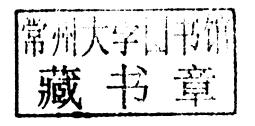


Forgotten Stars

Rediscovering Manilius' Astronomica

Edited by STEVEN J. GREEN AND KATHARINA VOLK





OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford 0x2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide in

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© Oxford University Press 2011

The moral rights of the author have been asserted Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2011

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India Printed in Great Britain on acid-free paper by MPG Books Group, Bodmin and King's Lynn

ISBN 978-0-19-958646-2

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

FORGOTTEN STARS

To the Memory of Josèphe-Henriette Abry

Preface

The Astronomica of Manilius: a five-book didactic poem at least partly written under Augustus. General first impressions might lead one to think that Manilius has much to attract critical attention from the Anglophone world. For the classical scholar, both the Augustan age and the 'golden' nature of its literary production are of course central to research and teaching. For the more general enthusiast, Manilius claims to be—and the extant literary record would support him—the first Roman to set out the workings of natal (or genethlialogical) astrology, a topic to whose enduring popular interest any daily western newspaper will testify.

As is often the case, however, first impressions can be misleading, and Manilius' *Astronomica* remains a work much understudied and underrated in the Anglophone world. A major contributing factor to this neglect is the significant difference one must observe between the ancient and (popular) modern definitions of natal astrology. In the western world, astrology is typically depicted as inclusive and accessible to all classes, vague on detail and psychologically comforting in nature; its practitioners are deemed to have little recourse to proper scientific calculation; such predictions are therefore felt to be harmless, and certainly apolitical (in spite of some notorious anecdotes about the use of astrology by political figures such as Hitler and Ronald Reagan; see Barton 1994*a*: 4).

Ancient Roman astrology, particularly at the time in which Manilius was writing, could not be more different, as Tamsyn Barton's important works have shown us. To be sure, echoes of the modernday popular astrologer can be found in the charlatans that peddled their unsophisticated trade to the masses in the Circus Maximus of ancient Rome. But proper astrology was, for the Romans, a serious science: it was fact. The complex calculations required to cast a horoscope rendered astrology an art exclusive to a small number of (foreign) experts. Moreover, particularly under Augustus, astrology became an intensely political affair, as the emperor manipulated the potential of astrology for positive political discourse whilst at the same time fashioning legislation to curtail its use among his rivals.

viii Preface

Consistent with the serious scientific nature of astrology under the Roman Empire, Manilius' serious astrological poem has proven to be very difficult for Anglophone readers—classicists and general enthusiasts alike—to master. Housman's infamously harsh verdict on the poem—that its only saving grace was its author's 'eminent aptitude for doing sums in verse' (1903-30: 2.xiii)—has been allowed to rule for too long, and yet it might seem to be a fair assessment to the reader who is stuck in the mathematical mire of the calculation of the ascendant in book 3. Nor does Manilius appear to help himself in this matter: books 4 and 5 are far more accessible to the lay reader, and yet one wonders how many readers can steel themselves to get this far. Goold's 1977 Loeb edition, with its extensive explanatory notes and diagrams, marked a significant development in the accessibility of Manilius to a larger audience. It is surprising, therefore, that Goold's masterly production has not generated the critical attention from Anglophone scholars that it deserved. (The most noteworthy pieces on Manilius in English since 1977 have typically come along approximately every ten years: see especially Wilson 1985; Neuburg 1993; Volk 2001, 2002.) It is with a similar (but reinforced) desire to put this neglected poet firmly back on the scholarly map that the present volume is offered. (Katharina Volk has recently published the first major monograph on Manilius to appear in English (Oxford, 2009). Our conference, however, can claim no credit for inspiring this particular piece of scholarship.)

The current collection of essays started its life as a major conference on Manilius, co-organized by the editors of this volume and held at Columbia University, New York, in October 2008. The aim was to bring together an international contingent of scholars for an interdisciplinary exploration of Manilius at an auspiciously significant time, close to the bimillennial celebration of the poem's composition. All of the contributors to the conference have revised their pieces for the current volume, with a further chapter subsequently commissioned. The international angle to the scholarship is particularly important for a study of Manilius. As Katharina Volk shows in her introductory chapter on the history of scholarship, Manilius has attracted significantly more attention from French, German, and particularly Italian scholars than it has from their Anglophone counterparts. Three leading exponents of this international Manilian surge-Josephe-Henriette Abry, Wolfgang Hübner, and Enrico Flores respectively are represented in the present volume. As none of the major works Preface ix

from these scholars has found its way into English, however, one important additional aim of the present volume (and the original conference) is to bring together the important cultural or national scholarly traditions that have so far existed largely in isolation.

