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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

LATIN ELEGY AS A GENRE OF DISSENT

(Two Volumes)

A THESIS SUBMITTED BY

SYDNEY THOMPSON CHAPMAN B.A.

To

THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Volume 2

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CHAPTER THREE

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The Rejection of 'Ambitio' in Latin Elegy

Introduction

In the former of the two major divisions into which this chapter is divided I shall be concerned with showing how the elegists can be said to have been socially removed from the spirit of their times. The enquiry will begin by demonstrating that they were disorientated from an establishment point of view in that they rejected the constraints placed upon the class of society to which they belonged, voiced their dissent through their verse, and made it clear that they did not wish to be subjected to Augustus' policy of social engineering. This will not take into account the imperial plan for moral reform to which the elegists ran counter, for I intend to treat this issue in its own right in my final chapter. The word 'ambitio' will be employed on several occasions not, however, in the narrow sense of canvassing for support at elections,[1] but with the wider meaning of the will to embark upon and succeed in a chosen career in the service of the state. My information for the social background in the early stage of the chapter, probing the 'ordo equester' and the modifications which the emperor brought to bear upon it, rely upon the work of Syme and an article by Taylor (T.A.P.A. 99 1968, pp.469-86) the latter of whom has summarised the reasons for our crediting all of the elegists with possession of equestrian status (pp.479-81). Propertius, it will be seen, was content to acknowledge the advantages of peace afforded by the emperor but resented any interference by the state with the private lives of its citizens. Tibullus likewise welcomes the advent of peace while remaining sceptical about the way of life which thrives upon it. The evidence does not warrant our view of him as a

professional soldier making 'poetical capital' out of the military life which he professes to dislike as Williams,(2) for instance, would claim. I shall show that he seeks to justify his projected way of life with an appeal to philosophy, in particular that of Lucretius, by reworking sections of his Epicurean tract in a way which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been previously appreciated. In his opinion, a life devoted to 'amor' can have a rational basis and is not a senseless escape from social responsibility. Ovid shares with Tibullus and Propertius a distaste for a career in the service of the state and provides us with autobiographical information about his intentions in choosing to devote his energies to becoming a poet. His predecessors in elegiac poetry were, I suspect, motivated by considerations not entirely dissimilar. In the latter major section of the chapter I shall examine the political aspect of the elegists' verse; a separate introduction will be found prefacing this area of enquiry.

Gallus, Tibullus, and Poetic Capitalisation

In an enquiry into the elegists' rejection of the responsibilities involved in pursuing a career in the service of the Augustan state the influence of Gallus as an elegist and man of action should be considered. His undertaking of the military life is at variance with the anti-militaristic thought expressed in Latin elegy. He almost certainly exploited the contrast between the life of the lover and that of the soldier if Eclogues 10 is an example of Gallan subject matter and mode of expression. Lycoris, whom Gallus celebrated in his 'Amores', had been the mistress of Marcus Brutus and then of Marcus Antonius, both great men of action. In Eclogues 10 Vergil portrays Lycoris as attracted by a man of action, a soldier, with the result that she deserts Gallus in order to pursue her new love on a campaign in the North. We will never know to what extent this is biographical even if Servius was correct in deriving the words attributed to Gallus in the Eclogue from his elegies (3), but it is possible that Gallus may have felt drawn by feelings of inferiority - one thinks of Crassus at the time of the first triumvirate - to embark upon an even more enterprising military career in order to regain favour with Lycoris. Even though this is hypothetical, the elegists who succeeded him, had before them the example of a love elegist whose military ambitions had gone beyond bounds acceptable to the establishment with the result that he drove himself to suicide to escape the worst. This event in itself could have affected the elegists' attitude to militarism. Gallus had probably drawn the distinction between the otiose life of a lover and that of a soldier as we find it in the Eclogue (cf.10.32-49 where submission to 'amor', the affection, clashes with 'amor duri

Martis' - the demands of military affairs). In view of his fate, a life devoted to 'amor' began to make practical sense and the profession of unwillingness to lead a life of adventure ceased to be a mere literary conceit and was borne out in reality in the lives of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. Williams (4) would take issue with such an argument applied to Tibullus, believing that he, like Gallus, made 'poetic capital' out of his profession as a soldier and poet; he could, as a soldier, decry more effectively the military life as opposed to an idyllic pastoral existence alongside his mistress than if he were a 'civilian' with no barrier preventing him from realising his dream. To this I would reply that the evidence that Tibullus was a professional soldier to any degree is meagre to say the least, consisting of the statement in the 'Vita' that 'ante alios Corvinum Messalam oratorem dilexit, cuius etiam contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est' consonant with Tibullus' claim in 1.7.9 that 'non sine me est tibi partus honos' where the poet relates how he served Messalla well in the Aquitanian campaign for which he was rewarded. Elegy 1.3 records how he was unable to proceed to the East as a member of the 'cohors' of Messalla for he fell ill at Corcyra; when I subject this poem to criticism it will become clear that Tibullus was so diffident towards the prospect of the expedition and harboured feelings of resentment that he had actually been involved in it in the first place, that the possibility of any professional interest on his part is unlikely. Elegies 1.1 and 1.10 which describe his dislike of the martial way of life cannot with certainty be explained as the feelings of Tibullus on the eve of any undertakings other than the two already mentioned. In the final analysis we are left with Tibullus' statement that he played his part in helping Messalla secure the honour

of triumphing over the Aquitanian tribes, which is a rather vague statement and should not be seized upon as proof that he took part in the fighting. What then of the assertion in the 'Vita' that he was presented with 'militaribus donis' ? We should share the doubts expressed by Postgate (5) that the 'Vita' at this point is citing a lost source of biographical information about Tibullus. The statement may be nothing more than an expansion of line 9 of 1.7 quoted above. Postgate even reserves judgment as to whether the reading of the text for 1.7 is sound at this point, (6) but even if we accept the text as it stands, the comments of Duff (Lit.Hist.of Rome in the Golden Age) are appropriate to my argument:" The words, 'Not without me was thy glory won'..... have been rejected by several critics as an outburst of egotism or pride incredible in one so modest as Tibullus. Yet in themselves the words may simply mean that he accompanied his patron and was a witness of his exploits. It is what a friend could say without offence but what a second-in-command dare not say." (p.405) and "Baehrens' conjecture 'Non sine Marte ibi partus honos', is more attractive than Housman's 'non sine re est tibi', but equally unnecessary. Postgate sees in the traditional text 'ill placed egotistical assertion'. Is there really more of it in this 'sine me' than in the same phrase at the opening of 1.3: 'Ibitis Aegeas sine me Messalla per undas'?" (ibid. note 1). For these reasons I would hesitate before classifying Tibullus along with Gallus as a soldier-poet. On the contrary I would feel safer in saying that he had a brief taste of the army life which was sufficient to convince him that such a life did not appeal to him and which coloured his outlook towards soldiering in general. Tibullus in my estimation has much more in common with Propertius and Ovid and their distrust of militarism than he has with the self-

assured Gallus as this chapter will attempt to demonstrate, but first I wish to look at the socio-political background of the late republic and early Augustan empire against which the elegies should be appraised.

