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AN ATTIC-SPEAKING CROW ON THE CAPITOLINE: A LITERARY ÉMIGRÉ FROM THE *HECALE*

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An Attic-speaking Crow on the Capitoline: A Literary Émigré from the *Hecale*

In antiquity, crows were not only believed to imitate human speech,[1] but they were also supposed to have the ability to tell the future.[2] So at a first glance we might not find it unusual that at the conclusion of Suetonius' life of Domitian, an author for whom prophetic and ominous events were ordinary grist for his mill, a crow uttered an oracular cry.[3] The context of the prophecy is as follows (23.2): *Ante paucos quam occideretur* (sc. Domitianus) *menses cornix in Capitolio elocuta est: Ἔσται πάντα καλῶς, nec defuit qui ostentum sic interpretaretur :*

Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix
"Est bene" non potuit dicere, dixit "Erit."

The only other ancient author to mention this incident was Aurelius Victor, who informs us that the crow's phrase was Attic : *cornicem e fastigio Capitolii Atticis sermonibus effatam esse* "καλῶς ἔσται" (*Epit.* 13.10).[4] Although the phrase καλῶς ἔσται may not appear dialectical at first glance, a search through the *TLG* reveals that it has limited currency, and is used mostly, though not exclusively, by Athenian writers: Euripides, *Or.* 1106 and *IA* 441 (both ἔσται καλῶς); Aristophanes, *Pl.* 1188 (καλῶς ἔσται), Xenophon, *Ana.* (καλῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔσται 7.3.43); Menander, *Dys.* 570-571 (καλῶς | ἔσται).[5] Another potentially significant feature of the prophetic announcement emerges on closer inspection: Suetonius' earlier version of the phrase (ἔσται πάντα καλῶς) could derive from a hexametric or elegiac poem.[6] Since Attic-speaking crows prophesying in verse were probably *rarae aves* even in antiquity, Suetonius' crow should immediately call to mind a well known poem in which such a crow

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[1] Cf. Varro, *LL* 6.56, Pliny, *NH* 10.124, and Isidore, *Or.* 12.7.44.

[2] Cf. Ap. Rh. 3.927-937; Cicero, *Ac.* 2.128 and *Div.* 2.78; in general, see Gossen-Steier, *RE* XI 1564, *s.v.* Krähe.

[3] Cf. F.B. Krauss, *An Interpretation of the Omens, Portents, and Prodigies Recorded by Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius* (Diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1931) and R. Lattimore, "Portents and Prophecies in Connection with the Emperor Vaspasian," *CJ* 29 (1934) 441-449.

[4] I see no problem in the difference between the Suetonian and Aurelian versions of the phrase. If Aurelius did not know that the crow's utterance was from a line of poetry (as I shall suggest), there is no reason why this fourth century epitomator would have made any attempt to maintain the integrity of the original statement. Moreover, Krauss' view (above n. 3) 105 that the Greek phrase was "a gross amplification of the crow's natural cry, *cras, cras*," does not explain why the crow would have squawked in Attic.

[5] Non-Athenian writers include Galen (*Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia* 10.112, 890; 12.935; and 13.997), Arrian, who claimed Xenophon as his model (*Epict.* 3.24.54 and 4,7,14) and Lucian, *DMeretr.* 10.4, which I shall look at below; it is also found twice in the Septuagint (*Reg.* 2.25.24 and *Ps.* 127.2 and in the commentaries on these passages).

[6] It is not surprising that this has not been noticed before since the phrase is not striking in itself and since it is quoted differently by Aurelius Victor.

plays a prominent role: Callimachus' *Hecale* .[7] In what follows, I would like to explore the possibility that ἔcται πάντα καλῶc comes from this poem.

First of all, Suetonius regularly quotes Greek verse. In fact, in this short life of the last Flavian emperor, the biographer records two phrases from the *Iliad* uttered by Domitian (2.204 at *Dom.* 12.3 and 21.108 at *Dom*. 18.2) and an epigram by Evenus (*AP* 9.75 [= Gow and Page *GP* 2308-09]), the latter of which, like the phrase under consideration, involved a prophecy relating to the demise of the emperor.[8] In addition to citing Greek verse in this biography, Suetonius even recalls Domitian's quotation of a line from Vergil's *Georgics* (2.537 at *Dom*. 9.1). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the interpretation of the crow's statement was expressed in verse. Thus there is at least a *prima facie* case for believing that ἔcται πάντα καλῶc might be a poetic remodeling of the phrase, quoted, like the epigram of Evenus, to predict the downfall of the emperor.