The range of perspectives from which Manilius is approached in the present volume is testament to both the complexity of Manilius and the differing fruitful avenues for modern interdisciplinary inquiry. Matters of literary interest, especially generic affiliation and intertextuality, are complemented by approaches which assess the socio-political, philosophical, scientific, and astrological resonance of the poem. Moreover, as a salutary counterbalance to the relative neglect of our author in recent times, the popular reception of the poem, especially in Renaissance times, is also explored. The volume is organized under five subheadings-Intellectual and Scientific Backdrop, Integrity and Consistency, Metaphors, Didactic Digressions, and Reception. These divisions are, of course, somewhat artificial, as there are frequent internal dialogues between papers from different sections, and they should be treated as convenient means of reader orientation rather than definitive statements of content and critical approach.

The editors would like to thank the Columbia Classics Department for hosting the conference and especially Marvin Deckoff for his generous financial support and unflagging good cheer. We also gratefully acknowledge funding from the Stanwood Cockey Lodge Foundation. In addition, we are most grateful to Hilary O'Shea for her support of the volume, as well as to Jenny Wagstaffe and the staff at OUP for their assistance during the book's production. Special thanks go to our editorial assistant Sarah Kaczor for her help in preparing the typescript.

And finally, a note of real sadness. It was with great regret that news was received of the untimely death of Josèphe-Henriette Abry just a week or so after the conference in October 2008 (to which she had been too ill to travel). The editors would like to dedicate this volume to dear Joette, whose appreciation and enthusiasm for Manilius permeate this book and provide inspiration for future studies on the author.

SJG and KV

Abbreviations

References to classical texts typically follow the style of abbreviations of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edn.).

A&R Atene e Roma

AC L'Antiquité classique

AClass Acta classica

AFLN Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di

Napoli

AJA American Journal of Archaeology AJP American Journal of Philology

ANRW W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds.), Aufstieg und Nieder-

gang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung (Berlin: De Gruyter,

1972 -)

BIBR Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome CCAG Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum

CCC Civiltà classica e cristiana CCJ Cambridge Classical Journal

CErc Cronache ercolanesi Classical Iournal CICPClassical Philology The Classical Quarterly CO The Classical Review CREMCÉchos du monde classique Eygetemes Philologiai Közlöny EphKGIFGiornale italiano di filologia

G&R Greece and Rome

GW Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke (1925–38, 1978–)

HSCP Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

ICS Illinois Classical Studies
JHI Journal of the History of Ideas
JRS Journal of Roman Studies

LICS Leeds International Classical Studies

LS A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers*,

2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

MC Il mondo classico

MD Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici Neuer Pauly H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike, 16 vols. (Stuttgart: Metzler,

1996-2003)

OCD S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), The Oxford Clas-

sical Dictionary, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 1996)

OLD P. G. W. Glare (ed.), Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 1983)

OSAPh Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy

PACA Proceedings of the African Classical Association

Pauly-Wissowa A. F. von Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.), Real-

Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, 24 vols. (Stuttgart and Munich: Metzler/Druckenmüller,

1894-1982)

PBSR Papers of the British School at Rome

PVS Papers of the Virgil Society

RBPh Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire RCCM Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale

REL Revue des études latines

RFIC Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica

RhM Rheinisches Museum

RRC M. H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, 2 vols.

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974)

SicGymn Siculorum gymnasium

SIFC Studi italiani di filologia classica

SVF H. F. A. von Arnim, Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,

4 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903-24)

SyllClass Syllecta Classica

TAPA Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philologi-

cal Association

TLL Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (1900–)

WS Wiener Studien

Contributors

Josèphe-Henriette Abry† taught for many years at the University of Lyon. One of the leading Manilius scholars of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, she is the author of numerous articles on the *Astronomica* and other topics in ancient astrology.

Elaine Fantham is Giger Professor of Latin emeritus of Princeton University. She has edited commentaries on Seneca, Ovid, and Lucan and has recently brought out an Oxford World Classics selection of eighty Letters of Seneca. In 2009 she published *Latin Poets and Italian Gods* on the cult and poetic treatment of country gods with University of Toronto Press.

