authentic books of Tibullus, or by whom. There seem to be allusions to the *Appendix* in two fourth-century authors and there are tenth-century florilegia that include the poems of the *Appendix*; an eighth-century catalogue, by contrast, lists only two books of Tibullus, while a twelfth-century one has three. So it is not clear from the manuscripts when the poems of the *Appendix* were composed or at what period they were attached to the genuine author. We also do not know whether they circulated

[45] Suet. *Vita Vergilii* 42 (*Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus auena | carmina et egressus siluis uicina coegi, | ut quamuis auido parerent arua colono, | gratum opus agricolis, at nunc horrentia Martis— | arma uirumque cano*…).

[46] See Peirano (2012) 242–63; Casali (2017) 269–74.

[47] Cf. Fulkerson (2017), of which this is a potted condensation.

[48] On the authorship of [Tib.] 3.19, see Heyworth (forthcoming).

for some time on their own or as a group before being attached to Tibullus' poems, or whether they were deliberately composed as supplements to the Tibullan oeuvre.

In spite of these uncertainties, it is clear that the poems of the *Appendix Tibulliana* situate themselves explicitly in an Augustan context, though they are not nearly so coherent in other ways. Among the most intuitively appealing of the theories concerning them is one that posits that the corpus has been gathered from 'family papers' of the house of Messalla; it is not clear how individual authors might fit into this extended family grouping, but there are no shortage of theories placing them into one relationship or another with various members of the household. On the other hand, since there is no evidence for this notion, and since the manuscript tradition is unhelpful in this regard, we cannot rule out later composition and adherence.

That said, the collection is not a random one: there is a rationale in the order of the poems. For instance, each of the 'first' poems (1, 8, and 13) contains recognizably prefatory material. Poem 3.1 in particular is programmatic, and, indeed, that may be why its cycle comes first. But as far as purported authorship is concerned, only 3.19 has a Tibullan sphragis. The *Appendix Tibulliana* is also unique in not having close affinities to Tibullan style. Lygdamus' style, for instance, bears affinities to Tibullus', but also to Ovid's; it is reasonable to conclude that he is not intending to be mistaken for either, but rather that he adopts features he likes from two of the most famous practitioners of his genre. His identity remains mysterious, although he has been thought to be nearly every poet from the Augustan period whose name we know, and many figures whom we do not otherwise consider as poets (such as Ovid's brother). There are further theories: the Greek name Lygdamus has been seen as a bilingual pun for *Albius* Tibullus; the name of Sulpicia's addressee, **Cer**inthus, has been understood as a bilingual pun for **Corn**utus, the addressee of Tibullus 2.2 and 2.3 (who is, conveniently enough, about to be married). Sulpicia herself conveniently—or suspiciously—tells us that Messalla is her *propinquus* ([Tib.] 3.14.6). These poems are thus not 'forgeries' in any obvious sense of the word, but they are clearly connected to the world of Tibullus. Whether these connections are invented or genuine is probably impossible to determine.

Indeed the *Appendix Tibulliana*, unlike the other appendices, engages to a considerable degree with issues surrounding patronage. This may well be an accident or it may be a foundational issue for the collection: insofar as anything holds the *Appendix Tibulliana* together, it is Messalla (and his *familia*).[49] Indeed, 3.7, the

[49] Maecenas in the *Appendix Vergiliana* plays a rather different role, being both less central and less prevalent. The *Culex* opens with a reference to Octavian, the poems of the *Catalepton* mention a number of other poets and patrons, and the *Ciris* is dedicated to Messalla, who is otherwise not associated with Vergil (except in *Catal.* 9).

Panegyric to Messalla, occupies the middle of the collection, and is much longer than the other poems. It remains unclear what accounts for the interest of this corpus in patrons and families: where some of the poems surrounding Vergil seek to fill a biographical gap, these seem rather to create a story in a larger sense, giving us a familial context into which to place Tibullus. Some have suggested that these poems were composed in a period when the ancient Roman concept of patronage had to some degree fallen out of favour, and that the poet(s) who wrote them were trying to present a more ennobling picture of the relationship between poet and patron. The panegyric in honour of Messalla may thus be especially fruitful in helping us to think through what came to be seen as a 'golden age' for patronage.