The Seeds of Elegiac Intransigence

It seems that there was an air of disenchantment with politics and military affairs prevalent at Rome in Cicero's day as a result of upheavals of civil war and dynastic struggles. This feeling led to a relaxation of moral standards and Cicero on several occasions calls upon the noble youth of Rome to assume the responsibility of a career in the army or in state administration, for he saw the threat which the sexual appetite represented to society unless kept under control by the working off of surplus energies (Cic. De Offic. 1.122).(7) It was moreover a military career which Cicero recommended for young men who were anxious to achieve fame (ibid.2.45), (8) and he attacks those who pursue their own 'otium' at the expense of 'negotia publica' (ibid.1.69).(9) He also recommended a career in politics to the young men of Rome (Pro Sest. 1.36). After Actium, Augustus likewise sought to encourage careers in the service of the state and addressed his call to the 'equites' in particular. Rome had endured yet more upheavals since Cicero had made his appeal and disillusion had become even stronger. This, in addition to the fate of Gallus, might well have been a contributory factor in the elegists' distaste for the active life. Propertius must have been little more than a child at the time of the civil conflict at Perusia in 41 B.C. but the event left its mark strongly printed on his memory for he vividly describes the death of

one Gallus, a victim of the siege of Perusia in elegy 1.21 and in 1.22 again refers to the death of his 'propinquus' in the same battle, and who may be his uncle if the 'soror' of 1.21.6 is the poet's mother. (10) A revulsion towards militarism experienced in his formative years makes more comprehensible the intensity of his rejection of such a way of life for himself or any descendant of his in the well known statement in the context of 2.7:

'unde mihi patriis natos praebere triumphis ?
nullus de nostro sanguine miles erit.'
(lines 13-14)

A relaxation in standards of conduct had evidently set in when Augustus assumed the task of reconstructing the fabric of society. His moral legislation did not become fully operative before 18 B.C.. By this time Tibullus' work, the first three books of Propertius' elegies,and the first edition of the Amores of Ovid had been published. In these works I think it is fair to say that a social and moral climate is reflected which had developed with little official interference from the last days of the republic. To this extent elegy can be said to witness a life-style prevalent at the end of the republic and during the early principate,a period when the emperor was embarking upon a programme for the reformation of social habits which included a change in the role of the order of society to which the elegists belonged. Gallus had enjoyed equestrian status and it is most probable that both Tibullus and Propertius were 'equites' whose family estates had suffered diminution as a result of the confiscation of lands for the veterans of Octavian and Antony. (11) Ovid too was an 'eques', and so all four Augustan elegists belonged to an order whose function the 'princeps' sought to alter. In the generation before the end of the republic the 'equites' had taken part in political intrigues and Augustus wished to make sure that

there would be no repetition of this in the new society which he was creating. He began by encouraging equestrian careers in the army, administration,and finance and awarding the 'latus clavus' to the sons of 'equites' with a view to their entry into the senate. (see Syme. Ch.24). The elegists however express considerable unwillingness to follow the emperor's lead.

Social Recalcitrance in Ovid

In turning to the author's own works I shall deal first with Ovid, though chronologically speaking, his works come latest, for he is more autobiographical and his language is at times more overtly political. Ovid's father had hoped that his son would choose a career leading to pecuniary profit. Ovid however, was more interested in literature:

> 'at mihi iam puero caelestia sacra placebant
> inque suum furtim Musa trahebat opus.
> saepe pater dixit "studium quid inutile temptas
> Maeonides nullas ipse reliquit opes" '
> (Trist. 4.10 19-22)

Nevertheless,he persevered with his legal studies and held minor offices, becoming IIIvir capitalis, a member of the centumviral court on inheritance and was destined for the quaestorship,yet he rejected a public career of this sort. As mentioned above,Augustus sought to encourage the 'equites' to assume responsibilities leading to a senatorial career, but it is exactly this which Ovid views with disapprobation:

> 'curia restabat: clavi mensura coacta est
> maius erat nostris viribus illud onus
> nec patiens corpus, nec mens fuit apta labori
> solicitaeque fugax ambitionis eram
> et petere Aoniae suadebant tuta sorores
> otia iudicio semper amata meo
> (loc.cit. 35-40)

The pursuit of 'otium' as a means of evading the pressures of 'ambitio' can be seen in the life of Atticus at the end of the republic; Cicero drew the distinction between the 'honestum otium' of the equestrian life and the 'ambitio' of those who had chosen a senatorial career.(12) Once Augustus had established himself at the helm of the state the opportunity for the pursuit of 'otium' in the 'ordo equester' became increasingly remote. Ovid's story of his abandoning any wish to hold senatorial office as an escape from 'ambitio' which he finds 'sollicita', refers to the struggle involved under the Triumvirate and Augustus to secure the lower offices in the 'cursus honorum'. In the passage quoted above, Ovid employs the words 'onus' and 'otia' by way of contrast, to describe the burdens of political life on the one hand, and on the other the carefree existence of one who chooses to forego such a life. Elsewhere in the Tristia he refers to his poetry as his 'lusus' and his 'otia':

'non ea te moles Romani nominis urguet
inque tuis umeris tam leve fertur onus
lusibus ut possis advertere numen ineptis
excutiasque oculis <u>otia</u> nostra tuis'
(2.221-4)

Here the poet tells us that the 'onus' of political obligations may prevent some, notably the 'princeps' himself, from reading his works. It is possible that he means us to remember his rejection of a career (though now he speaks remorsefully) of service in the Augustan state and is implying that the 'onus which such a career entailed would have precluded 'otia' without which poetic 'lusus' is impossible.(13) In the Amores, Ovid alludes to the means by which an ordinary soldier could, under the new system, obtain equestrian status, whereas under the republic a soldier could rise no higher than the centuriate:

'ecce recens dives parto per vulnera censu,
praefertur nobis sanguine pastus eques.
(3.8. 9-10)

Ovid is annoyed that he, an 'eques' by virtue of his birth, 'per innumeros avos', as he tells us in Ex Ponto 4.8.18, must give way to a social parvenu. A similar outcry occurs in Amores 3.15.5-6:

'siquid id est, usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres
non modo militiae turbine factus eques'