Enrico Flores is Ordinary Professor of Latin Literature at Naples University and the author of many books and essays on Greek and archaic Latin literature. He has published critical editions of Manilius, Lucretius, and Ennius' *Annales* as well as *Elementi critici di critica del testo ed epistemologia* (Naples, 1998).

Monica R. Gale is Associate Professor of Classics at Trinity College, Dublin. She is the author of *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge, 1994), *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The* Georgics, *Lucretius and the Didactic Tradition* (Cambridge, 2000), and other books and articles on late Republican and Augustan poetry.

Patrick Glauthier is a Ph.D. candidate in the Classics Department at Columbia University and works mainly on Latin literature of the late Republic and early Empire. He is currently writing a dissertation on Roman scientific literature of the first century AD.

Steven J. Green is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Leeds. He is author of *Ovid* Fasti *I: A Commentary* (Leiden 2004), coeditor of *The Art of Love: Bimillennial Essays on Ovid's* Ars Amatoria *and* Remedia Amoris (Oxford, 2006), and has written several articles on the interaction between Roman literature and imperial politics and religion.

Thomas Habinek is Professor and Chair of Classics at the University of Southern California. He has published extensively on topics in

Latin literature, Roman cultural history, and classical rhetoric. His current research focuses on materialist models of mind, past and present.

Stephan Heilen is Professor of Classics at the University of Osnabrück, Germany. His research focuses on astrological texts from antiquity through the Renaissance, on Neo-Latin poetry, and on the history of classical scholarship. Among his publications are several critical editions, including of Lorenzo Bonincontri's didactic poem *De rebus naturalibus et divinis* (1999).

John Henderson is Professor of Classics at the University of Cambridge and a Fellow of King's College. He teaches like crazy, but has also written stellar books, mostly on Latin literature (e.g. *A Plautus Reader*, 2009), and fateful articles across the range of classical topics: an obvious Gemini.

Wolfgang Hübner, Professor of Classics at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster and the author of several monographs, editions, commentaries, and articles on Greek, Latin (including medieval and Renaissance Latin), Italian, French, and German literature, specializes in the history of science, especially astrology.

Duncan F. Kennedy is Professor of Latin Literature and the Theory of Criticism at Bristol University and author of *The Arts of Love* (Cambridge, 1993), *Rethinking Reality: Lucretius and the Textualization of Nature* (Ann Arbor, 2002), and *Antiquity and the Meaning of Time* (forthcoming).

Daryn Lehoux is Associate Professor of Classics at Queen's University and author of *Astronomy, Weather and Calendars in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 2007) and *What Did the Romans Know?* (Chicago, forthcoming), as well as many articles on ancient science.

Wolfgang-Rainer Mann is Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University. His research is focused primarily on ancient Greek philosophy, but he also works on German Idealism. He is the author of *The Discovery of Things: Aristotle's* Categories *and their Context* (Princeton, 2000).

Caroline Stark is a doctoral candidate in Classics and Renaissance Studies at Yale University. Her dissertation, *The Role of Knowledge in Ancient and Renaissance Conceptions of Man*, explores ancient stories

of the birth and development of man and their reception among Italian humanists.

James Uden is a graduate student at Columbia University, where Katharina Volk taught him about Manilius. He is the author of articles on Catullus, late antique elegy, the Latin fable, and the *Carmina Priapea*.

Katharina Volk is Associate Professor of Classics at Columbia University and the author of *The Poetics of Latin Didactic: Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius* (Oxford, 2002), *Manilius and his Intellectual Background* (Oxford, 2009), and *Ovid* (Malden, Mass., 2010), as well as numerous articles on Greek and Latin poetry and the history of ideas.