The term *Appendix Ouidiana* is not one that is widespread, nor is it one that is particularly easy to define; we have used it here as a matter of convenience to connote (probably) ancient works which have (subsequently) been associated with Ovidian authorship. Although there is no shortage of such works from antiquity onwards (in the case of the *Halieutica* from as early as the first century AD), scholars have not gathered these texts into a single collection of the sort represented by the *Appendix Vergiliana* and the *Appendix Tibulliana*. Indeed, Hexter, in the introduction to an overview of what he tentatively refers to as the 'para-Ovidiana' of the Middle Ages, notes that he has 'often looked ruefully at the *Appendix Vergiliana* on [his] shelf and wondered why one could not assemble an "Appendix Ovidiana" to set beside it'.[50] The absence of such a collection may seem surprising, particularly in the light of the interest in engaging creatively with Ovid's works from the earliest stages of their reception (including within his own lifetime),[51] into late antiquity,[52] to a lesser degree in the Carolingian period,[53] and, perhaps most conspicuously, in the high medieval period, during which a not inconsiderable trove of works apparently purporting to be, and/or believed to

[50] Hexter (2011) 285. On the term 'para-Ovidiana' as 'a more value-neutral one' than 'pseudo-Ovidiana' for describing the works associated with Ovidian authorship in the Middle Ages, see Hexter (2011) 287–92. Baligan (1955)'s collection is published under the title *Appendix Ovidiana* and contains [Tib.] 3.7, [Verg.] *Catal.* 9 and *In Maecenatem*, the Lygdamus elegies ([Tib.] 3.1–6), the *Consolatio ad Liuiam*, the *Nux* and some of the *Priapea*. Häuptli (1996) is entitled *Publius Ovidius Naso: Ibis, Fragmente, Ovidiana*, though tellingly the spine only reads *Ovid: Ibis*—under the category of Ovidiana, it has the three Sabinus epistles, the *Nux*, the *Consolatio ad Liuiam*, [Verg.] *In Maecenatem* and *Catal.* 9, and [Tib.] 3.7. Lenz (1956[2]) does not use the term 'appendix', and nor does Richmond (1981a) who discusses the *Halieutica*, the *Nux*, and the *Consolatio ad Liuiam*.

[51] If Ovid is to be believed, a Sabinus penned responses to a number of his *Heroides* (*quam cito de toto rediit meus orbe Sabinus | scriptaque diuersis rettulit ipse locis* (*Am.* 2.18.27–8)) and appears to have left an incomplete calendrical work described in language reminiscent of that used of the *Fasti* (*inperfectumque dierum | deseruit celeri morte Sabinus opus* (*Pont.* 4.16.15–16); cf. *uates operose dierum* (*Fast.* 1.101) and see Helzle (1989) 176–7).

[52] Wheeler (2004); Fielding (2017); Tissol & Wheeler (2002).

[53] Godman (1985) 8; Godman (1987) 100–4 for the major Carolingian engagement with Ovid's exile poetry in a handful of works by Theodulf of Orléans and Moduin of Autun; Wheeler (2004) 14–15.

be, by Ovid were written.[54] There are, however, a number of straightforward reasons why an *Appendix Ouidiana* has for the most part existed largely as a spectral presence.

First, unlike the majority of the poems of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, only one of the works associated with Ovidian authorship is known to have existed in antiquity: the (now fragmentary) *Halieutica*. Pliny the Elder refers to Ovid's discussion of the *ingenia* of certain fish,[55] and to his awareness of unknown names for others; Pliny's unfamiliarity with these names, he himself suggests, may be the result of Ovid's composition of the *Halieutica* in the alien climes of Pontus in his final years.[56] Secondly, the (apparently) non-authentic works associated for various reasons with Ovid are not usually transmitted together in manuscripts. The earliest extant copy of the fragmentary *Halieutica* is found with the remains of Grattius' *Cynegetica*,[57] while the *Nux* 'suddenly comes to light in several parts of Europe' around the year 1100, and is often combined in manuscripts with the *Medicamina* (which presumably accounts at least in part for its association with Ovid).[58] Its usefulness as a pedagogical text, along with the *Fasti* and *Ex Ponto*, was recognized early on: these poems are contrasted with Ovid's amatory works and the *Metamorphoses* in Conrad of Hirsau's twelfth-century *Dialogus*.[59] The so-called *Consolatio ad Liuiam* (or *Epicedion Drusi*) first appears at the end of the fifteenth century and is ascribed to Ovid in the 1471 edition of his works printed in Rome; there is no way of dating the archetype from which this edition, other

[54] A useful overview of the medieval Ovidiana, along with further bibliography on each work, is given by Hexter (2011) 295–308; see also Goldschmidt (2019) 28–55 for an engaging discussion of the contribution of the medieval *uita* and *accessus* tradition to the development of para-Ovidiana in this period, notably on *De uetula* (45–55).