- where he states that he did not become an 'eques' through a career in the army, a reference to the policy of Augustus for promotion to equestrian status via the army, but that he inherited his rank. It is, I feel, an unusual boast in the concluding elegy of Bk. 3 which deals with his poetic 'gloria' but is more understandable if we accept that by using the emotive word 'libertas' (line 9) to explain the motive of the Paelignians in resorting to 'honesta arma' (ibid.) in defiance of Rome in the Social War, he is himself adopting a defiant stance. I imagine Ovid to be claiming that he has preserved his 'libertas' by non-involvement in the Augustan design to reform the structure of society by stressing the fact that his possession of equestrian status owes nothing to the new policies of the emperor, but to practices inherited from the republic. His expression of disregard for the army as a profession is voiced in words no less strong than those of Propertius. It is, for Ovid, a form of prostitution:

'quaesitum est illi corpore quidquid habet'
(Amores 3.8.20)

I will substantiate this by referring to Ovid's description of the career of a harlot in Amores 1.10.22 which used language similar to that found in 3.8:

'stat meretrix certo cuivis mercabilis aere
et miseras iusso corpore quaerit opes'

Additionally, I notice that he thinks of a civilian career in law in terms such as these in 1.15. 5-6 where he lists the objections

of his detractors (Livor line 1) one of which is that -

'nec me verbosas leges ediscere nec me
ingrato vocem <u>prostituisse</u> foro?'

A legal career would have been a form of self-abasement of the worst sort. Propertius too had avoided this profession as Horos reminds him in elegy 4.1. 133-4, relating how Apollo had steered him away from practising as a lawyer (vetat insano verba tonare Foro.)[14], and by referring to his chosen field of work as an elegist as his 'castra' (line 135) no doubt echoes Propertius' aversion for the military life as well. The life of the professional soldier is seen in 3.8. 20-4 as banausic and almost diseased compared with the exalted position of the elegist:

'forsitan et, quotiens hominem iugulaverit ille
indicet! hoc fassas tangis, avara, manus?
ille ego Musarum purus Phoebique sacerdos
ad rigidas canto carmen inane fores?'

In 1.15.3 Ovid dismisses outright the suggestion that he should conform to the 'mos patrum' (non me more patrum....) which expects him to employ his vigorous youth (stremua aetas) in seeking the rewards of military service (praemia militiae) and to learn wordy legal statutes (verbosae leges) to enable him to engage in the politics of the forum (lines 3-6). I consider this 'recusatio' in a social sense to stem from an appeal to a superior 'ambitio'. Ovid seeks 'fama perennis' (line 7) not 'mortalis', (ibid.). It is only through verse that such fame can be acquired. Poetic immortality, a common enough theme since the verse of Pindar and Theognis, takes on a new significance by virtue of its context. It is at variance with the traditional view of immortality being achieved through reputation won in the professions and perpetuated by means of inscriptions and a form of ancestor worship. It might be said that Roman poets often claim that their work will immortalise their own

name. Here,however,Ovid is unique in employing the idea at a point where he justifies his chosen way of life in the face of criticism from those who insist that he is wasting his time by his continued non-involvement with a responsible career. 'Livor edax' in the first line calls Ovid's 'carmen' the product of an 'iners ingenium' which wastes its time slothfully. 'Livor' may be traced back to the Callimachean 'Envy' who attempted to alter Apollo's views on poetry. (15) The scholiast maintains that at this point Callimachus is answering his critics, and Ovid I suspect,had the Hymn to Apollo in mind when he composed Amores 1.15. The aversion which Callimachus felt for narrative epic seems to be felt by Ovid for the 'praemia militiae pulverulenta' and the 'verbosae leges' of the Forum, careers which 'Livor' suggests the poet should undertake ('quod quaeris opus' in line 7 being in effect an exhortation) if he is to conform to the 'mos patrum'. I would go so far as to say that 'Livor' echoes the voice of the establishment which was trying to persuade its citizens to contribute to the welfare of the state as I have already indicated.

Another elegy in Bk. 1 ought probably to be interpreted in the light of Augustus' reorganisation of the 'ordo equester,' and seen from this angle portrays Ovid as once more adrift from the class to which he belonged. Curran (C.P. 61 pp. 47-9) has observed how 'eques' in line 8 of 1.3 and 'desultor' of line 15 in the same elegy are linked in so far as both are 'equestrian' characters. The latter is of course a circus performer who jumps from one horse's back to another,but since Ovid is talking about his own possession of the 'equus publicus' a political significance relating to the notorious fickleness of the 'equites' may be the underlying thought,

and this would give in turn added dimension to Ovid's insistence on the value of his own 'fides' in lines 6, 13, and 16. Ovid's approach to 'fides' differs radically from their own for he has given his own to a 'puella' whereas they now owe theirs to the emperor, and Ovid may be saying that his 'fides' is superior to that of other 'equites'. Holleman (C.P. 65 1970 pp. 177-80) has placed this political interpretation on the link noticed by Curran, drawing particular attention to the fact that the principate received its most solid support from this order (referring us to Syme, pp.354-5) and proceeds to offer an explanation as to why Ovid dwells upon the figure of Jupiter the 'desultor amoris' par excellence. At first sight he is an inappropriate figure to mention in connection with the 'fides' which he will bring to his 'puella'. Barsby for instance raises this question in his commentary 'Ovid: Amores Book 1': "The parallel to Ovid's own situation is not a close one, since Jupiter did not write the poetry that conferred immortality on his mistresses (as Ovid is claiming to do for his girl). But more than that. The three heroines, though apparently introduced to illustrate the theme of fame through poetry, in fact point a quite different moral, once we are alerted to the possibility of the doubles entendres: we are in the world of the deceiver and adulterer (lusit, adulter, simulato, 22-3), and the choice of women beloved and betrayed by Jupiter, the supreme 'desultor amoris', is hardly appropriate for a poet declaring eternal fidelity to one woman, unless there is some ulterior motive." (p.55). Holleman explains the motive as follows: "he was carefully building a climax by proceeding from 'equites' to senators and finally to Jupiter himself. The reader cannot here fail to recognise the Emperor, whose sexual behaviour was the gossip

