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### ***The Concept of DOCTUS in Latin Poetry***

This paper considers the usage of the term *doctus* - and *doctrina* in a few instances- in a literary-critical context in the Latin poets.<sup>(1)</sup> The term *doctus* itself has the basic sense of “skilled”, “knowing” or “learned” in any endeavor at all, but acquires the sense of “educated” and “cultured”, “possessing good taste”, and even more specifically, “able to appreciate or write poetry”. (OLD, s.v. *doctus*. ThLL 5<sub>1</sub>. 1757. 12ff., 1757. 17ff.)

Lucilius is the first Latin poet to use *doctus* in a literary-critical context. He says of his reader:

nec doctissimis <nec scribo indoctis nimis>. Man<il>ium  
Persium<ue> haec legere nolo, Iunium Congum uolo.  
Lucil. 26. 595 - 96

He writes not for “too learned” or “erudite” a reader, as represented by Manilius and Persius, but for one who is “unlearned”, as represented by Iunius Congus.<sup>(2)</sup> A passage from Cicero confirms Lucilius' preference in readers:

C. Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat  
ea, quae scriberet neque se ab indoctissimis neque a  
doctissimis legi velle, quod alteri nihil intellegerent,  
alteri plus fortasse quam ipse; de quo etiam scripsit  
“Persium non curo legere,”-hic fuit enim, ut noramus,  
omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimus-“Laelium

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(1) Sometimes the paper looks at the usage of term in prose authors such as Cicero and Quintilian, specifically when the context was literary-critical.

(2) Manilius was consul in 149 B.C. and Persius was an orator of high birth who lived in the Gracchan period; Marcus Iungus Congus, who represents the reader of average learning, was the author of a legal treatise (Warmington [1957] 201, notes c, d and e).

Decumum volo," quem cognovimus virum bonum et non  
inlitteratum, sed nihil ad Persium; sic ego  
..... "Persium non curo legere, Laelium Decumum uolo".  
(Cic. De Or. 2. 25 [Lucil. 26. 592])

First, Lucilius himself is termed *doctus*, "learned", and then *perurbanus*, "very urbane" or "refined", which lends some context to *doctus*. Cicero continues on to say that Lucilius wished his readers to be neither "too unlearned", for they would not understand him, or "too learned", because they may know more than he. Note the correlation here of (*non in*)*litteratus*, "(not un)littered", with *doctus*.

Lucretius uses *doctus* once of Greek poets. After speaking of the way the earth embodies and manifests primal forms and is the great mother and creatress of all Lucretius says: "Hanc veteres graium docti cecinere poetae" (2. 600). The ancient and *docti* Greek poets have sung the earth's praise. Here *doctus*, like σοφίς used of poets by the Greeks, can in general mean not only "skilled at poetry", but also can have the extended sense of "divinely informed" or "possessing special knowledge of subject-matter".<sup>(1)</sup> Since Lucretius is speaking of matters that are beyond human knowledge - the formation of the earth and the creation of life on it - the sense of "divinely informed" as well as "poetically skilled" works very well here.

Catullus uses *doctus* several times. In his first and programmatic poem he uses *doctus* in description of the three volumes of history Cornelius Nepos wrote:

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum  
arido modo pumice expolitum?

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(1) Cf. Solon and Theognis, who use σοφίς of the poets in the sense of "skilled in the art of poetry" (cf. Campbell [1967] on Solon 1. 52 and on Theognis 19-20); and σοφός as conceived by Pindar (Ol. 9. 28f.) and applied to poets as defined by Bowra (1964) 5:

The poet is wise because he has special knowledge, and this is not merely how to compose poetry correctly but how to reveal through it matters of first importance upon which he is uniquely informed.

Also cf. Gildersleeve (1885) XXXVI, of poetic σοφία as defined in Pindar: it is "wisdom in the art of the theme, and in the art of the treatment"; see also Nisbet and Hubbard (1990) 13.

Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas  
meas esse aliquid putare nugas  
iam tum, cum ausus es unus Italarum  
omne aevum tribus explicare chartis,  
doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis.  
quare habe tibi quidquid hoc libelli,  
qualecumque quod <o>, patrona virgo  
plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.

Catull. 1

Nepos' *chartae* are both *doctae et laboriosae*, "learned and laboriously detailed", attributes of a most serious work of literature in contrast to Catullus' *lepidum novum libellum*.<sup>(1)</sup> *Doctus* here appears to be an acknowledgement of the scholarly content and form of Nepos' work as well as an epithet that marks it as within the professional literary tradition (in contrast to Catullus' *nugae*).<sup>(2)</sup>

Another usage of *doctus* occurs in Catullus' poem 35, where he addresses his poet-friend Caecilius. At a certain point in the poem Catullus says to Caecilius' mistress, who, enamored with Caecilius after reading his new poem, has refused to let him visit Catullus: "ignosco tibi, Sapphica puella / musa doctior" (16-17). Caecilius' *puella* has more poetical taste or skill than Sappho, or Sappho's poetry, or the Muse sappho.<sup>(3)</sup> The sense of *doctior* in context is that Caecilius' mistress "knows more about love poetry" than Sappho.<sup>(4)</sup> In addition, *doctus* here has the underlying connotation of

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(1) Ferguson (1985) 5, however, rightly notes that *doctus* and *laboriosus* apply equally well to Catullus and his associates. Cf. *Τρομάρας* (2001) ad loc.

(2) For *nugae* see Copley (1951) 202-203.

(3) Ellis (1979) ad loc., takes *Sapphica Musa* to refer to Sappho as the tenth Muse, and cites several instances from the Greek Anthology (e.g., 7. 14. 1); Fordyce, (1961) ad loc., takes *Sapphica Musa* to mean "Sappho's poetry" or "Sappho as poetess".

(4) Ellis (1979) ad loc., comments: "..... 'a poetess beyond Sappho herself,' whether as merely trained to understand poetry, or to write poems of her own, like Sampronia (Sall. Catil. 25) and Cynthia (Prop. 2.3. 11)". Also cf. *Τρομάρας* (2001) ad loc., and Fordyce (1961) ad loc.: "Caecilius' *puella* is *doctior*, has more poetry in her, than

“cultured” or “possessing good taste”, as usual when used of *puellae*, since the mistress had enough education or exposure in literary matters and cultural experience to enable her to appreciate Caecilius' poetry.<sup>(1)</sup>

Catullus uses *doctus* again in a poem addressed to Hortalus, to whom Catullus writes to apologize for sending only a translation instead of a poem. He begins the poem thus:

Etsi me assiduo defectum cura dolore  
 sevocat a doctis, Hortale, virginibus,  
 nec potis est dulces Musarum expromere fetus  
 mens animi (tantis fluctuat ipsa malis.  
 Catull. 65. 1-4.