[55] *HN* 32.11: *mihi uidentur mira et quae Ouidius prodidit piscium ingenia in eo uolumine quod Halieuticon inscribitur*.

[56] *HN* 32.152: *his adiciemus ab Ouidio posita nomina, quae apud neminem alium reperiuntur, sed fortassis in Ponto nascentia, ubi id uolumen supremis temporibus incohauit*.

[57] On its transmission, see Richmond (1962) 1–9; Capponi (1972) 1.163–91 with Reeve's comments in Reynolds (1983) 181.

[58] The *Nux* is the only work to be classified as pseudo-Ovidian in Reynolds (1983), where Tarrant summarises its textual history at 284–5. In the earliest extant manuscript (Oxford, Bodl. Auct. F. 2.14), dating to the late eleventh century and written in one hand, the poem is accompanied by a mixture of ancient works (e.g. Statius' *Achilleid*, Persius' *Satires*, Avianus' *Fables*) and an eclectic mix of medieval works; the *Medicamina* is conspicuously absent. No title or author is given to the poem before it begins toward the bottom of fol. 104v.; it is introduced by a large purple initial and preceded by a two-line interstice. A later hand refers to the poem as the 'Ouidii Nux' in a list of contents on the flyleaf immediately preceding the first folio, though there is nothing else in the manuscript to suggest that the poem is to be associated with Ovid.

[59] Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores* 66.7–16: *rationabili spiritu duceris mentem auertens ab errore falsitatis, quia etsi auctor Ouidius idem in quibusdam opusculis suis, id est Fastorum, de Ponto, de Nuce et in aliis utcumque tolerandus esset, quis eum de amore croccitantem, in diuersis epistolis turpiter euagantem, si sanum sapiat, toleret? nonne auctorem eundem maximam dixerim partem ydolatrie in Metamorfosion, id est in transformatione substantiarum, ubi obscurata in se ratione, qua ad imaginem et similitudinem dei factus est—de homine lapis et bestia factus et auis—mutatam scribit a diis in bestias diuersas naturam creature rationalis?* [Huygens (1955)].

editions, or the late fifteenth-century manuscripts apparently descend.[60] Third, coupled with the fact that the *Halieutica*, the *Nux*, and the *Consolatio* are not transmitted together, the infrequency (until as late as the thirteenth century) with which the additions to the trove of medieval Ovidiana are found in the same manuscripts seems not to have provided scholars with a serious impulse toward the collection of works associated with Ovidian authorship.[61] Finally, such an impulse in the present day may well seem unnecessary, because the term 'appendix' has been used—since Scaliger's commentary on the *Appendix Vergiliana*—to refer to a group of works the authenticity of which has been called into question. There has been little doubt in the minds of scholars exploring this material that the majority of it is not by Ovid, and so there has been no need to distinguish it in categorical terms from the authentic Ovidian corpus. The benefit of gathering such material together may be to allow for a systematic consideration and treatment of the changing attitudes toward, and understanding of, Ovid's work and the Ovidian across several centuries; hitherto no such study has, to our knowledge, been attempted. (In this volume, we suppose that the *Halieutica*, the *Nux*, and the *Consolatio* could conceivably have been written by Ovid.)

The vicissitudes of transmission aside, the absence of a (larger) clutch of ancient texts associated with Ovidian authorship may, in part, result from the control that Ovid himself exerts, or at least seeks to exert, on the canon of his own works. While Vergil may imply in the proem to *Georgics* 3 that he intends to erect a literary monument to Octavian that manifests itself in the *Aeneid*, and while he may recast his *Eclogues* as belonging, to some degree, to the same literary world as the *Georgics* at the close of the same (*G.* 4.559–66), Ovid is rather more explicit about the works he has written or is working on throughout his career.[62] This documentary habit may well have served to narrow the scope for others to fill in parts of Ovid's biography by writing 'Ovidian' works. That being said, there is one set of Ovid's poems of which some have been subjected to considerable scrutiny by scholars as regards their authenticity: the *Heroides*.[63] This is not the place to reconsider the issues surrounding the various debates about the authorship of

[60] Reeve (1976).