of the time (see the account given with maliciously feigned aloofness in Suet., Aug. 69-71). This is consistent with Ovid's way of comparing Augustus with Jupiter elsewhere; thus I need not labour the point. It is, furthermore, consistent with his keeping aloof from the 'fides' of the regime which Augustus so much wished to be publicised widely..." (p.178). (16) It is, then, the emperor, and the 'equites' over whom he presides whose 'fides' is compared unfavourably with his own. While I am in broad agreement with this political interpretation of the elegy, I would make the following observations. The tergiversations of the 'equites' had decreased as Augustus modified their character by supplementing their ranks, depleted by the proscriptions, with 'novi homines' who had merited promotion to equestrian status by taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by him to use their talents in the service of the state. Thus the 'princeps' curtailed the intransigence of their order. Holleman (loc.cit.) compares the Augustan 'consensus omnium' which brought their ranks together and gave the emperor the support that he needed with those rare occasions when they assumed a more or less united stance in support of those who wielded 'imperium', the consulship of Cicero which achieved a virtual 'concordia ordinum' being put forward as a case in point. In this way Ovid's reflection on their desultorian habits will be a retrospective one, but this does not in my opinion preclude a criticism on the poet's part of the contemporary behaviour of the members of his order. Whereas in lines 7-10 Ovid speaks of his equestrian status as belying what he claims to be his humble origin we should remember that in 3.15 he expresses his pride in belonging to a family to whom he owes this status while, just as in 3.8, he speaks slightingly of the 'eques'

who has merited his status through military service, that is, a typical Augustan 'novus homo' of the sort I have described (see above on these two elegies). It is as though Ovid was inclined to take a detached view of the order as a whole while at the same time betraying a preference for the less meritocratic, pre-Augustan organisation of the order. Syme's remarks on the effects of the emperor's democratisation of the order are to my mind well fitted to Ovid's outlook on the subject both here and elsewhere:

"Aristocratic 'libertas' and 'fides' were supplanted by the vigour and industry of the 'novus homo'. The opening of a career to talent, however, was not always conducive to honourable behaviour in a society where profit and promotion depended upon the patronage of the government. To say nothing of the patent vice or rapacity of the greater 'novi homines', the friends of Augustus: the lesser crawled for favour, ignobly subservient, and practised delation for money and advancement." (p.456). It is probably with this debasement of 'fides' in his own day that the poet is taking issue and from which he is dissociating himself. In my final chapter I will briefly suggest how the concept of the 'servitium amoris' can be said on some occasions to possess political inplications and there I will briefly refer to the elegy under discussion. Syme emphasises the subservience of some of the members of the class to which Ovid and the other elegists belonged and it is interesting that in line 5 Ovid reminds us of the concept (tibi qui deserviat., cf. praeda, line 1). In keeping with the spirit in which the elegists put themselves at the service of a 'puella' rather than the state, so Ovid pledges his 'fides' to a 'puella' and not to the 'princeps'.

The Theme of Withdrawal in Propertius and Ovid

At this point we might usefully turn to Propertius who like Ovid feels that his 'modus vivendi' is open to criticism because he fails to undertake any active commitment in the interests of the state. In the very first elegy of the Monobiblos the poet has vividly presented us with a picture of the dominion exercised over him by 'Amor' (lines 3-4) with the result that resolution goes by the board (nullo vivere consilio, line 6). In parading his lack of 'consilium' Propertius is diminishing his 'virtus', that is his manliness and capacity for undertaking the responsibilities of life which a woman did not have to assume, and allowing his 'res', his substance and business with the world, to fall into a state of neglect. A similar thought lies behind the statement about 'Amor' in elegy 2.12: 'is primum vidit sine sensu vivere amantis, et levibus curis magna perire bona' (lines 3-4). Catullus (51) had realised the capacity of love for such self destruction when it distracted its victim from fulfilment of social obligations; this, I believe, is the meaning behind the thought that 'otium' can be 'molestum' (see lines 13-16). Propertius even more than Catullus, is fascinated with the power of love to effect such destruction as though he was revelling in its possession of himself; he may request a cure at one moment but at another he sees it as affording him a way of life which he finds desirable and which will win him fame (cf. 'hic mihi conteritur vitae modus, haec mea fama est, hinc cupio nomen carminis ire mei.' 1.7. 9-10). In the introduction to his translation of the elegies of Tibullus, Dunlop has recognised this approach of Propertius to the subject of love: "He wanted not

merely to please the public with his poetic vision, but, helped by the style and technique of Callimachus and Philitas, to fire his readers with his own sensibility and alter their life-style with it". (17) This didactic element he rightly discovers in Tibullus (1.4 and 1.6.86), but given the literary milieu to which Propertius belonged, it is surely even more striking to find the idea expressed so strongly throughout his work when the weight of thought emanating from the milieu as to the effect of 'amor' was decidedly against giving rein to the emotions at the expense of social obligations. One thinks immediately of the disastrous consequences which befell Ovid when he developed the element even further in the Ars Amatoria, that "vade-mecum in wantonness" (as someone whose name eludes me called it). Propertius no doubt felt that he was treading on dangerous ground and sought various excuses to mitigate his advocating a life heedless of personal obligations to the state. I will proceed to investigate this apologetic vein in the Propertian elegies. One of the more pointed of these 'apologiae' is to be found in 3.9 addressed to his patron. He begins with the generalisation that we are not all suited to grand undertakings, initially referring to the writing of epic, but taking the elegy as a whole, implying the exigencies of civil service:

'non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati
omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta'
(3.9.4)

and then he comments that he is taking a leaf out of Maecenas' book:

'at tua, Maecenas, vitae praecepta recepi'
(ibid. line 21)

In strong language Propertius describes how Maecenas has apparently withdrawn from the 'rat-race' of Rome:

'parcis et in tenuis humilem te colligis umbras:
velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus'
(ibid. lines 29-30)

This is obviously a reference to Maecenas' declining to accept any official position and being content with his equestrian rank (18), even though, as Propertius reminds him, Caesar would enable him to succeed and receive financial reward:

'et tibi ad effectum vires det Caesar, et omni
tempore tum faciles insinuentur opes'
(ibid. lines 27-8)

Maecenas combined a life free from 'ambitio' with social respectability.

In the final couplet:

'hoc mihi, Maecenas, laudis concedis, et a te est
quod ferar in partis ipse fuisse tuas'

Propertius once more attributes his way of life to the lead of Maecenas. In lines 29-30 (sup.cit.) the poet uses the word 'umbra' as a symbol of a retreat from social responsibility; the long history of its usage in this sense has been discussed by Balsdon (Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome pp. 136-44) with copious references which support his description of the term as:" 'Life in the shade' - the 'vita umbratilis', the cloistered life. The choice of such a life, the pursuit of 'tranquillitas' or 'quies', might in certain circumstances be excusable: if your health did not enable you to face the rigour and strain of a political, administrative or military career, or if you had the misfortune to live at a time when 'liberty and the state failed' ...Nobody's life could be more shady than a writer's, above all a poet's...Writing about serious subjects - history, oratory, philosophy even - this was more creditable... " (pp.136; 138). To this I would simply add that the serious treatment which Vergil and Horace gave in their verse to the ideals and aspirations of the Augustan state guaranteed that they would be

beyond reproach whereas the writer of elegy was dealing with a subject the seriousness of which might easily appear dubious to the practical minded Roman. (19)

Juvenal was later to use the word 'umbra' with all the overtones described by Balsdon when he represented an imaginary objector suggesting that the barristers' profession was of more use to society than that of the poet or historian who are called -

'genus ignavum quod lecto gaudet et umbra'
(Sat. 7.105)

Juvenal shows how men of letters could come in for criticism and I think the elegists are, more than any other poets, conscious of their vulnerability in this respect. Indeed, in the line quoted above, I suggest that he may be echoing lines 541-2 of the third book of the Ars Amatoria where Ovid expresses disdain for a life given over to commercial enterprise, legal business or 'ambitio' which, here, could easily refer to the fact that he actually abandoned the public career on which he had embarked before he devoted himself to poetry:

'nec nos ambitio, nec amor nos tangit habendi
contempto colitur lectus et umbra foro.'