Catullus' unremitting grief - for his brother, as he indicates a few lines later - calls him away from the *doctae virgines*, meaning, of course, the Muses. As will be seen, Latin poets regularly apply the epithet *doctus* to the Muses where it has the overt sense of "poetical". Moreover, similar to *doctus* used of poets, *doctus* used of the Muses can have the dual sense of being "technically skilled in poetry" as well as "possessing special knowledge".<sup>(2)</sup> The *doctae Musae*, then, stand not only for technical poetic skill, but also are the source of divine insight and inspiration for the poets. The overt sense of this passage, then, appears to be that Catullus lacks inspiration to write poetry because of his grief at his brother's death. Note, however, also the secondary sense of Catullus being separated, because of

Sappho: from Catullus' time onwards *doctus* is almost a technical term for poetic ability".

- (1) Pascal (1920) 111-12, takes *doctus* by extension of sense to mean *mandano*, “worldly”, and also *cultus*, “cultured”, on the basis that *doctrina* in elegant Roman salons was not defined by erudition, but by knowledge and appreciation of love poetry, music and other arts, and pursuits of leisure. Other similar instances of *doctus* used of *puellae* follow in this paper.
- (2) Cf. in Hesiod’s invocation to the Muses (Theog. 1-115) where the Muses grant to the poet special knowledge and the ability to communicate it (31-32, 36-43 and 104-115). Such a connotation for *doctus* is comparable in sense to the standing epithet *σοφίς* used of poets by the Greeks, on which see above at Lucretius.

his grief from *doctae puellae*, "cultured mistresses" (as in 35. 16-17 above), another source of his inspiration (e.g., Lesbia).<sup>(1)</sup>

Vergil, like Catullus, also uses *doctus* with the sense of "cultured" just mentioned. In the *Culex* <sup>(2)</sup> he says in praise of the rustic life:

o bona pastoris (si quis non pauperis usum  
mente prius docta fastidiat et probet illis  
somnia luxuriae spretis) incognita curis  
quae lacerant auidas inimico pectore mentes.

Verg. *Culex*. 58-61.

*The docta mens*, "educated" or better, "cultured mind", cannot appreciate the blessings of the rustic life caught up, as it is, in love of gain. Vergil's use of the term *doctrina* in the opening of this same poem should be mentioned. He says by way of introducing his light-spirited epyllion:

Lusimus, Octaui, gracili modulante Thalia  
atque ut araneoli tenuem formauimus orsum;  
lusimus: haec propter culicis sint carmina docta,  
omnis et historiae per ludum consonet ordo  
notitiaeque ducum uoces, licet inuidus adsit.  
quisquis erit culpae iocos musamque paratus,  
pondere uel culicis leuior famaue feretur.  
posterius grauiore sono tibi musa loquetur  
nostra, dabunt cum securos mihi tempora fructus,  
ut tibi digna tuo poliantur carmina sensu.

*Culex*. 1 - 10

In this *recusatio* the light tone of the *Culex* is being contrasted to the *doctrina* of epic. *Doctrina* here consists of *gravis sonus* (line 8), polish (*poliantur carmina*, line 10), and about twenty lines later in the poem, use of mythological themes (lines 26-24). Thus is *doctrina* delineated.

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(1) See Quinn (1970) ad loc., and Ferguson (1985) 209, for this secondary sense.

(2) E.g., Vergil's authorship of the *Culex*, much disputed, is reasonably attributed to him by Barrett (1970) 361-62. Barrett's summation argument is that ancient testimonia, including Martial 8.56. 19-20 and 14.185, attests Vergil's authorship of the *Culex* and modern scholarship has not produced concrete evidence to the contrary.

Several usages of *doctus* that occur in the *Catalepton* and *Ciris* may also be considered at this point. First, in *Catalepton* 5. 9 *doctus* has its basic sense of "learned". There the poet says:

nos ad beatos uela mittimus portus  
magni petentes docta dicta Sironis,  
uitamque ab omni uindicabimus cura.

Catal. 5. 8-10.

The poet is seeking the *docta dicta*, the "learned words" of the Epicurean philosopher, Siro. Then at *Catalepton* 4. 8, a poem addressed to the poet *Octavius Musa*, the poet in expressing his affection for that man says:

(alter enim qui te dulcior esse potest?),  
cui iuueni ante alios diui diuumque sorores  
cuncta, neque indigno, Musa, dedere bona,  
cuncta quibus gaudet Phoebi chorus ipseque Phoebus;  
doctior o quis te, Musa, fuisse potest?  
o quis te in terris loquitur iucundior uno?  
(Clio nam certe candida non loquitur.)

Catal. 4. 4-10.

*Doctior* here means simply "more skilled" at writing poetry. In *Catalepton* 9 *doctus* is used of the Muses, as in Catullus. The poem begins:

Pauca mihi, niueo sed non incognita Phoebo,  
pauca mihi, doctae, dicite, Pegasides.

Catal. 9. 1-2.

The poet asks the *doctae Pegasides*, "skilled, knowledgeable and inspiring Muses" for help in composing the poem. Also in 9 the poet uses *doctus* of Theocritus. He says of certain poems he has translated from Greek to Latin for his patron:

molliter hic uiridi patulae sub tegmine quercus  
Moeris pastores et Meliboeus erant,  
dulcia iactantes alterno carmina uersu  
qualia Trinacriae doctus amat iuuenis.

Catal. 9. 17-20.

Theocritus is termed *doctus* here in his capacity as pastoral poet, presumably for the high polish of the *Idylls* and his general knowledge of Greek poetry and myth, and the skill of his rendering. *Doctus*, as discussed above, could also have the sense of "divinely informed" as well as "skilled." The invocation to the Muses in the opening lines of this poem lends support to that extended sense for *doctus* here.

One more usage of *doctus* occurs in the *Vergiliana* corpus. It comes in the *Ciris* where the author terms the patron of the poem, Mesalla by name, a *doctissimus iuuenis* (line 36). The meaning of "learned" or "cultured" applies here although the poet's invocation of the Muses (line 10) and preoccupation with wisdom (*sapientia* personified, line 14) also mention of *sophia*, lines 4 and 40) add the connotation of "very wise" for *doctissimus*.

Horace uses *doctus* a number of times in a literary-critical context, always with the connotation of "educated" or "trained", more so than "divinely informed" or "inspired". His usage of the term *doctrina*, though not in literary-critical context, is revealing of this general sense he gives to *doctus*. At Epistle 1. 18. 100 he asks whither "virtutem doctrina paret naturane donet?" does "training" or "instruction" bring about *virtus*, or is one born with *virtus*?<sup>(1)</sup> Hence Horace uses *doctus* several times of men who have been instructed in a discipline and are learned in the sense of "educated" or "trained". For example, Horace uses *doctus* with this general sense of Trebatius (Sat. 2. 1. 78), a distinguished legal advisor with whom Horace discusses the legal dangers of writing satire. Also Horace uses *doctus* of Plato (Sat. 2. 4. 3) in his capacity of philosopher, and in the same poem of a culinary expert named Catus (Sat. 2. 4. 88), whose knowledge and zeal for cookery Horace gently satirizes by indirectly comparing him to *doctus* Plato. Likewise Horace terms the *rhetor* Heliodorus *doctissimus* (Sat. 1. 5. 3), with whom Horace spent a night at an inn in Aricia, and uses *indoctus* of a mixed audience with indiscriminate taste in music at the theater (Ars P. 212). Finally Horace uses *doctus* of the fickle Priscus (Sat. 2. 7. 13) who, among his many desires, wishes to live as a *doctus* at Athens.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Cf. also Carm. 4. 4. 33 where Horace uses *doctrina* in the same sense: "doctrina sed vim promovat insitam", .....