Secondly, ἔcται πάντα καλῶc (whose metrical shape is — — . — ⏑ . ⏑ —)[9] meets the prosodic and metrical requirements of the dactylic hexameter (it could theoretically begin in the first, second, third or fourth foot of the hexameter) or of the first half of an elegiac pentameter. Yet, if it were part of a Callimachean hexameter, several reasons argue against its beginning in any other than the first foot. If ἔcται πάντα καλῶc began in the second or fourth foot, it would produce word end after a long biceps in the second or forth foot respectively, an infraction of Nacke's Law, something which Callimachus shuns, unless the final syllable is part of an ongoing *Wortbild*.[10] If the phrase began in the third foot, there would be a word-break after the fourth trochee which would offend against Hermann's Bridge, an offence which Callimachus likewise avoids.[11] Such a configuration would also not allow for a main caesura in the third foot. Therefore, if ἔcται πάντα καλῶc were part of a hexameter, it would most likely be positioned at the beginning of the verse. If, on the other hand, it belonged to a pentameter, it could only begin the line.

The preceding metrical observations provide already a partial answer to the next question. Could the phrase in question, inasmuch as it might come from a hexametric or elegiac poem, have been written by Callimachus? The answer is yes as long as we eliminate the pos-

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[7] Cf. *Hecale* 260 Pf. (= *SH* 288; in his new edition of the poem, A.S. Hollis, *Callimachus. Hecale* (Oxford 1990), has divided up fr. 260 Pf., the *tabula Vindobonensis*, into his numbers 69-70 and 73-74.

[8] The second line of *AP* 9.75 is the same as Leonidas of Tarentum *AP* 9.99.6 [= Gow and Page *HE* 2166]

[9] Although the alpha of καλός is generally long in archaic hexameter verse, Callimachus, as other later writers, does allow for a short alpha at *h.* 1.55; see G.R. McLennan, *Callimachus. Hymn to Zeus* (Rome 1977) ad loc.

[10] Cf. P. Maas, *Greek Meter*, tr., H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962) § 92 and M.L. West, *Greek Meter* (Oxford 1982) 154-155. In addition, the beginning of the phrase in the fourth foot, would require a monosyllabon at the end of the verse. In Callimachus such a monosyllabon should be preceded by bucolic diaeresis (after a disyllabic biceps); see Maas § 96. Also, if the phrase began with the second foot, it would apparently lead to a sense pause at the hephthemimeres. This is rare in Callimachus. Where it occurs, it is preceded by the female caesura in the 3rd foot (*h.* 3.184) as it would be in our case. And, of course, καλῶc could be followed by a disyllabic word like μάλα (Maas 698; West p. 153).

[11] See Maas (above n. 10) § 91 and West (surpa n. 10) 155

sibility that it originally began elsewhere than in the first foot of a hexameter or at the beginning of a pentameter. Although the shape of the line would not be a common one, as it does not conform with Meyer's second law on the avoidance of word break after the second trochee followed by a masculine caesura,[12] three examples paralleling ἔcται πάντα καλῶc occur among the hymns and fragments, excluding all cases where appositives are involved:[13]

ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδνὸc ἐών (*h.*1.57; possibly explainable as *Wortbild*)
ἢ ἵνα, δαῖμον, 'Αλάc (*h.* 3.173)
῾Ρήγιον ἄcτυ λιπών (fr. 618 *inc. sed.*)

Much more common and unproblematic is the use of a feminine caesura following a trochaic word — or in one case trochaic phrase — in the second foot:

ποιμένι μῆλα νέμοντι (*aet.* fr. 2.1 Pf.)
'Αργὼ καὶ cέ, Πάνορμε (*aet.* fr. 108 Pf.)
γάcτερι μοῦνον ἔχοιμι (*Hecale* 117 Hollis)
γήριον εἶδοc ἔχουcα (*Hecale* 173 Hollis)
βάλλων ὠκὺν ὀιcτόν (*h.* 2.102)
αὐταὶ δ', Οὖπι ἄναccα (*h.* 2.240)
Θήβη, τίπτε τάλαινα (*h.* 2.88)
ἦ καὶ πολλὰ πάροιθεν (*h.* 2.153)
ἀλλά ἑ παιδὸc ἔρυκεν (*h.* 2.162)
ὀρθὰ μάλ', αἰὲν ἑτοῖμα (*h.* 2.231)
οἰκία θινὸc ἔχουcι (*h.* 2.282)
αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἔδοντι (*h.* 2.89)
ᾔδεα μᾶλλον ἔγωγε (fr. 482 *inc. sed.* Pf.)
οὔλου μῆτερ ῞Αρηοc (fr. 618 *inc. sed.* Pf.)[14]

I would conclude, then, that ἔcται πάντα καλῶc could stand at the beginning of a dactylic line written by Callimachus. The evidence for the pentameter is more ambiguous. In general terms, avoidance of a trochaic word break in the second foot applies to the pentameter as well (see Maas [n. 10] § 95), and I have found only one exception: *ep*. 1.16 Pf. (*HE* 1292) οὕτω καὶ cύ, Δίων. Unfortunately the text is not quite certain. While Diogenes Laertius has cύ, Δίων, the anthologies offer cύ γ' ἰών (or rather with Schneider: cύ γ', ῞Ιων).[15] Even so, the evidence for excluding the possibility of a pentameter is not strong enough.

[12] Cf. Maas (above n. 10) § 95 and West (above n. 10) 155; see also Pfeiffer on *Hecale* fr. 230.

[13] Something that A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (Lund 1933) 64-66 does not do in his consideration of this rare metrical phrasing. Thus he includes in his list of examples *h*. 1.13; 3.83 and 246; 5.129; 6.5, 8, and 12; and *ep*. 23.3 Pf. (*HE* 1275 GP), all of which involve appositives.

[14] Cf. δέχνυcο μῆτερ (fr. 746 *inc. aut.*). Occasionally Callimachus permits a trochaic word break in the second foot, even if the word ending in the trochee is longer and begins in the first foot (see Maas [above, n. 10] 155 and West [also n. 10] § 654 and 55): πρῶκεc ἄραξε πέcωcιν (*h.* 2.41) and ὡc δὲ Μιμάντι χιών (*h.* 6.91). But these cases are outside our present discussion. Both passages are briefly discussed in the most recent commentaries on these poems: see F. Williams, *Callimachus Hymn to Apollo* (Oxford 1978) ad 2.41 and N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus Hymn to Demeter* (Cambridge 1984) ad 6.91.

[15] In οὕτω cύ γ', ῞Ιων the elision would bridge the trochee and the next word and, thus, soften the trochaic rhythm. The anthologies' ἴων is rather pointless and seems to be aimed at making the epigram generally

There remains one further question: is ἔcται πάντα καλῶc a phrase which Callimachus can be expected to use in his hexameters or pentameters? Would he not rather have said *e.g.* ἔccετ' ἅπαντα καλῶc (as in *h.* 4.152 ἔccετ' ἀμοίβη)? But Callimachus uses ἔcται at least once (*h.* 1.93 οὔκ ἔcται); and, in the Hecale, his crow might very well have wanted to create a flash of Attic color.[16] But we must admit that she is not very consistent in this (fr. 74.6 ἐπέccεται, 14 ἔcετ' ἠώc).