I think it even more probable, however, that Juvenal had in mind Amores 1.9 of Ovid where we find the following:

'ipse ego segnis eram discinctaque in otia natus;
mollierant animos lectus et umbra meos.
inpulit ignavum formosae cura puellae
iussit et in castris aera merere suis'
(lines 41-4)

This elegy introduces us to a fully developed version of the motif 'militat omnis amans', elements of which appear frequently in the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius, and a topic which will be investigated in considerable depth at the end of this chapter. Ovid

claims that the life of the lover is every bit as demanding as that of the soldier and invents a novel retort to the critics of his 'modus vivendi'; as an aesthete before writing 'amores' he was 'ignavus' (line 43), but having thrown himself into the camp of love he has become 'agilis' like any fit Roman soldier. The message of the elegy is summed up in line 31 sc. 'Ergo desidium quicumque vocabat amorem, / desinat' and line 46 'qui nolet fieri desidiosus amet'. In effect these statements summarise the import of the imagery of the 'castra amoris'; the army career upon which the imagery draws is rejected universally by the elegists, but by describing their own lives in terms of soldiering they polarise even more the two ways of life even though they profess that they are not so dissimilar. To the establishment the process must have seemed not so much as excusatory (the elegists protest that they are not wasting their energies) as provocative and mockingly subversive. The writer of the Roman Odes who recommended that military training should be de rigeur for the youth of Rome would not have been pleased that the elegists were counselling a career of love affairs, nor the emperor who was doing his utmost to promote the martial arts, for example the inauguration of the 'Lusus Troiae' while at the same time seeking to curb immorality. (20) I do not intend to dwell on the subject of the 'castra amoris' at this point, but it is important to recognise that in 1.9. 43-4 quoted above, Ovid was fully aware of the distinction between an idle life on the one hand, for which he merited the epithet 'ignavus' and another of service in a military capacity - 'castris aera merere' which he humorously describes as no less rigorous than service to a 'puella'.

In Ovid, the contrast is not only between the idleness of

an amatory elegist and the activity of one who is career orientated but also between the elegist and writers of different verse. In Amores 2.18 Ovid directly equates the writing of elegy with a slothful existence in the shade:

'nos, Macer, ignava Veneris cessamus in umbra,
et tener ausuros grandia frangit Amore.'
(lines 3-4)

Macer, who appears in this elegy as a writer of martial epic, is portrayed as leading a life of action by virtue of his choice of genre; this is more understandable if we remember that in my first chapter I emphasised that epic was the vehicle of panegyric which lauded the exploits of a patron and the writer of such verse could, like Ennius, have witnessed their occurrence. Moreover, it will be seen below that in 2.1.17ff. Propertius apologises for not writing epical verse using an excuse which he forwards elsewhere to exculpate his aversion towards the idea of pursuing a career, and so anticipates Ovid in thinking of elegy as a serious undertaking in its own right. Propertius, as we have seen, used the word 'umbra' to denote a lack of 'ambitio' as reflected in the lifestyle of his patron and hoped also to enjoy the 'umbra' by avoiding the demands of a formal career and being allowed to write elegy and there are possibly similar overtones in Ovid's use of the word in line 3. The word had been used in connection with the writing of love-poetry as early as the first Eclogue of Vergil:

tu Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas
(lines 4-5)

However, in 3.9.29 of Propertius (sup.cit.), just as in the Eclogue, there are no overtones of slothful inactivity which incur criticism. Tityrus is felicitated by Meliboeus who is envious of his fortunate lot just as Maecenas is admired by Propertius for having attained

the sort of life which the poet hopes to emulate. The underlying reason for the acceptability of the idea of an otiose life in these instances is not, I think, difficult to account for; in both cases such a life is permissible by the dispensation of a higher authority. Tityrus expresses his profound gratitude to the 'deus' for the restoration of his land and the 'libertas' to write poetry as he wishes [21] and Maecenas, while being relatively inactive, was nevertheless an ardent supporter of Augustus and a believer in the imperial plan. Thus the 'umbra' of Tityrus and Maecenas is deserved through an acknowledgement of the benefits of the new scheme of things. Ovid, by contrast, in 2.18, is as conscious of his 'nequitia' in this elegy as elsewhere, and he knows that his own enjoyment of the 'umbra' will be seen as 'ignava' (line 3) and the subject of his verse shameful (lines 7-8). The pursuit of leisure for literary or other purposes would seem to be dependent on a commital to the order of the day for acceptability, as though a poet's case could be justified by his willingness to contribute to the state by writing in its praise if not by serving it in a more conventional career. As Camps remarks, "the idea was abroad at the time that the man of letters can serve his country as well as the soldier and statesman" (Virgil's Aeneid, p.19 and note 12). Propertius had been aware that by expending his energies as an 'amator' he was exposing himself to criticism. The key-word in this respect is 'labor', that is the toil which is undertaken in the pursuit of the lover's goal, but whereas Propertius generally refers to the 'labores' endured by the successful lover, I discover that there is a notable exception in elegy 2.22a. addressed to Demophoon. In lines 21-2 Propertius denies that he is dissipating his vigour as a lover:

'sed tibi si exilis videor tenuatus in artus,
falleris: haud umquam est culta labore Venus '