(2) The alternate reading of *doctor* for *doctus* here does not change the sense of the usage.

In the next several usages of *doctus* that are considered Horace uses *doctus* in its general sense of “learned” or “trained” as above, but of would-be critics and poets. Thus he adds the connotation of “trained at, or knowledgeable specifically in poetry”. First, in the *Ars Poetica* he says of the mad poet:

certe furit ac velut ursus,  
objectos caveae valuit si frangere clatros,  
indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus.

Hor. Ars P. 472-74.

The Poet’s potential audience is *indoctum doctumque*, “both uneducated and educated”. Similarly, again in regard to a poet’s audience, Horace at Epistle 2. 1 says:

saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,  
quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,  
indocti stolidique et depugnare parati,  
si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt  
aut ursum aut pugiles; his nam plebecula gaudet.

Hor. Epist. 2. 1. 182-86.

Those who are *indocti stolidique*, “uneducated and stupid”, interrupt a poetry reading for a bear fight or boxing. *Indoctus*, in accord with the previous example, has the connotation of “not learned” in a general sense, and more specifically with respect to literature poetry. Finally, with phrasing and sense similar to the two previous examples, Horace in Epistle 2 remarks on the current zeal for writing at Rome:

navem agere ignarus navis timet, habrotonum aegro  
non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est  
promittunt medici, tractant fabrilis fabri:  
scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.

Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 114-17.



Horace exaggerates for effect, but the sense of line 117 is "we all, whether schooled in the art or not, write poetry".<sup>(1)</sup> Here *doctus* specifically pertains to poetic skills.

In the remaining Horatian usages of *doctus* the connotation of "knowledgeable or skilled specifically with respect to poetry" is always almost certainly present. For instance, in Epistle 1. 19 Horace says in address to his patron Maecenas:

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,  
nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,  
quae scribuntur aquae potoribus.

Hor. Ep. 1. 19. 1-3.

Maecenas is *doctus* in his familiarity with poetry, specifically with Cratinus, the Greek writer of old Comedy. And again of Maecenas, Horace at Ode 3. 8. 5 addresses him as "docte sermones utriusque linguae", knowledgeable in the literature of both Greek and Latin.

Similarly, in Satire 1. 9 Horace uses *doctus* of the members of Maecenas' circle, very likely in respect to their literary skills, critical or practicing. He says there to the Bore who has asked to be introduced into Maecenas' circle:

domus hac nec purior ulla est  
nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam,  
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni  
cuique suus'.

Hor. Sat. 1. 9. 49-52.

Degree of wealth or literary skill do not cause envy within the group. Also earlier in this same *Satire* the Bore had introduced himself to Horace by saying, "Noris nos .... docti sumus" (Sat. 1. 9. 7), hoping, thus, to ingratiate himself with Horace.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Brink (1982) ad loc. For the sense translation. Morris (1939) ad loc., comments on line 117: "it is the amusement of the trained professional at the zealous eagerness of the amateur".

(2) Several editors maintain that the use of *doctus* of the Bore is an attack by Horace upon the Alexandrian school (e.g., Palmer [1949] ad loc. And Morris [1939] ad loc.).

Horace also uses *doctus* not only for members of Maecenas' circle, but of the patrons Pollio and Messalla as well, referring to patron and writer alike. In *Satire* 1. 10 he says that he seeks for his poetry the approval of men like Maecenas, Vergil and quite a few others, including Pollio and Messalla. He ends by saying: "compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos / prudens praetereo" (Sat. 1. 10. 87-88). Here *doctus* indicates, just as in the previous example, one who has literary training or ability, one who is a part of the literary coterie of the day.

Similarly Horace uses *doctus* of a literary critic in *Satire* 1. 10. He says to Fundanius (unknown outside the *Satires*) in justification of his own criticism of Lucilius:

age quaeso,  
tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?  
Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 51-52.

The learned critic can find something to blame even in the great Homer.<sup>(1)</sup>

Finally, Horace uses *doctor* of Apollo in his function as patron of poets. In *Ode* 4. 6 Horace in asking for Apollo's support says:

doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,  
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crinis,  
Daunia defende decus Camenae,  
levis Agyieus.

Hor. Carm. 4. 6. 25-28.

Here *doctor* with *fidicen* has the sense of "lyric teacher" of the Muse, Thalia.<sup>(2)</sup>

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However, because Horace uses *doctus* of his own circle in the same poem and elsewhere (see immediately below), the sense probably is simply "cultured" or, more specifically, "experienced in letters".

- (1) Morris (1939) ad loc., comments: "The Alexandrians and their followers (the *docti*) criticized Homer freely".
- (2) Bennett (1934) ad loc. translates line 25 as "the lyric teacher of melodious Thalia", where *fidicen* has adjectival force and Thalia is an objective genitive. Less desirably, Naylor (1978) ad loc. takes the line as, "master harpist of melodious Thalia", where

In the final two examples Horace uses *doctus* strictly in reference to poetical skill. In Ode 1. 1 Horace, after enumerating some of the chief ambitions and pursuits of his fellow Romans, says in regard to his own aspirations:

me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium  
dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus  
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori  
secernunt populo, si neque tibiās  
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia  
Lesbom refugit tendere barbiton.  
quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,  
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

Hor. Carm. 1. 1. 29-36.

As the context indicates, *doctarum frontium* is the equivalent of "poets' brows". The word that originally meant "learned" or "cultured" has come to connote specifically "poet".<sup>(1)</sup>

Finally, in Epistle 2. 1 Horace in his protest against archaism lists this issue among the examples of what occupies the Roman reader:

ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert  
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti.

Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 55-56.

The issue concerns the style of the two early Roman tragedians, Accius and Pacuvius. Brink's conjecture that *doctus* here used of Pacuvius parallels the meaning of *σοφίς* as applied to Greek poets, particularly in its Pindaric sense of "divinely informed", seems to go against Horace's intent in the passage to belittle those who admire the ancient overmuch.<sup>(2)</sup> It also goes

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*doctor* has adjectival force and *Thaliae* is a subjective genitive standing for poetry in general. Either way the sense of *doctor* as "teacher" stands.

(1) Cf. Quinn (1980), ad loc. on line 29 gives: " ' the ivy garlands which grace literate brows', i.e., recognition as a poet".

(2) Brink (1982) ad loc., equates *doctus* with *σοφίς* as specifically applied to Sophocles, with whom, he says, Pacuvius was comparatively assessed by the Romans (Brink cites

against the consistent connotation which Horace has given *doctus* elsewhere as "learned" or "skilled". Furthermore, the antithesis of *altus*, "sublime", used of Accius might further suggest the sense of "schooled" or "poetically trained" for *doctus* here as opposed to a divinely inspired but personally unknowing or untrained poet.