After observing that ἔcται πάντα καλῶc could have stood at the head of a dactylic line written by Callimachus, we may return to the possibility that Suetonius' Attic speaking crow migrated to the Capitoline from the Acropolis. Although our knowledge of the poem is far from secure, many years of collecting fragments, sifting through papyri, and scholarly reconstruction,[17] including the publication of a new text and commentary, have given us a clear idea of the basic plot. We know that immediately after Theseus' victory over the Marathonian Bull, Callimachus had an elderly crow, in a conversation with an unidentified bird, tell the story of Erichthonius' origin and discovery by the daughters of Cecrops and prophesy how the raven would change from a white to a black bird for bringing the bad tidings of Coronis' infidelity to Apollo (fr. 74 Hollis).[18] Because the crow told Athena what the Cecropidae did, she lost favor with the goddess (cf. Lucr. 6.753-754) and was replaced by the owl. It would appear that the crow, just as the *cornix* in Ovid's imitation of this passage (*Meta*. 2.542-595), was trying to warn her interlocutor not to incur a similar fate by reporting something bad, and the most obvious bad tidings in the poem would be the death of Hecale.[19] Since Theseus did not know of the death of his hostess (cf. fr. 79 Hollis), the advisee apparently listened and everything went well for that bird. If, as Wilamowitz suggested,[20] the addressee is the owl,

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applicable (see Gow-Page's note). On the whole, this consideration points to the correctness of Diogenes' reading. In addition to this passage I have found only *ep.* 25.2 ἔξειν μήτε φίλον, where, however, μήτε is an appositive.

[16] Callimachus' style in the *Hecale* is, of course, most heavily influenced by Homer, but occasionally an Attic phrase comes up, for example, in fr. 74.10 Hollis, where the crow swears: ναὶ μὰ τόν – – – ναὶ μὰ τὸ ῥικνόν | cῦφαρ ἐμόν, ναὶ τοῦτο τὸ δένδρεον – – –. See A.S. Hollis' introduction (*loc. cit.* [n. 7]) 12-13 and 9).

[17] See, for example, K.J. Gutzwiller, *Studies in the Hellenistic Epyllion* (Meisenheim am Glan/Hain 1981) 49-53; cf. F.M. Pontani, "In Margine alla Fortuna della 'Ecale'," *GIF* 24 (1972) 85-95.

[18] The point of departure for the conversation must have been made within the 22 line lacuna between fr. 69 and 70 Hollis. One possible connection is that between Theseus' sending of a messenger (ἀγγελιώτηc, 69.6 Hollis) and the crow's unfortunate message which resulted in her loss of favor. As it happens, Callimachus used this Homeric hapax at *h.*1.68 — a poem which almost certainly predates the *Hecale* (on the early date of the hymn, cf. *Cl. Ant.*5 (1986) 155-170) — of a bird. On fr. 74 see also above with n. 16.

[19] As argued convincingly (cf. T.B.L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* [London 1964] 117 and H. Lloyd Jones and J. Rea, "Callimachus, Fragments 260-61," *HSCP* 72 [1967] 142-144) by B. Gentili, *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 342-343.

[20] Ulrich von Willamowitz Moellendorff, "Über die Hekale des Kallimachos," *GGN* (1893) 734-735 [= *Kleine Schriften* II (Berlin/Amsterdam 1971) 33-36]; cf. M.M. Crump, *The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid* (Oxford 1931) 85-86, G. Coppola, *Cyrene e il nuovo Callimacho* (Bologna 1935) 108, and H. Lloyd Jones and J. Rea, (above n. 19) 140-141; *pace* F. Krafft, "Die neuen Funde zur Hekale des Kallimachos," *Hermes* 86 (1958) 471-480, who argues that the crow speaks with Hecale, (cf. A. Barigazzi, "Sull' Ecale di Callimaco," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 324) and V. Bartoletti, "L'episodio degli ucelli parlanti nell' 'Ecale" di Callimaco," *SIFC* 33 (1961) 154-162 who believes that the interlocutor is another, but younger, crow.

who is mentioned in the poem (cf. frs. 77, and 167-168 inc. sed. Hollis), then, the successor to the crow for Athena's favor continued in the goddess' good graces by following the crow's advice.[21]

While I do not expect to find a detailed, one-for-one correspondence between the fates of the two Callimachean birds and Domitian and his successors, there does exist a significant point of comparison between the two pairs. Domitian considered himself a favorite of the goddess Minerva; he was even venerated as her son (cf. Philostr. *VA* 7.24). We learn from Suetonius that the princeps, near the end of his reign, had a dream in which Minerva announced that she could no longer help her protégé: *Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario negantemque ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a Iove.* (*Dom*. 15.3)[22] Accordingly, Domitian, like the crow, was abandoned by Minerva, and his successors, like the owl, were able to hold onto their high position, as Suetonius states, *abstinentia et moderatione* (*Dom*. 23.2).