In the following lines he uses the 'exempla' of Jupiter, Achilles and Hector to illustrate his contention that such a life need not prevent one from performing feats of strength or military prowess. We have seen how in 'Amores' 1.9 Ovid used the motif of the 'castra amoris' to parry the imaginary critic's censure of his conduct and he too pointed to the lives of these heroes of the Iliad (lines 33-8) which strengthens the view that the elegy of Propertius, though addressed to a friend (real or imaginary), was intended to be a wider defence of his behaviour. Indeed in lines 17-18 of this elegy (inf. cit.). Propertius seeks to excuse himself by appealing to the workings of nature and fate in order to justify his behaviour, and it is on such grounds that elsewhere he excuses his reluctance to follow a conventional career. A good example is to be found in the sixth elegy of the Monobiblos in which Propertius declines an invitation to be one of the 'comites' who were to accompany Tullus who had been sent to Asia on official business. (22) It is likely that the poet is refusing to seek advancement or adventure such as Catullus had sought when he accompanied Memmius to Bithynia in the hope of gaining some financial profit (cf. 'et quonam mihi profuisset aere'. Cat. 10.8). Propertius had the opportunity to play his part in maintaining Roman influence abroad following the disorder in Asia attendant upon the demise of Antony.(23) The political situation to which Propertius is referring is a contemporary one with the result that his expression of non-involvement is quite forceful. First of all he makes an appeal to destiny:

> 'me sine quem semper voluit <u>fortuna</u> iacere
> hanc animam extremae reddere nequitiae'
> (lines 25-6)

- fate has held it in store that he should not lead the life of an active career-minded Roman. Again four lines later he says:

'hanc me militiam <u>fata</u> subire volunt'
(line 30)

I find that this particular excuse for his lack of 'ambitio' is extended in the fourteenth elegy also addressed to Tullus. Propertius repeats that he is not 'natus idoneus armis' (line 29) maintaining that we inherit our predilections and capabilities, and lays the responsibility for his condition at the feet of genetic probability. Looking more closely at his apology for a lack of drive it will be seen that it assumes an astrological tone, for he concludes by telling Tullus that the stars are the cause of his way of life:

'tum tibi si qua mei veniet non immemor hora
vivere me <u>duro sidere</u> certus eris.'
(1.6. 35-6)

It should come as no surprise that in Bk. 4 an astrologer, Horos, is made to state that astrology is the only true way of knowing the future -

'aspicienda via est caeli, verusque per astra
trames, et ab zonis quique petenda fides'
(4.1. 107-8)

- and that he proceeds to read Propertius' stars (nunc ad tua detrahor astra, line 119), reminding him how he had avoided a legal career and devoted himself to poetry (lines 133-4). The appeal to astrological influences was not perhaps the most tactful way for him to absolve himself from the duties of a career which, taking into account the reforms brought to bear upon the order of which the poet was probably a member, was most likely to be one of service to the state; as recently as 33 B.C. Octavian's lieutenant Agrippa had expelled astrologers and fortune tellers from the city, an action reflecting a religious conservatism such as the emperor preserved throughout his reign, an attitude manifested in later years by Claudius who likewise drove them out in 52 A.D. The stars were

decidedly an unofficial method of prognostication, the state favouring augury as a basis for decision making. Horace's attitude to astrology was unfavourable; in Satires 1.6.114 he tells how he found amusement listening to the predictions of its practioners in the Circus without having any faith in them and in Odes 2.17. 17-22 he speaks in astrological terms while expressing indifference for it. Odes 1.11 condemns it as a vain superstition, and Cata (Agr. 4.4.) as well as Columella (R.R. 1.8.6) writing on a down to earth and typically Roman subject are hardly more complimentary. (24)

In the elegy to Demophoon which I said reflected Propertius' consciousness of his vulnerability to criticism, the two excuses, namely that on grounds of inherited disposition and the other based on a belief in determinism go hand in hand:

'uni cuique dedit vitium natura creato
mi fortuna aliquid semper amare dedit'
(2.22a. 17-18)

In the 'recusationes' both pleas occur, in 3.9 that pointing to natural factors:

'hic satus ad pacem, hic castrensibus utilis armis
naturae sequitur semina quisque suae'
(lines 19-20)

- which dictate whether one will be more inclined to peaceful pursuits or drawn to a martial life, and in 2.1.17ff. fate has decreed that Propertius will not be suited for writing epical verse just as in 1.6.30 as we saw earlier it decreed that he would not accompany Tullus to the East. It is noteworthy that he uses these excuses both for opting out of a conventional career and refusing to write heroic verse as though he equated the two; the fulfilment of either of these alternatives would constitute a contribution to the welfare of the state which he is unwilling to make.

Ovid, I believe, was aware that Propertius' distaste for heroic poetry was akin to his aversion for a career and it was only a short step for him to contrast his own inert life as an elegist with that of Macer as an epic poet in Amores 2.18 which I discussed above, and where it appears that to Ovid this writer of heroic epic was engaged in a career compared with which his own life was slothful. Tibullus provides us with an instance of 'fata' but only when referring to his love for Nemesis in elegy 2.6.34, but nowhere in the Amores (or the Ars Amatoria) does Ovid speak of 'fatum' in the same sense that the victim of passion had been subject to an inflexible law which accounts for his plight. We do find it in the Heroides (25) but these are not poems which concern the poet's own life. The part played by 'fate' in the Heroides may represent Greek mythological influences upon the poem but the lack of any mention of it in the Amores is due, I think, to Ovid's assuming personal responsibility in a spirit of bravado for his own way of life as we find in several passages. (26)

Tibullus' Philosophical Basis for Retreat

Having examined the nature of Ovid's and Propertius' dissavowal of careers in the Augustan state I must now conduct an investigation into Tibullus' attitude to the pressures of a regular occupation. In the elegies we find a process at work which, by attributing features of the 'Golden Age' to his favourite theme of the 'vita rustica', seeks to enhance and justify his 'ratio vitae'. He is also fond of moralising for much the same reason and I feel sure that Horace must have been aware of this characteristic of Tibullus' verse when he pictured him 'tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris, curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque est' (Epp.1.4.4-5).

The philosophical strain in Tibullus' work and in particular the first elegy which announces the programme of his verse, is calculated to rationalise his feelings of contempt for a life governed by 'ambitio'. Boucher (Études...p.30) considers that the escapist element in Propertius has much in common with Epicureanism: "ce caractère d'échappatoire aux pressions sociales et politiques, d'evasion hors de la societé lui est commun avec l'épicurisme; il y a parallelisme entre la recherche de l'ataraxie et celle de l'otium." The evidence, however, seems to indicate that such philosophical colouring is rather a mark of Tibullan elegy. Before presenting my evidence that Tibullus attempts to formulate a philosophical system upon which to base his escapism I will look at various elements which should alert us to the philosophical tenor of the elegies.