In sum, then, for Horace, *doctus*, as this usage of Pacuvius and his other usages indicate, has the more specialized sense of "trained in literature" or even "technically skilled" more than the sense of "divinely informed or inspired" as in Catullus and the elegists (as will be seen). In general, *doctus* connotes for Horace a member of the literary coteries of the day, and ultimately, a practicing poet from that group.

Tibullus, in contrast, uses *doctus* several times in a literary-critical context with connotation similar to Catullus'. For example, in 2. 3 Tibullus, in speaking of Apollo's period of servitude to Admetus, says:

O quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,  
Rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves!

Tib. 2. 3. 19-20.

Apollo, the ultimate poet, sings *docta carmina*, apparently meaning poems that are "well-crafted" or "artistic" as well as "divinely informed". Then in 1. 4 Tibullus uses *doctus* of poets. There he says in his plea to boy lovers:

Pieridas, pueri, doctos et amate poetas,  
Aurea nec superent munera Pieridas.

Tib. 1. 4. 61-62.

Let the beloved prefer the Muses and "skilled" or even "divinely informed" poets over gifts of gold.

Lygdamus uses *doctus* twice in a literary-critical context with a sense similar to Tibullus'. First, in 3. 4 Lygdamus uses *doctus*, as seen several times before, of the Muses. There a youthful apparition says to the poet:

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Porphyryon's note on Horace's line - "nam Pacuvius famam docti[s] aufert atque consequitur Sophoclis, Acci<us> Aeschylus Euripidis, qui dicend<i> s<u>nt <alti>" - for the parallel assessment of Pacuvius and Sophocles by Roman critics).

Salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae  
Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent:  
Sed proles Semelae Bacchus doctaeque sorores  
Dicere non norunt quid ferat hora sequens.  
Lygdamus 3. 4. 43-46.

The *doctae Pierides*, "skilled" and "knowledgeable Muses" are patrons to the *castus poeta*, "pure poet", but are not prophetic.

Then in 3. 6 Lygdamus uses *doctus* of Catullus:

Sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus  
Ingrate referens impia facta viri.  
Lygdamus 3. 6. 4-42.

Catullus is termed *doctus* in context for his long epyllion (64) which contains the story of the desertion of Ariadne. The consensus is that Catullus is termed *doctus* by his successors in recognition of his acceptance and representation of the literary ideals of Alexandrianism, particularly with regard to the technique and form of his poetry.<sup>(1)</sup> However, several scholars also see the sense of "poet inspired" or "true poet" in *doctus* used of Catullus (as with *σοφίς* used of poets, on which see above).<sup>(2)</sup> Catullus could be termed *doctus* with either or, more likely, both these senses here.

Similarly in 4. 6 of the Tibullianum corpus the author uses *doctus* of the poetess Sulpicia. There the poet says in regard to her birthday:

Natales Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos,  
quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu.  
Corpus Tib. 4. 6. 1-2.

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(1) See, e.g., Friederich (1908) 317; Fordyce (1970) 216.

(2) See Allen (1915) 223 for the concept of the Augustan *doctus poeta* as a divine teacher of the people and a vatis, and the same equation of *doctus* with *σοφίς* used of poets, as discussed above (at Lucretius).

Sulpicia is called *docta* certainly for her marked poetic skills (six poems of the *Corpus* are hers). The sense of *doctus* here is probably the same as that of Catullus in the previous passage, namely, "skilled" and "inspired".<sup>(1)</sup>

Propertius uses *doctus* with a varied connotation, but again in the manner of those poets already considered. He uses it in the sense of "learned" or "cultured" several times: at 1. 6. 13 he speaks of visiting *doctae Athenae*, and likewise at 3. 21. 1 he speaks of a journey to *doctae Athenae*; also at 3. 21. 26 he terms the philosopher Epicurus *doctus*.

In its more specialized sense Propertius uses *doctus* specifically in reference to literary skills several times. For example, in 3. 21 he says in regard to a trip he meditates taking to Athens:

persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma,  
libaboque tuos, docte Menandre, sales.  
Prop. 3. 21. 27- 28

He will study the Sales, "witticisms" of the books of *doctus* Menander.<sup>(2)</sup> Menander is termed *doctus* certainly not for his erudition but for his versification and wit - that is, he was not so much learned as a skilled poet in his own genre.

Propertius also uses *doctus* in the context of his own love elegy. For example, in 2. 30. 16 he uses "*tibia docta*" for the instrument which sounds his love poetry. Likewise at 3. 23. 1 he uses *doctae* of the *tabulae* upon which he wrote his elegies. In the first example *doctus* has the sense of "skilled", and in the second the sense "full of poetic accomplishment". Then in 2. 34 Propertius says in justification of his own love poetry that both

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(1) Smith (1913) ad loc., notes that "*doctus* is an evident attempt to translate the Greek *σοφίς* as an epithet of poets ... The poet is 'wise,' but his wisdom is the result of acquired skill as well as native ability ..... so the *doctus* is the native genius thoroughly trained in the resources of his department; in short he is the literary artist in the highest sense of that word".

(2) For *sal* see my paper entitled "The Concept of *sal* in Latin Poetry and in Martial's Epigrams", which is published in this same Bulletin and also see Seager (1974) 891-94.

Varro and Catullus wrote such poems for those they loved. He continues by adding Calvus to the list:

haec etiam docti confessast pagina calvi,  
cum caneret miserae funera Quintiliae.

Prop. 2. 34. 89- 90

*Doctus Calvus* also wrote of passionate love (antecedent of *haec*, line 89) when he sang of the death of Quintilia (his wife). Propertius terms Calvus *doctus* here in his capacity as an elegist, no doubt for his accomplished style of writing (as with Catullus, with whom he is often linked), and perhaps also as a "divinely informed or inspired" poet as he *canit*, "sings" his grief for his deceased wife.

Finally, again in 2. 34, Propertius uses *doctus* of *carmen* in speaking of Vergil's *Eclogues*, also alluding to his own poetry. He says there of Vergil in a general defense of love poetry:

non tamen haec ulli venient ingrata legenti,  
sive in amore rudis sive peritus erit.  
nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus  
anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.

Prop. 2. 34. 81- 84

*Haec* (line 81) is a reference specifically to the erotic themes within Vergil's *Eclogues*, and, within Propertius' defense of elegy, to erotic poetry in general. The sense of the rest of the passage is partially conjecture as the text of line 83 is uncertain. The last two lines seem to say that erotic poetry of the *Eclogues*, signified by *canorus olor*, though lesser in *os*, "diction" or "expression", than poetry of higher genres is not less in *animi*, "spirit" or "inspiration". Line 84 further qualifies that elegy, despite its less elevated style, has not sunk to the level of *indoctum Carmen*, the "crude" or "uninspired song", of the goose.<sup>(1)</sup> *Doctum carmen* connotes here then a

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(1) Cf. Butler and Barber (1969) ad loc., who for line 83 use Housman's emendation for MSS. (NFL) *his animis (animi FL) aut sim minor ore canorus*, and give this translation for lines 83-84: "And the melodious swan, displaying equal genius in these themes, though less stately diction, has not retired with the tuneless strain of a goose". Camps (1967) ad loc., goes a step further: "The sense is that the self-critical artist proves his

poem that, though it does not have elevated expression, does have *animi*, "spirit" or "inspiration", and is *canorus*, "melodious", - that is, "polished", "technically perfect" - as is the swan's song.