The *Hecale*, as Hollis makes clear in his recent edition of the text, was a widely read and highly influential poem among the Romans. Of particular importance for the present argument is the fact that the *Hecale*, in Hollis' words, "made a deep impression" on the Flavian writer Statius (p. 34). Occasional references to the poem from Lucretius to Apuleius, sustained imitations of sections of the epyllion by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, and special interest in the poem by Domitian's contemporary and panegyricist suggest that an educated Roman would have known this poem in Flavian Rome. Domitian's propagandizing claim to be Minerva's favorite might have called to mind the celebrated crow's hybris and eventual downfall. I could well imagine the princeps' chief enemies, members of the senatorial class whose education and reading would have made them familiar with the *Hecale*, encouraging and amusing themselves by casting Domitian in the role of Callimachus' unfortunate crow, the protégé of Athena who lost favor and was forced to relinquish her special status. In fact, hearing that a man was prosecuted for failing to mention at public prayer that Domitian was the son of Minerva, Apollonius of Tyana, a contemporary of the emperor, is said to have quipped that this virgin goddess also bore a serpent for the Athenians (as reported by Philostratus, cited above). The serpent is of course Erichthonius, whose discovery by the Cecropidae the garrulous crow reported to Minerva for which he was replaced as the goddess' favorite by the owl. Apollonius' bon mot provides a good example of how Domitian's association with Minerva encouraged literary and mythological humor at his expense.

A large number of writers, both in Greek and in Latin, have shown their knowledge of the *Hecale* through their imitations or allusions to words, phrases, lines, or scenes of the poem (Hollis p. 26-40) and indeed from the *TLG* and the indices and texts of possible Callimachean imitators two passages emerge which might allude to the phrase ἔcται πάντα καλῶc and corroborate my suggestion.

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[21] On this reading of the *Hecale*, see Hollis (above n. 7) 225-226.

[22] Dio (67.16) gives a slightly different version of the story.

The only instance of ἔcται καλῶc with πάντα as its subject outside of Suetonius' Life of Domitian is found at Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 10.308 where the *Athenian* prostitute Chelidonion says to her friend Drosis: Θάρρει, πάντα ἔcται καλῶc (cf. Aristophanes, *Pl.* 1188: Θάρρει, καλῶc ἔcται γάρ ...). Not only does the Athenian setting support Aurelius' statement that ἔcται καλῶc is Attic, but the immediate context of the phrase in question contains two elements that can be paralleled in the Callimachean poem. First, a certain Dromon did Drosis a great favor by informing her of the whereabouts of her lover, Clinias, for which her friend and confidant, Chelidonion, says that she ought to have fed him (Ἐχρῆν, ὦ Δροcί, γαcτρίcαι τὸν Δρόμωνα) to which she replies that she has (ἐγάcτριcα). It is immediately after this that Chelidonion says Θάρρει, πάντα ἔcται καλῶc. Hecale's feeding of Theseus was of course one of the central moments of the epyllion, and it is after this that the crow tells her unnamed interlocutor that everything will be alright. Secondly, Drosis was in danger of losing her lover to a rival, his philosophy teacher, Aristaenetus, who fancied the young man; the crow in the *Hecale* similarly lost her special relationship with Athena to her rival, the owl. The Attic context, the feeding, the verbal parallel, and the association of this phrase with the notion of succession conspire to suggest that Lucian may have had Callimachus' poem in mind or at least that succession is an appropriate locus for this phrase. The notion of succession lies also at the heart of the second passage to which I now turn.