Reacting against the pursuit of wealth by his contemporaries Tibullus asserts that he will be 'contentus vivere parvo' (line 25) and with an air of detachment declares 'dites despiciam despiciamque famem' (ibid. line 78). He clearly intends to follow a mean course avoiding the extremes of affluence and penury. The double use of the verb 'despicere' in line 78 is all the more effective because of its rarity in Tibullus, appearing elsewhere only in 1.8.32-3.(27) Having asserted that he will be happy with small resources in line 25, in line 77 he tells us that he will be 'composito securus acervo' - free from care with whatever he has managed to accumulate. His country retreat begins to take on the appearance of the 'hortulus' of a philosopher and I believe that Horace is hinting at Tibullus' quasi-peripatetic existence when in the passage quoted above he describes the elegist as quietly strolling among refreshing woods (silvas inter salubris); in Epistles 1.4 Horace speaks of Tibullus'

'sapientia' and I propose that the use of the word 'silvae' in Epistles 1.4 is comparable with its use in Epistles 2.2.45 in the phrase 'inter silvas Academi' where it refers to the olive groves and plane trees in the grounds of the famous school of philosophy at Athens, and is a symbol of philosophical study in general. (28) In hoping to be 'contentus' and 'securus' Tibullus seems to be in search of a personal form of ataraxy and his picture of a self-sufficient existence on his estate suggests an autarky of sorts. It is as though he were following that part of Epicurean thought which recommended that one should live sparingly while preserving tranquility of mind (cf. vivere parce / aequo animo. Lucr. 1118-9). We can only speculate as to how far Tibullus could have been influenced by the philosophical thought of his day but it is interesting to note that Musonius was later to pronounce a pastoral existence as best suited for a philosopher.(29)

'Amor' however, plays a major part in the idyllic life of which Tibullus dreams and it was specifically this emotion which Lucretius denounced as irrational and pernicious, categorising it as a species of 'furor' in lines 1058-1287 of Bk. 4 of the De Rerum Natura. (30) The sexual instinct is not denounced as such; it is emotional involvement of a romantic sort of which the wise man is warned to beware, for this leads to mental blindness with regard to the failings in the object of ones passion and results in a wastage of 'labor' and 'vires' which in turn allows 'res' 'officia' and 'fama' to deteriorate. In other words 'amor' constitutes a threat to ones career, as substance, responsibilities and reputation are thrown overboard (lines 1121-40). One can however enjoy the 'Veneris fructus' without the pitfalls of emotional entanglement. In this case the subject is 'sanus' as opposed to 'miser', hence 'amor' is of two

sorts which we may call 'sanus amor' and 'insanus amor' respectively (lines 1073-6). In seeking to defend 'amor' Tibullus cleverly meets criticism such as this, for instance the 'ambitio' which drives men to war in search of fame and fortune is attacked by the elegist in 1.10 in the following terms:

'quis <u>furor</u> est atram accersere Mortem
(line 33)

It is the martial instinct which for Tibullus constitutes 'furor' and so he inverts the criticism that the passive erotic way of life is inspired by irrationality. I suspect that Gallus was initially responsible for this inversion. In <u>Eclogues</u> 10 Gallus complains:

'nunc <u>insanus amor</u> duri me <u>Martis</u> in armis
tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis'
(lines 44-5)

Here Gallus calls the martial instinct 'insanus amor'. I understand this as being Gallus' reply to Apollo's earlier question in line 22 sc. 'Galle, quid insanis? ' where the questioner had assumed that frustrated love was the cause of his 'madness'. The possibility of Gallus' influence upon Tibullus in this respect has not, it appears, been given serious attention. If for the moment we accept the contention of Skutsch (31) who argued that Gallus was the author of the Ciris, and that the song of Silenus in Vergil's Eclogue 6 is in effect a catalogue of his poetic output, then Gallus was well acquainted with Epicurean philosophy for we are told that he intended to dedicate a 'de rerum natura' to Messalla (<u>Ciris</u>. lines 35-41, cf. also 1-18; on 12-18 see below) and Silenus' song has Lucretian overtones.(32) The question of the authorship of the Ciris is not a crucial one for my argument for I am mainly concerned at this point to show that there was an interest in Epicurean thought in the circle of Messalla with whom the writer of this epyllion was well

acquainted. I find that both Tibullus and the author of the Ciris seem to have had an eye on a particular passage in Lucretius, and Tibullus' philosophical turn of mind was probably responsible for leading him to develop the suggestion of Gallus in Eclogues 10 - which I believe may reflect the similar philosophical interests of the founder of amatory elegy - that the pursuit of war can be as irrational as the pursuit of love. Skutsch recognised that there were similarities of idea and expression between passages in Tibullus and Eclogues 10 and referred to the contrast between war and peace in elegy 1.10 which is parallel to that found in lines 42-45 of the Eclogue, the latter two of which (sup.cit.) I have singled out for attention: "Derselbe Gegensatz zwischen dem Schlachtgewühl und dem Frieden auf dem Lande, wo man sich ruhig mit der Geliebten ausleben will, liegt bei Tibull auch (emphasis mine) der zehnten Elegie zu Grunde." (Aus Vergils Frühzeit p.15). Of course Gallus also uses the word 'furor' in its amatory sense (Eclogues 10.38 and 60) but I think that Tibullus may have seized upon the suggestion in the words attributed to Gallus - that this condition was no less a form of 'insania' which might benefit from 'medicina' (line 60) - for his own ends. Of Skutsch's theories concerning the work of Gallus, the most widely accepted one at the present day is that Vergil is drawing upon the elegies of Gallus and that the elegist's speech in the Eclogue is derived from his own work so it is fair to surmise that Tibullus may be responding to the work of Gallus directly. I intend briefly to demonstrate how Tibullus modified the thought of Lucretius - which will I think help towards an appreciation of the possibility that Tibullus was waxing philosophical in elegy 1.10 - before summing up the relevance of this feature of Tibullus' work to this enquiry.

In the opening elegy of Bk. 1 Tibullus clearly had part of Lucretius' treatise on Epicureanism in mind. I refer to the passages for comparison set out overleaf. Similarities which I have detected between the second Lucretian passage and the Ciris will be dealt with after a discussion of the Lucretian echoes in Tibullus.

Lucretian echoes in Tibullus' programme elegy.

Tibullus 1.1

quam iuvat immites ventos audire cubantem
et dominam tenero continuisse sinu
aut, gelidas hibernas aquas cum fuderit Auster,
securum somnos imbre iuvante sequi!
(lines 45-50)

Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro
et teneat culti iugera multa soli,
quem labor adsiduus vicino terreat hoste,
Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent:
(lines 1-4)

hic ego dux miles que bonus: vos signa tubaeque,
ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte viris:
ferte et opes: ego composito securus acervo
despiciam dites despiciamque famem.
(lines 75-8)

Lucretius 3. 59-64

denique avaritiae et honorum caeca cupido
quae miseros homines cogunt transcendere finis
iuris et interdum socios scelerum atque ministros
(noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
(ad summas emergere opes, haec vulnera vitae
non minimam partem mortis formidine aluntur.