Ovid uses *doctus* a number of times, several times with its common connotation of "learned" or "cultured" in general, but much more often with the sense of "skilled in poetry" and even with the extended sense of "divinely inspired" several times. Ovid uses *doctus* with the general connotation of "learned" three times, once of Socrates (Ib. 559), once of the city Athens (Her. 2. 83), and once for men with a store of wisdom (Pont. 4. 11. 12).

Next, Ovid uses *doctus* many times with its general sense of "learned", but with the context pertaining to literature. He uses *doctus* of Germanicus, the patron of the *Fasti* (1. 19), *doctus* of Suillius, an addressee of one of his letters from Tomi in his capacity as a scholar (Pont. 4. 8. 77), and *doctus* of the consul, Sextus Pompeius, to whom he addresses one of his poems from Tomi (Pont. 4. 5. 1). Finally, at Tristia 3. 1. 71 he uses *docti* of *libelli* contained in the library in the temple of *Libertas*, from which his books were banned by Augustus.

Ovid then several times uses *doctus* of those who are appreciative of or critics of poetry. For example, at Tristia 2. 1. 419 he uses *docti* of men who have personal libraries, and at Tristia 3. 1. 63 he uses *doctum* of the *pectus* of men who determine what materials go into public libraries. Then twice in the *Ars Amatoria* (2. 281, 282) Ovid uses *doctae* of *puellae* (as at Catull. 35, above) who are able to appreciate poetry written for them, and finally, he uses *doctus* three times of his own readers and critics (Trist. 2. 1. 119, 5. 9. 9 and Pont. 3. 9. 45). In all these uses *doctus* could have the sense of "cultured" as well as "learned" with respect to literature.

In this next and final grouping Ovid uses *doctus* in direct relation to the writing of poetry. First, he several times uses *doctus* of those who write poetry. For instance, at *Ars Amatoria* 3. 320 he uses *doctus* of the *femina*

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superiority to the pretentious ranter". Note the allusion to Vergil's *Eclogue* 9. 35-36 where Vergil, imitating Theocritus (7. 39), depreciates his own poetic ability in comparison with Varius' and Cinna's, terming himself an *anser* among swans. (as noted by Butler and Barber [1969] ad loc., and Coleman [1977] at Verg. Ecl. 9. 36).



who is able to write lyric poetry, at *Ex Ponto* 2. 5. 15 of Salanus who is both critic and poet, of Brutus (the conspirator) as poetry writer at *Ex Ponto* 1. 1. 24, at *Tristia* 3. 14. 1 of men who write poetry, including himself, who have patrons, and then of poets in general (*Trist.* 1. 5. 57). In all these instances *doctus* has at least the connotation of "skilled at poetry".

In several other cases Ovid uses *doctus* of poets or their poetry with the further sense of "divinely informed or inspired" as well as "poetically skilled". For example, he uses *docta* of his step-daughter Perilla (*Trist.* 3. 7. 31) in her devotion to *libri* and the Pierides (line 4), and to "singing" her *docta carmina* (line 12), in which she is second only to the "vates Lesbia" (line 20). *Doctus* certainly appears to mean more than simply "skilled at poetry" here. Likewise in *Amores* 3, his elegy for Tibullus, Ovid uses *doctus* of Catullus. Several times in the poem Ovid calls to mind the sacred nature of poets (e.g., "at sacri vates et divum cura vocatur", (line 17) and then ends with an image of Tibullus meeting Catullus in Elysium: "obvious huic venias hedera iuvenalia cinctus / tempora cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo" (3. 9. 61 – 62). Catullus, linked with Calvus (and Gallus, two lines following), is here termed *doctus* apparently for his mastery of learned lyric verse. The context further extends the sense of *doctus* to "inspired" in the sense of "possessing special knowledge" of his subject-matter. Finally, Ovid uses *doctus* with the extended sense of "divinely informed" as well as "skilled in poetry" in the *Ars Amatoria*. He says there in speaking of poets in general:

Vatibus Aoniis faciles estote, puellae:  
Numen inest illis, Pieridesque favent.  
Est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli:  
Sedibus aetheriis spiritus ille venit.  
A doctis pretium scelus est sperare poetis;  
Ovid. *Ars Am.* 3. 547-51.

The context here lends *doctus* used of poets the connotation of "divinely informed" as well as "skilled".

In support of the extended sense of "divinely informed" for *doctus* used of poets Ovid uses of *doctus* of the goddess Minerva and the Muses in his *Fasti*. First, in one passage Ovid reveals the goddess Minerva to be the source of his information on his subject-matter:

et iam Quinquatrus iubeor narrare minores.  
nunc ades o coeptis, flava Minerva, meis.  
'cur vagus incedit tota tibicen in Urbe?  
quid sibi personae, quid stola longa volunt?'  
sic ego. sic posita Tritonia cuspide dixit  
(possim utinam doctae verba referre deae)

Ovid. Fast. 6. 651 - 56

The *docta dea*, "knowledgeable goddess", gave Ovid the information on the origins of the ceremony for the lesser Quinquatrus. Similarly, twice more in the *Fasti* the *doctae* Muses are said to supply Ovid with information for his poem: at 4. 191 he asks the *doctae* granddaughters of Cybele (Jupiter was the son of Cybele) to provide him with information, and likewise at 6. 118 the Muse Clio and her *doctae sorores* give Ovid information on his subject-matter. All these usages show how *doctus* used of poets could connote "divinely informed or inspired": divinities, most often the Muses, who are *doctae*, "knowledgeable", themselves, impart the knowledge of subject-matter to the poet. Ovid four more times uses *doctus* of the Muses (*doctae sorores*, Met. 5. 255 and Trist. 2. 13; *doctae Pierides*, Trist. 3. 2. 4; *doctae Musae*, Ars Am. 3. 411), but with the context giving little more than the overt sense of "poetical" or "skilled in poetry".

Phaedrus uses *doctus* three times in a literary-critical context. First, in the prologue to book 3 Phaedrus is encouraging his patron, Eutychus, to read the book of poetry Phaedrus has dedicated to him. He instructs Eutychus that proper appreciation of poetry takes time and effort, and to that effect notes that he himself, who was born on the Pierian Mountain, who was all but born in a *schola* and who has blotted out all interest in property, is only with distaste admitted into the society of poets. He continues:

Quid credis illi accidere, qui magnas opes  
Exaggerare quaerit omni vigilia,  
Docto labori dulce praeponens lucrum?  
Phaedrus 3 prol. 24-26.

*Doctus labor* refers to the poet's training or even his profession, just described as based upon natural talent or predilection, dedication to the craft, and schooling.

Similarly, in the epilogue to book 2 Phaedrus uses *doctus* again of *labor*, and by context gives *doctus* even more definition. Phaedrus says there in an effort to gain recognition from his fellow Romans:

Si nostrum studium ad aures pervenit tuas  
Et arte fictas animus sentit fabulas,  
Omnem querelam submovet felicitas.  
Sin autem doctus illis occurrit labor,  
Sinistra quos in lucem natura extulit  
Nec quicquam possunt nisi meliores carpere,  
Fatale exitium corde durato feram,  
Donec fortunam criminis pudeat sui.