[61] For an overview of the patterns that appear in the transmission of Ovidian appendical works in the roughly 350 manuscripts which contain at least one of them, see Hexter (2011) 302–4.

[62] E.g. in *Am.* 2.18 he speaks of a tragedy (the *Medea*?), the *Ars*, and several of the *Heroides*; his intention to work on a tragedy is announced in *Am.* 3.1; at *Ars am.* 3.339–46 the *Amores* and the *Heroides* are mentioned; *Tr.* 1.1. and 1.7 speak of the *Metamorphoses* (Hinds (1985)) and the *Fasti* (Franklinos (forthcoming [b])), and the former is concerned with the place of the *Tristia* in relation to Ovid's earlier works (Jansen (2014) 271–81); *Tr.* 2 is principally concerned with the *Ars*, though other works are mentioned (e.g. the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti* (549–60)); *Pont.* 2.1 and 4.8 seem to promise the completion of the *Fasti* (Franklinos (forthcoming [b])). On the larger questions of Ovid's documentation of his career, see Martelli (2013) and Thorsen (2014).

[63] The authorship of *Am.* 3.5 has also been debated; for an overview and discussion of the arguments, see McKeown (2002).

these poems,[64] most notably of *Heroides* 15 (the so-called *Epistula Sapphus*),[65] nor to reflect on how we understand the double epistles (*Her.* 16–21) vis-à-vis the single letters (*Her.* 1–15).[66] It is briefly worth noting, however, that questions surrounding interpolation have played a significant role in these debates. The apparent frequency of interpolation, and the persistence of the debates surrounding the authenticity in individual cases, are indicative of the ways in which (ancient and medieval) readers of Ovid's works—even if not fully fledged poets themselves—engaged creatively and artistically with the text before them, responding to it by means of what Tarrant helpfully refers to as 'imitative' or 'collaborative' interpolation. The resulting additions are often plausible, are 'akin on a smaller scale' to a number of poems now thought of as belonging to the appendices of various authors,[67] and point to a culture (in antiquity and the medieval period) in which one ought not to be surprised to find a significant number of texts that have come to be associated with Ovidian authorship (whether originally written with that intention or not).

To return briefly to the *Heroides* themselves, we may usefully note that attention has been drawn to the idea that these epistolary works—perhaps programmatically—'thematize the question of authenticity in a way that anticipates and even presupposes much of the discussion to which they have been subjected'.[68] The very fact that each of the *Heroides* has two authors (Ovid and the heroine) and at least two addressees (intra- and extradiegetic), as well as 'an implied editor and an implied translator',[69] almost necessarily invites one to think about authenticity. The *Heroides*, indeed, are Ovid's only elegiac work not to be marked by his signature, *Naso*,[70] such that one might even wonder whether Ovid has gone so far as to create his own appendical work.[71]

[64] For an overview of the debate and for further bibliography, see Knox (1995) 5–12; Tarrant (1981) 133–4.

[65] Thorsen (2014) 96–122 provides an overview of the debate surrounding the authorship of *Her.* 15; see also Tarrant (2016) 103–4.

[66] For an overview of the arguments for and against Ovidian authorship of the double *Heroides*, and on their composition in exile, see Heyworth (2016) 142–8 and Vuković's chapter in this volume.

[67] Tarrant (1987) 294–8 (quot. at 296); for a fuller account of collaborative interpretation, see Tarrant (1989) 137–62.

[68] Farrell (1998) 332.

[69] Farrell (1998) 336.

[70] Thorsen (2014) 39; it does not feature in his hexameter *Metamorphoses*, though Robinson (2019) 293 has identified the telestich *NASO* (*Met.* 1.452–5) at the opening of the programmatic Apollo-Daphne episode. (Omission from the *Medicamina* cannot be confirmed, given the incomplete state of that poem.)