Contents

| | st of figures | xiii |
|----|--|------|
| | bbreviations | XV |
| Ca | ontributors | xvii |
| 1. | Introduction: A century of Manilian scholarship Katharina Volk | 1 |
| | I. INTELLECTUAL AND SCIENTIFIC BACKDRO |)P |
| 2. | More sentiment than science: Roman stargazing before and after Manilius Elaine Fantham | 13 |
| 3. | Manilius' conflicted Stoicism Thomas Habinek | 32 |
| 4. | Myth and explanation in Manilius Daryn Lehoux | 45 |
| | II. INTEGRITY AND CONSISTENCY | |
| 5. | Watch this space (getting round 1.215–46) John Henderson | 59 |
| 6. | On two Stoic 'paradoxes' in Manilius Wolfgang-Rainer Mann | 85 |
| 7. | Manilian self-contradiction Katharina Volk | 104 |
| 8. | Arduum ad astra: The poetics and politics of horoscopic failure in Manilius' Astronomica Steven J. Green | 120 |
| | III. METAPHORS | |
| 9. | Tropes and figures: Manilian style as a reflection of astrological tradition Wolfgang Hübner | 141 |

xii Contents

| 10. | Sums in verse or a mathematical aesthetic? Duncan F. Kennedy | 165 | |
|--|--|-------------------|--|
| 11. | Census and commercium: Two economic metaphors in Manilius Patrick Glauthier | 188 | |
| | IV. DIDACTIC DIGRESSIONS | | |
| 12. | Digressions, intertextuality, and ideology in didactic poetry: The case of Manilius <i>Monica R. Gale</i> | 205 | |
| 13. | Cosmos and imperium: Politicized digressions in Manilius' <i>Astronomica Josèphe-Henriette Abry</i> | 222 | |
| 14. | A song from the universal chorus: The Perseus and Andromeda epyllion James Uden | 235 | |
| | V. RECEPTION | | |
| 15. | Augustus, Manilius, and Claudian Enrico Flores | 255 | |
| 16. | Renaissance receptions of Manilius' anthropology Caroline Stark | 261 | |
| 17. | Lorenzo Bonincontri's reception of Manilius' chapter on comets (<i>Astr.</i> 1.809–926) <i>Stephan Heilen</i> | 278 | |
| Bibliography Index Locorum General Index | | 311 339 342 | |
| 301 | General Index | | |

List of figures

| 4.1 | Jan Baptist Weenix, Portrait of René Descartes (c.1648). | 56 |
|------|---|-----|
| 9.1 | The mixed figure of Capricorn. Codex Leidensis Vossianus lat. 79 (9th c.), fo. $50^{\rm v}$. | 143 |
| 9.2 | The comic characters of Menander according to Astr. 5.472-3. | 146 |
| 9.3 | The characters of the four planets according to Astr. 5.472-3. | 146 |
| 9.4 | Planetary geography according to Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos 2.3. | 147 |
| 9.5 | Quincunx of the planets. Codex Leidensis Vossianus lat. 79 (9th c.), fo. $80^{\rm v}$. | 148 |
| 9.6 | The idealized <i>enantiodromia</i> of the zodiacal Fishes. Impression of a marble slab from Roman Egypt. | 150 |
| 9.7 | The real configuration of the two zodiacal Fishes. | 151 |
| 9.8 | The 36 decani distributed over the twelve zodiacal signs. | 154 |
| 9.9 | The system of signs that are 'regarding' or 'hearing' each other. | 156 |
| 17.1 | King Ferrante praying during the earthquake of 1456. BNF Ms. Ital. 1711 (Giuniano Maio, <i>De maiestate</i>), fo. 19 ^r . | 309 |

Introduction

A century of Manilian scholarship

Katharina Volk

Despite being a Classical Latin poet in the tradition of Lucretius and Virgil, Manilius has been neglected by modern scholarship, especially in the Anglophone world. True, over the centuries since the Astronomica's rediscovery by Poggio Bracciolini in 1417, its difficult text has not failed to attract editors and has often been mined as a source for ancient astrology; however, critical interest in the work's poetic qualities and larger philosophical and scientific ideas has arisen only in the last few decades and has been mostly restricted to Germany, France, and especially Italy. Our aim in this volume is to encourage readers to discover Manilius, and we have invited a group of international scholars-some of them veteran Manilians, others relative newcomers to the poet—to offer stimulating and diverse perspectives on the Astronomica, its background, content, purpose, poetics, and reception.2 To put their contributions in context, this chapter provides an overview of scholarship on Manilius from the early twentieth century onward, tracing important lines of inquiry and discussing the most significant publications. It is intended as an introduction not only to this

¹ On the editorial history of Manilius, see Maranini 1994, with a list of all editions at pp. 350–64.

² With the exception of Enrico Flores, all contributors participated in the conference 'Forgotten Stars: Rediscovering Manilius' *Astronomica*', organized by the editors and held at Columbia University on 24–25 October 2008.