Crinagoras appended an epigram to a copy of the *Hecale* which he sent to Augustus' nephew Marcellus. Of particular note is the second line of this dedicatory poem (*AP* 9.545 [=GP 1823-26]):

Καλλιμάχου τὸ τορευτὸν ἔποc τόδε· δὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
ὠνὴρ τοὺc Μουcέων *πάντας ἔcειcε κάλωc·*
ἀείδει δ' Ἑκάληc τε φιλοξείνοιο καλιήν
καὶ Θηcεῖ Μαραθὼν οὓc ἐπέθηκε πόνους.
τοῦ coὶ καὶ νεαρὸν χειρῶν cθένοc εἴη ἀρέcθαι,
Μάρκελλε, κλεινοῦ τ' αἶνον ἴcον βιότου

If ἔcται πάντα καλῶc were a celebrated phrase from the *Hecale,* then quite possibly there is a playful echo of it in the second hemiepes of the second line, πάντας ἔcειcε κάλωc (with κάλωc, Attic for κάλουc), an idiomatic phrase meaning "to make every effort".[23] The likelihood of this being a verbal refraction of a phrase from the epyllion is strengthened by the fact that in the next line the phrase φιλοξείνοιο καλιήν clearly recalls φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆc in the *Hecale* (cf. Call. fr. 263.3 Pf. [= 80.4 Hollis]). It is possible, then, that Crinagoras was toying with what might have been a well-known phrase of the poem being sent to Marcellus. The reason why Crinagoras might have selected this particular phrase for his pun would possibly be its association with the theme of succession. In both the *Hecale* (167 Hollis; cf. 77 and 168) and Ovid's imitation of the episode involving the crow (*Meta*. 2.536-959), the crow was succeeded as Athena's favorite by the owl (cf. ibid. 590). We have seen

[23] I find it interesting that when Barigazzi (above n. 20) 309 contemplates the image of the poet giving free reign to "tutte le gomene della sua Musa" he thinks of the episode of the crow.

that succession is at issue both in the threatened replacement of Drosis by Aristaenetus as Clinias' lover in Lucian's dialogue and in the succession of Nerva and Trajan over Minerva's erstwhile favorite, Domitian. Marcellus fits this pattern well: he was Augustus' heir apparent, which is presupposed by the last two verses of the epigram where the poet prays for the young prince's future success.

From the evidence seen above, it is quite possible, I would conclude, that Callimachus' Attic crow once uttered the phrase ἔcται πάντα καλῶc to her successor and that this phrase, memorable not for any lexical oddity but perhaps for its dialectical simplicity[24] and auspicious message directed to a successor, gave rise to several intriguing imitations and allusions in later days.[25]

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[24] At both Aristophanes, *Pl*. 1188 and Xenophon, *Ana*. 7.3.43 (both texts cited above) καλῶc ἔcται is followed by the tag ἢν θεὸc θέλῃ which gives the whole expression a colloquial feel. Callimachus, as has been observed, infused his poem with Attic color through his references to local topography, antiquities, cults, and vocabulary; see above n. 16 with reference to Hollis (above n. 7) 8-9 and 12-13. It should also be noted that the preservation of some of the fragments is owed to Callimachus' use of many non-poetic words that "belong to the specialized vocabulary of country folk" (so Gutzwiller [above n. 17] 56).

[25] I had hoped that Ovid, who imitates sections of the *Hecale* in the episodes of the *Cornix* and *Corvus* (*Meta*. 2.536-595) and in that of Baucis and Philemon (*Meta*. 8.627-720), would have recalled ἔcται πάντα καλῶc in some way. The only refraction of this phrase I could detect is a possible *oppositio in imitando* in the latter tale. After Jupiter and Hermes who are being entertained by Baucis and Philemon reveal that they are gods, they inform the elderly couple that the people who did not welcome them would receive a punishment of which they would have no part: "*di"que "sumus, meritasque luet vicinia poenas / inpia;" dixerunt "vobis inmunibus huius / esse mali dabitur* (689-691). First, *esse mali dabitur* and ἔcται πάντα καλῶc both would stand at the beginning of lines. Secondly, *esse* parallels ἔcται, while *mali*, whose sense is negated by *inmunibus* in the previous line, is the inverse of καλῶc. Thirdly, although the elderly couple do not succeed any particular individual or group, nonetheless, because of their hospitality to the gods, their new role as ministers of gods' sanctuary might be viewed as comparable to the owl who assumed a new role as Athena's favorite. These connections, however, are tenuous and if Ovid does imitate ἔcται πάντα καλῶc it is probably to be found elsewhere. — I would like to thank Anthony Bulloch and Ludwig Koenen for their generous advice which greatly improved my argument.