Phaedrus 2 Ep. 12-19.

*Doctus labor* here is synonymous with "poetry" and is given some definition by what follows: if it reaches the ears of the cultivated (*aures cultas*) and is found to have been written with skill (*ars*), then Phaedrus will achieve recognition. *Doctus labor* implies, then, by context poetry that itself is, through the poet's efforts, cultivated and skillfully written.

Finally, at 4. 23, entitled *De Simonide*, Phaedrus uses *doctus* of the Greek poet Simonides. He begins the poem with this line: "Homo doctus in se simpler divitias habet" (4. 23. 1). The rest of the poem is an illustration of this maxim. Simonides, who supported himself by singing the praises of victors in the games, was once shipwrecked with many others. The others lost their possessions, but Simonides' poetic skill enabled him to soon reestablish his standard of living while the others were forced to beg. Here *doctus* connotes a man who is skilled in writing poetry. In sum, Phaedrus, like Horace, gives *doctus* the sense of "poetically skilled" with little or no connotation of "divinely informed".

*Indoctus* is used once in the *Priapea* in such a way that it adds to its literary-critical connotation. Poem 68 begins:

Rusticus indocte si quid dixisse videbor,

da veniam: libros non lego, poma lego.  
Priapea 68. 1-2.

The author seeks pardon if he has spoken *indocte*, "unlearnedly", for he does not read books, the rest of the poem is a play upon certain scenes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of which the author says he has heard. The context shows that *indoctus* means "poorly-read", particularly in the Greek Classics.

Persius' one use of *doctus*, though it does not come within a literary-critical context, is worth mention. Persius in his first *satire* says in criticism of legal rhetoric:

nilne pudet capiti non posse pericula cano  
pellere quin tepidum hoc optes audire 'decenter'?  
'fur es' ait Pedio. Pedius quid? crimina rasis  
librat in antithetis, doctas posuisse figuras  
laudatur: 'bellum hoc'.

Persius 1. 83-87.

Pedius, charged with theft, sidesteps the moral issue, weighs the charges with smooth antitheses, and is praised for his *doctae figurae*, "learned" or "artistic tropes."<sup>(1)</sup> Persius here makes *doctus* connote artistry or skill of an accomplished level that is misused.

Martial uses *doctus* in a literary-critical context often, much in the manner of the other Roman poets, though in a few cases with a connotation unique to him. Martial uses *doctus* in its most general sense of "learned" or "cultured" in epigram 2. 90, addressed to Quintilian, where Martial is describing what he himself desires of life. After expressing his zeal for enjoying life and his disinterest in wealth and political renown Martial says:

Me focus et nigros non indignantia fumos  
Tecta iuvant et fons vivos et herba rudis.  
Sit mihi verna satur, sit non doctissima coniunx,  
Sit nox cum somno, sit sine lite dies.

Mart. 2. 90. 7 - 10

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(1) See Bramble (1974) 123 - 126, for the interpretation of this passage.

He desires a simple, almost rustic life with a wife not too *dicta*, “learned”, or better, “cultured”, because a very cultured woman, a “blue-stocking”, would not be content with the rustic life Martial presents here.<sup>(1)</sup>

Next, Martial uses *doctus* several times of men who are learned in the sense of educated, but not professional literary critics or poets, though they all are benefactors of Martial and are certainly expected to appreciate poetry and their mention in the epigram. Examples of *doctus* used in this context are: of Votienus of Narbo (8. 72. 5), most likely the orator who lived during the reign of Tiberius;<sup>(2)</sup> of Novius Vindex (9. 43. 14), art connoisseur, whose ownership of a statuette of Hercules forms the subject of an epigram;<sup>(3)</sup> of a Marcus (10. 73. 10), thought to be Marcus Antonius Primus of epigrams 9. 99 and 10. 23, one of Vespasian's generals to whom Martial expresses gratitude for the gift of a toga.<sup>(4)</sup> And finally in this context, *doctus* is used of Licinus Sura, a man of senatorial rank who served with great distinction under Nerva and Trajan.<sup>(5)</sup> Epigrams 7. 47 is addressed to Sura and begins as follows:

Doctorum Licini celeberrime Sura virorum,  
Cuius prisca gravis lingua reduxit avos.  
Mart. 2. 90. 7 - 10

Martial praises Sura for his old-fashioned style of oratory. Besides his being a man of learning and culture and an orator, he may be termed *doctus* as a natural philosopher, as Pliny consults him in one letter on the explained

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- (1) I.e., the *doctissima* wife would aspire to wealth, social position and other things typical of the cultured and urban set.
- (2) On Votienus see Tac. Ann. 4. 42, where he is described as a man who was noted for his *ingenium*..
- (3) Kontogianni (1996) ad loc. Also mentioned by Martial at 9. 44. 1, and by Statius (Silv. 4. 6), also for ownership of the Hercules statuette.
- (4) White (1972) 74 – 9; Aly Hassan (2003) 143 – 44.
- (5) Dio Cass. 68. 15. 3ff. for historical information on Sura. Martial also mentions Sura at 6. 64. 13 as being appreciative of his epigrams, and possibly at 1. 49. 40 with no remarkable context.

ebb and flow of a spring (Ep. 4. 30), and in another on the existence of ghosts (Ep. 7. 27).

Martial also uses *doctus* in its general sense of "learned" or "cultured" but with a somewhat stronger connotation of having to do specifically with literature. For example, Martial terms Seneca the Philosopher *doctus* (4. 40. 2) for his general accomplishments, no doubt including his writing. Then, in relation to the writings of Sallust, Martial says in one of the *Apophoreta*:

Sallustius  
Hic erit, ut perhibent doctorum corda virorum,  
Primus Romana Crispus in historia.  
Mart. 14. 191

*Docti*, learned men, men of education and, apparently, literary discernment, judge Sallust first of Roman historians.

Next, Martial uses *doctus* of men who serve as patrons and critics of his own work and are probably amateur poets also. Not only does *doctus* acquire the further connotation of "poetically skilled" in these examples, but also Martial shows his concern for *doctrina* in his own poetry. Martial uses *doctus* of a Secundus, who may be Pliny the Younger, in epigram 5. 80.<sup>(1)</sup>

Martial also uses *doctus* of his own work. At 10. 20 (19), addressed to his muse, Thalia, he says:

Nec doctum satis et parum severum,  
Sed non rusticulum tamen libellum  
Facundo mea Plinio Thalia  
I prefer.

Mart. 10. 20 (19). 1 - 4

Let Thalia take Martial's book to *facundus*, "eloquent", Pliny.<sup>(2)</sup> Although Martial with modesty terms his book not *doctus* and *severus* enough, "learned" and "austere" enough for a Pliny, yet he maintains it has

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(1) Stephenson (1880) ad loc., but White (1972) 74-78 and Howell (1995) ad loc. argue against.