[71] Alongside the debates surrounding the authenticity of the *Heroides*, a considerable amount of ink has been spilt on the authorship of the three epistles (from Odysseus to Penelope, Demophoon to Phyllis, and Paris to Oenone) which reply to *Heroides* 1, 2, and 5. These first came to light in the late fifteenth century. Based on the available evidence, it seems impossible to conclude one way or the other whether these poems are by the Sabinus to whom Ovid refers in *Am.* 2.18 and *Pont.* 4.16, or by a humanist imitator; a balanced account is given by Spieß (2012) 11–75; see also Lingenberg (2018) and (2018a) for a renewed attempt at defending ancient authorship. For the treatment of the Sabinus epistles alongside the *Heroides* in a number of early modern responses, see e.g. Lyne (2004).

Same and different—variations among the *Appendices*

We now move to some of the more interesting differences and similarities among the three sets of texts, much of which will be extrapolation from the above. The most important of the differences is probably that of stature, between Vergil on the one hand, and Tibullus and Ovid on the other: Vergil is THE poet, the model for many who come after him.[72] As the subject of intense scrutiny for many generations, his life and work are natural loci for imitators; this presumably accounts in part for the series of Vergilian *centones*, which shuffle already beloved material into different configurations, offering themselves as homage but also, implicitly, as competition.[73] So too, interest in the biography of Vergil quickly grows, both in terms of setting the standard for what an author's poetic trajectory ought to look like, and in that it has some interesting gaps that can be filled, such as what he was up to before composing the already impressive *Eclogues*. Tibullus is rather a mystery to us: he says very little about his own understanding of his career in the sixteen poems we have. Ironically, the wide-open nature of the field seems to have discouraged intrusions: Horace's *Carm.* 1.33, addressed to an Albius, mentions a Glycera, which leaves some space for lost juvenilia of Tibullus of the sort that [Tib.] 3.19 and perhaps 3.20 seem to be.[74] Ovid himself, perhaps in reaction to the centrality of the Vergilian narrative, provides a wide variety of biographical and pseudo-biographical information, such that it is hard to find gaps into which to insert a text.[75] The nature of their authentic corpora may be why the other two appendices are so much smaller and less well fleshed out than Vergil's. For these reasons, the Vergilian appendix is the one most engaged with (the poet's early) biography. We can certainly conceive of a set of poems that would present themselves as the work of the young Tibullus, but the *Appendix Tibulliana* is not those poems (again, excepting 3.19 and 3.20). Ovid, moreover, as recent scholarship has amply shown, focuses a great deal of his authorial attention on his juvenilia, such that there are few gaps to fill in; by contrast, the *Halieutica* might offer itself up as an exilic work.

So too, each of the corpora takes a rather different stance on its own status: many of the 'para-Vergilian' poems seek explicitly to connect themselves to an authorizing figure, while this is less of a factor in the 'para-Tibullan', and negligible

[72] The field of 'career criticism' is broad and increasing in scope: in addition to Hardie & Moore (2010), see Lipking (1981); Cheney (1997); Cheney & de Armas (2002).

[73] See McGill (2005) xviii–xxi on the quasi-inevitability of the cento, given the centrality of Vergil to the ancient educational system. The competition is not, presumably, with Vergil, but rather with other centonists; note Pollmann (2004) 79 on the importance for authors of centos of being recognized as derivative. See too Sandnes (2011) on the biblical cento; he suggests that a certain lack of respect on the part of the later authors for their sources must be implicit in the act of repurposing.

[74] Note too Hor. *Epist.* 1.4, apparently addressed to the same Albius.

[75] It is perhaps in the light of this that Ovid also lacks an ancient *uita* tradition; or is it, rather, because he has fashioned his own *uita* of sorts in *Tr.* 4.10?

in the 'para-Ovidian', works, for reasons we have already outlined. Such reflections leave room for the kinds of questions Peirano is interested in asking, such as whether the authors of these poems—where they seem to adopt a particular persona—mean to deceive or would instead prefer to be recognized or 'seen through'. One interesting implication that follows from this set of issues is that both this volume and the conference from which it derives have a focus on authorial intention that is somewhat unusual for a book on Latin poetry. Since the appendical texts are a very particular brand of authorial reception and there is at least the possibility that they are understudied works of beloved authors, some of our contributors seek explicitly to probe the boundaries between forgery and fan-fiction. This idea of (authorial) reception, moreover, extends beyond the three authors whose appendices these works constitute: some of the poems we treat could well be conceived of as extended meditations on, for example, Lucretius or Manilius (in the case of the *Aetna*).