(2) Pliny quotes a large part of this epigram in a letter which he wrote shortly after Martial's death (Ep. 3. 21), see Aly Hassan (2003) 127-128.

some refinement (*non rusticolus*).<sup>(1)</sup> *Doctus* in context implies “sophisticated” or “cultured”, and connotes also “in accordance with professional literary standards”.

In epigram 6. 61. (60) Martial goes even further in giving *doctus* definition. In this epigram discusses what is necessary for truly good poetry:

Rem factam Pompullus habet, Faustine: legetur  
Et nomen toto sparget in orbe suum.  
'Sic leve flavorum valeat genus Usiporum,  
Quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium'.  
Ingeniosa tamen Pompulli scripta feruntur.  
'Sed famae non est hoc, mihi crede, satis:  
Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque disertis,  
Et redimunt soli carmina docta coci!  
Nescio quid plus est, quod donat saecula chartis:  
Victurus genium debet habere liber.'

Mart. 6. 61

Martial thinks the poet Pompullus' renown is short-lived. Faustinus' rejoinder is that Pompullus' *scripta* are said to be *ingeniosa*, “showing ability”, which is then given more definition by its associations with *diserti* and *docta carmina* in line 7 and 8. In those two lines Martial says there are many poets who are *diserti*, “fluent” or “eloquent”, whose works worms devour (i.e., go unread), and whose *docta carmina*, poems that adhere to the established literary code or format, are bought only by cooks. To be *disertus* and *doctus*, however, is not enough for lasting fame. A book must have *genium*, “poetic inspiration” or “genius”, to achieve immortality.

*Docta carmina* then in this poem connotes poetry that is technically and conventionally correct (according to the standards of the day), certainly in expression, as *disertus* indicates, and presumably in content, meter and general format. *Doctrina* alone, however, does not make a poet, says Martial, referring without doubt to his own poetry here, poetry which, he feels, though it falls short of contemporary literary standards for *doctrina*, is

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(1) Stephenson (1880) ad loc., and Post (1967) ad loc., equate “non rusticulum nimis” with having a degree of *urbanitas*, “wit”.

inspired. Thus Martial shows his reactionary stance: he denigrates the established literary standard of his day - characterized by its high degree of *doctrina* - for the more traditional view of a poem as inspired, even divinely so, as the term *genius* implies.

Martial quite a few times applies *doctus* to Catullus, his avowed model.<sup>(1)</sup> Martial uses *doctus* of Catullus twice in *Apophoreta*, both times in identifying the origin of an object: at 14. 100. 1 and 14. 152. 1 he says articles mentioned in the poems are from *terra docti Catulli*, a stock application of the epithet.

In epigram 1. 61 Martial again includes Catullus in a list of Roman authors, this time for the renown they have brought to their birthplaces. The epigram begins with the line: Verona docti syllabas amat vatis (1. 61. 1), and continues with similar laudatory references to many other writers, including Livy, Vergil and Ovid, and several contemporaries of Martial's, though none with epithets. *Doctus* qualifying *vates* is potentially interesting: it implies that *doctus* connotes "technical proficiency" since *vates* would account for the element of divine inspiration normally part of the poetic process. *Vates*, however, has by Martial's time already lost its earlier solemn associations, and is practically synonymous with *poeta*.<sup>(2)</sup> *Syllabae*, however, may suggest Catullus' hendecasyllabics, and then his adaptation of the Greek meter into Latin which is distinctly neoteric.<sup>(3)</sup>

Finally on Catullus, in epigram 7. 99 Martial, in commending his work to Domitian, would have his intermediary to the emperor say of him:

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(1) For Catullus as Martial's model see 10. 78. 16, 7. 99. 6-7, 5. 5. 5-6, 1. Praef. 11.

(2) Newman (1967) 104-105.

(3) For *syllabae* suggesting hendecasyllabics see Aly Hassan (2003) ad loc., and Howell (1980) ad loc., who then cites Mart. 10. 9. 1 - 3:

Undenis pedibusque syllabisque  
Et multo sale nec tamen protervo  
Notus gentibus ille Martialis

Cf. Post (1967) at 1. 61. 1, who comments that probably applied particularly to Catullus for his making hendecasyllabic meter fashionable at Rome.



‘Temporibus praestat non nihil iste tuis,  
Nec Marso nimium minor est doctoque Catullo’.

Mart. 7. 99. 6 - 7

Martial believes that he, like Marsus and *doctus* Catullus, brings something to Domitian's times. The neoteric sense for *doctus* works particularly well here because it fits the sentiment of the lines in that Catullus brought the Alexandrian style of poetry to his times, many elements of which Martial himself employs.<sup>(1)</sup> As far as it is possible to tell, then, Martial, applies *doctus* to Catullus in its sense of neoteric “learned master technician”, both here and in general.

In the next usage of *doctus*, applied to poetess Sulpicia (of the late first century A.D.), Martial gives to *doctus* much of sense of σοφός. This usage of *doctus* comes in epigram 10. 35, where Martial begins by calling all young wives and husbands who wish to please their spouses to read Sulpicia's love poetry. He continues:

Non haec Colchidos adserit furorem  
Diri prandia nec refert Thyestae;  
Scyllam, Byblida nec fuisse credit:  
Sed castos docet et probos amores,  
Lusus, delicias facetiasque.  
Cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit,  
Nullam dixerit esse nequiorem,  
Nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem.  
Tales Egeriae iocos fuisse  
Udo crediderim Numae sub antro.  
Hac condiscipula vel hac magistra  
Esses doctior et pudica, Sappho.

Mart. 10. 35. 5- 16

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(1) Cf. Ferguson (1963) 7, who says that *doctus* “is more than a stock epithet for a poet; it is peculiarly applied to Catullus, and marks him out as the leading poet among the neoteric school, which adapted Alexandrian poetry to Latin.

Martial begins by lauding Sulpicia for eschewing typical tragic and epic themes, and then goes on in praise of her great ability in presenting the subject of *amor*. Specifically he says that Sulpicia in her poetry *docet* "teaches", pure and proper love, but in such a way that no one is *nequior*, "more naughty", than she, but also no one is *sanctior* than she. She is then compared to one of the old Italian *camenae*, Egeria, who was Numa's *coniux* or *amica*, in her capacity to achieve a medium between the risqué and the proper, and as a Muse, to give it best expression.<sup>(1)</sup> The use of *doctior* in the comparison with Sappho then connotes not only "more technically skilled in poetry", as in previous examples, but also "more knowledgeable", in this case, about *amor*, because she has privileged (divine) information on the subject-matter. Indeed, Martial goes on in the last five lines of the poem (17-21) to praise Sulpicia for her own attractiveness and extreme devotion to her husband. In sum, Martial uses *doctus* with the extended sense of *σοφός* (of poetess Sulpicia), where it connotes "divinely informed poet," as well as technically skilled.

In support of the extended sense Martial gives to *doctus* in his poem on Sulpicia, again like many other Latin poets, also likewise he uses *doctus* of the Muses to mean "divinely knowledgeable" as well as "poetically skilled". For example, at 9. 42. 3 he invokes the *doctae sorores* and Apollo's priestess to serve his Patron Stella in writing poetry. And at 10. 58. 5-6 he speaks of the allegiance Faustinus, another Patron of his who wrote poetry, and he himself had for the *doctae Pierides*. He ends this poem by swearing "per veneranda mihi Musarum sacra", on the rites of the Muses that he venerates. Thus he shows the extended sense of "divinely knowledgeable" as well as "poetically skilled" for *doctus* used of the Muses.