Each of the *Appendices*, then, offers a discrete and sometimes overlapping set of (readerly and authorial) assumptions about authorship, readership, and textuality, and about what it means to be a poet and (thus also) a reader. We have no firm information about the date and circumstances of the composition of most of the poems, but their similarities and differences raise interesting questions about the elasticity of the canon, about how a canon and its margins are construed, and about the place of an author and a reader in manipulating the construction of the other through the text.

Summary of chapters

The majority of the chapters here might be classified, in different ways, as exercises in reader reception, broadly conceived. For instance, Farrell (Chapter 3) and Laird (Chapter 6) focus on the construction of an author from a text, while Vuković (Chapter 15) is interested in the creation of an author by readerly expectation. Harrison (Chapter 12) and McGowan (Chapter 16), by contrast, examine two other forms of reception: the former, the ways in which 'inferior' texts do not receive the careful attention of textual critics—which makes certain that they will remain obscure; the latter examines an instance of later readerly reception in which 'Ovid' is co-opted to serve as a model for Erasmus' own goals.

La Bua (Chapter 8), Maltby (Chapter 9), Volk (Chapter 13), and Williams (Chapter 7) all emphasize the efforts of their poets to control reader reception, primarily through the demonstration of mastery, whether of the genre of elegy, or of the genuine Tibullus or Ovid or Manilius. In a similar vein, chapters by Fabre-Serris (Chapter 10) and Kayachev (Chapter 5) focus on the role of intertextual allusions as a means of demonstrating poetic skill, and Franklinos (Chapter 4) explores how consideration of a poet's engagement with a particular literary and

cultural milieu can serve as a way of exploring one's understanding of authorial praxis. In certain chapters, such as those by Augoustakis (Chapter 1), Farrell (Chapter 3), and Heyworth (Chapter 14), attention is paid to contemporary contexts of (proposed) dates of composition, not in the main to establish a relative chronology, but rather to think through the issues involved in inserting oneself into a specific moment (the time of the 'neoteric epyllion' or the early days of the immature 'Vergil', for example).

Other chapters work to destabilize traditional understandings of authorship and/or of the canon: Fielding (Chapter 11) broadens 'Sulpicia' into a group of authors working in collaboration, while Farrell and Laird separate out a number of different 'Vergils' that can be discerned within the texts they consider. Fulkerson (Chapter 2) interrogates the scholarly habit of privileging certain texts over others, arguing for greater charity in the reading of all poets.

While the effect of some chapters may be recuperative, the primary aim of the majority of them is rather to provoke thought about what is involved in determining the quality or canonicity of a poem. Fabre-Serris and La Bua, for instance, are concerned with authorship, but also with authority, with the gestures an author makes to establish himself or herself as an author. Given that the idea of authorship is one construed by readers of a given text, this exercise necessarily involves consideration of the sorts of expectations that an author may reasonably have of (ideal) readers, and how such a readership can be guided through a text.

In the main, the papers seek to undo the status of these poems as *nothoi*, unclaimed and neglected children of famous parents. Some of our contributors are willing to argue for assigning parentage to these bastard poems (Fabre-Serris, Kayachev, Vuković); a majority want to declare their poems independent and capable entities (Augoustakis, Farrell, Fielding, Franklinos, Heyworth, La Bua, Laird, Maltby, McGowan, Volk, Williams); still others draw attention to the pitfalls of letting them fend for themselves in a dangerous critical world (Fulkerson, Harrison).

Our contributors differ from one another on particulars and, more importantly, in their methodological approaches to these complicated texts. For us, this is a strength rather than something to be ironed out in the editorial process: some of our contributors hold with a more traditional understanding of classical authorship and canon formation, while others propound ideas that, if expanded, undermine the very notion of authorship itself.

We hope that the descriptions above will encourage readers to dip in and out of the volume, comparing and contrasting approaches. But, alas, the constraints of the page force us to impose an order. We have opted for the simple division by purported author, and offer more prosaic summaries of contributions below.

Augoustakis (Chapter 1), in one of two chapters on the pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*, looks at intertextuality from a non-traditional lens, suggesting that the poem's dialogue with texts of the Augustan age texts necessarily informs its relationship