Statius uses *doctus* a number of times in a literary-critical context with several different connotations. The first usage considered is when *doctae* is used of the *aves* who are called to mourn the death of Melior's parrot. Statius says to these birds: "Huc doctae stipentur aves, quis nobile fandi / ius natura dedit" (Silv. 2. 4. 16-17). The birds are humorously termed *doctae* in their capacity to speak.

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(1) On Egeria see Livy 1. 19. 5, and Ovid. Fast. 3. 257.

In the next several usages of *doctus* Statius by context gives the term the sense of “learned”, “cultured” and “poetically appreciative”, if not skilled. For example, in *Silvae* 2. 7, a poem celebrating Lucan’s birthday, Statius says of the infant Lucan that he will not move rivers or wild herds like Orpheus:

sed septem iuga Mariumque Thybrim  
et doctos equites et eloquente  
cantu purpureum trahes senatum.

Stat. *Silv.* 2. 7. 45-47.

Lucan will attract as an audience with his eloquent poetry the *equites* who are *docti*, educated and cultured enough to appreciate poetry. Then, in *Silvae* 5. 3, a lament for his father, Statius, after just having praised his father’s skill in poetry, makes this comparison using his father’s birthplace, Parthenope:

quo non Monychiae quicquam praestantius arces  
doctaque Cyrene Sparteve animosa creavit.

Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 107-108.

Neither Athens, *docta Cyrene* nor Sparta has produced anything more excellent. Of course Cyrene is noted for Callimachus,<sup>(1)</sup> as Athens and Sparta are for their poets.<sup>(2)</sup> Hence, *doctus* here can mean not only “learned” or “cultured”, but almost “poetical”. Later in the same poem Statius says of his father:

tu pandere doctus  
carmina Battiadae latebrasque Lycophronis atri  
Sophronaque implicitum tenuisque arcana Corinnae.

Stat. *Silv.* 5. 3. 156-58.

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(1) Gibson (2006) at *Silv.* 5. 3. 107-108 comments: “*doctae Cyrene* can evoke Callimachus, not only because it was his patria, but also because *doctrina* was one of his qualities..

(2) Athens’ poets are well known, Sparta produced Alcman and Tyrtaeus (see Vollmer [1971] ad loc., for the allusions).

Stattus' father is *pandere doctus*, "learned (enough) to explain", the verse of Callimachus and other earlier Greek poets. Finally, in *Silvae* 1. 3, on the villa of Manilius Vopiscus,<sup>(1)</sup> Statius ends with this wish for the owner:

sic docta frequentes  
otia, sic omni detectus pectora nube  
finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senectae.  
Stat. *Silv.* 1. 3. 108-10.

Manilius is to have *docta otia*, literally, "learned leisure". As, however, it has already been established in the poem that Manilius is an amateur poet and composes while at his villa (lines 99-104), *docta otia* takes on the connotation of leisure devoted to the writing and singing of his poetry.

In the remaining usages of *doctus* in Statius there is a directly perceivable connotation of "poetically skilled" for the word. Instances are numerous. Statius says in praise of Lucan that "*docti furor arduus Lucreti*" yields to Lucan's Muse (*Silv.* 2. 7. 76). Apollo is termed *doctus* (*Silv.* 5. 3. 91) in his capacity as patron of poets. Lucan's wife, Polla, is called a *docta* suitable to Lucan's *ingenium* (*Silv.* 2. 7. 83). A slave boy who was an accomplished poet is termed *doctissimus* (*Silv.* 2 preaf. 21), and Statius' patron Pollius, an amateur poet, is called a *doctus alumnus* of puteoli (*Silv.* 2. 2. 97). In all these examples *doctus* not only means "learned" but also connotes at least "possessing poetic taste" or "skill".

Furthermore, Statius uses *doctus* several times in a way which brings out the extended sense of "divinely informed or inspired", as discussed above with the elegists. For example, Statius twice uses *doctus* of *amnes*, "streams" from which poets draw their inspiration (*Silv.* 1. 2. 259 and 2. 7. 12). He also uses *doctus* of his own *penates* (*Silv.* 1. 2. 50), metonymy for Statius' own home (and ultimately, himself), which are said to be receptive to the teachings of the Muse Erato on the subject-matter at hand. Likewise Statius uses *doctus* of Pollius' *chelys*, "lyre" (*Silv.* 2. 2. 119), meaning his lyric poetry, with which he is able to charm the Sirens, Tritonia and even dolphins. Finally, Statius uses *doctus* of *oestrus*, "passion" or "frenzy" by which poets' hearts are fired who drink from the fountain of Hippocrene

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(1) See Newlands (2004) 138.

(Silv. 2. 7. 3). The context in all these examples suggests strongly that for Statius *doctus* had the extended sense of “divinely informed or inspired” as well as simply connoting “skilled at poetry”.

Quintilian's use of *doctus* in a literary-critical context bears mention. At 10. 1 in his discussion of Homer Quintilian says:

Adfectus quidem uel illos mites uel hos concitados nemo erit tam indoctus qui non in sua potestate hunc auctorem habuisse fateatur.

Quint. 10. 1 48.

*Indoctus* has the connotation of “uneducated” or “lacking culture”, and probably with respect to poetry. Next, Quintilian Domitian says of Domitian's poetry:

Quid tamen his ipsis eius operibus in quae donato imperio iuuenis secesserat sublimius, doctius, omnibus denique numeris praestantius?

Quint. 10. 1 91.

*Doctius* means here “more skillfully and properly written”, both in regard to meter and content.

Then, finally, at 10. 1. 97 Quintilian says in regard to Accius and Pacuvius: Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti affectant volunt”. Those who affect learning think Pacuvius to be *doctiorem*. The implied criticism in the phrasing of “qui esse docti affectant” shows that Quintilian himself withholds judgment on the matter. However, as with Horace's terming of Pacuvius as *doctus* that was discussed above (at Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 55-56), Quintilian appears to use the term *doctus* in the sense of “learned”, and by extension, “technically proficient at poet”. And again, as with Horace, *docti* here seems to designate those who comprise the contemporary literary coterie.

## Conclusion

*Doctus* in its most general sense for the Latin poets meant “educated” or “cultured”, and more specifically “trained in formal literature”, and hence “able to appreciate or write poetry”. More specifically, *doctus* was used as the equivalent of the Greek term σοφός as applied to early Greek poets in its sense of having privileged knowledge of a theme - “being divinely informed”, and having poetic skill in presenting that theme. Closely related to this sense was *doctus* used of the Muses or other divinities associated with poetry where it meant “knowledgeable” as well as “skilled in poetry”. Also, *doctus* is used of one who embraced and practiced technical literary ideals - namely, those of Alexandrian, in the main, where was a high regard for form, language and meter, an erudite manner and style. *Doctus* in the latter sense often connoted one who was a member of the contemporary literary coterie.

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