Lucretius 2. 1-13

Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis
e terra magnum alterius spectare laborem:
non quia vexari quemquamst iucunda voluptas,
sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.
suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri
per campos instructa tua sine parte pericli.
sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
despicere unde queas alios passimque videre
errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae,
certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
(noctes atque dies niti praestante labore
(ad summas emergere opes rerumque potiri.

In the passages from elegy 1.1 of Tibullus, the poet contemplates the pleasure (quam iuvat) of holding (continuisse) his mistress in his embrace while listening to the gale (ventos) raging outdoors. He is content to let another (alius) seek to enrich himself by enduring the hardship (labor) of managing a large estate or of serving in military campaigns. After personally dissociating himself from the army life, Tibullus hopes that while the soldier will reap financial reward (opes), he will also receive wounds (vulnera) which he did not bargain for, but which will serve as a punishment for his avarice (cupidis). For himself, Tibullus will be content with his modest resources, and will look down upon with disdain (despicians) the extremes of wealth and want alike.

The two Lucretian passages which are linked by the reflection that the pursuit of wealth arises from a lack of understanding, and which both contain the key phrase 'ad summas emergere opes' and the identical preceding lines (3.62 and 2.12) describing the activity, contain numerous similarities of word and image to Tibullus' programme elegy. The philosopher speaks of the pleasure (suave) which we experience when we look out on a sea made turbulent by the wind (ventis) and while we are safe on land observe someone less fortunate than ourselves (alterius) who is in difficulties (laborem). We feel a like pleasure when with no danger to our person

we are the spectators of armies clashing in battle. This phenomenon is attributable to the sense of relief we feel when we realise that we are not suffering the same misfortune. So when a man embraces philosophy, or as Lucretius puts it, in order to complete the analogy, when a man occupies (tenet) a peaceful citadel fortified by wisdom, he is in a position to feel the wise man's pleasure in looking down (despicere) from his tower of wisdom upon the irrational behaviour of mankind who will suffer the hardships incurred by their greedy desire (cupido) to acquire wealth (opes) and power. The consequences of this is that they inflict sores on their own life (vulnera) as well as on the lives of others through their conduct.

My grounds for maintaining that Tibullus is echoing the philosopher in this elegy are strengthened by the following considerations. I find in the Ciris a passage which evokes the latter of the two Lucretian passages quoted above in the context of an address to Messalla:

> 'sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
> edita doctrina sapientum templa serena,
> despicere unde queas alios passimque videre
> errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae.'
>
> (Lucr. 2.7-10)

> 'Quod si mirificum genus o Mes(sala....)
> (mirificum sed enim, modo sit tibi velle libido),
> si me iam summa Sapientia pangeret arce,
> quattuor antiquis heredibus edita consors,
> unde hominum errores longe lateque per orbem
> despicere atque humilis possem contemnere curas;'
>
> (Ciris 12-18)

The similarities are again striking. To 'Sapientia edita' in the Ciris correspond the words 'edita' and 'sapientum' in the Lucretian passage. The author of the Ciris employs the metaphor of the citadel of philosophy (arx) just as Lucretius did (edita templa) and both do so in order to explain the vantage point which wisdom affords

whence we can look down (unde despicere) and contemplate the aimless ways of mankind (errores - Ciris, errare - Lucr.). The quotations from Lucretius, the Ciris and Tibullus all contain a forceful use of the verb 'despicere' to emphasise the superior perspective afforded by a rationale. If, as may be the case, the Ciris is the work of Gallus, then there is a strong possibility that Tibullus is alluding to Gallus' interest in matters Epicurean; he may have been led to the Lucretian passages through his familiarity with the Ciris, and his defence of 'amor' as a way of life may be coloured by an acquaintance with this philosophy, and by seeking to accommodate 'amor' he may to a certain degree be following in the footsteps of Gallus who, as I explained above, seems to have defended 'amor' against the charge that it was a species of 'furor' in Eclogue 10. The Amores of Gallus may also have possessed a philosophical vein which Tibullus found appealing and particularly relevant to his own situation. I would conclude that it appears that Tibullus was not only aware of Lucretian philosophy which he modifies in order to give 'amor' an important place in the scale of human values but he may have known that Gallus' acquaintance with Lucretius and Epicureanism had led him to question the view of 'amor' as a species of 'furor' which, as I have mentioned, is possibly the point of the question and reply in Eclogue 10. Tibullus' defence of 'amor' then, can be seen as coloured by Epicureanism, elements of which may have been evident in the Amores of Gallus; it has been recognised that Eclogue 6 contains echoes of the Ciris, (33) but I do not think it has been observed that there is an affinity between the latter work and Tibullus' programme elegy both of which draw upon a common philosophical source in the context of an address to Messalla. Even if my argument is incapable of being conclusively

proven, we must still admit that the poet of the Ciris was acquainted with Epicureanism and knew that Messalla would be sufficiently well disposed towards it that he would accept the dedication of such a work. The evidence of the Ciris suggests that there was an interest in philosophical matters shared by a least two of the friends of Messalla and the contention that Tibullus is echoing Lucretius is strengthened by the appearance in the Ciris of a passage similar to that found in Tibullus and the former is undoubtedly a reference to Lucretius' philosophical tract.

In view of what I said at the beginning of the chapter to the effect that Tibullus saw little campaigning, it would appear that he (unlike Gallus?) actually practised his philosophy of life. He may have witnessed army life at first hand only to discover that he was unsuited to it and the philosophical element in his verse could be a reflection of a modified view of life. Tibullus extolls a passive existence far different from the sort of life which Messalla led, and with reference to this contrast between the lives of poet and patron I would like to draw a comparison between the circumstances surrounding the verse of Lucretius and Tibullus. Roller (C.P. 65 1970) has argued that Lucretius "saw Memmius as a flagrant example of the corrupt and wanton society in Rome that he was striving to eliminate." (p.248). I consider this to be a rather extreme view but there is a lot to be said for the view that Memmius was not so much a patron of Lucretius than an equal, to whom his work tenders advice as to others 'ad summum succedere honorem certantes.' Though Tibullus, as is apparent from the elegies, shared an intimacy with Messalla such as Lucretius does not seem to have enjoyed with Memmius, it is conceivable that the philosophical tone of the elegies,

like that of the Lucretian tract, is protreptic in its aim; while being an admirer of Messalla, Tibullus we shall see, is less enthusiastic about his military achievements than his success in civilian undertakings and he values him above all as a friend. When he philosophises, the poet can be regarded as tendering his patron polite advice.

Finally, before leaving this area of enquiry, we ought perhaps to assess briefly the Epicurean philosophy within the context of the difficult times covering the years which witnessed the downfall of the republic and the birth of the principate. In an article entitled 'Epicureans in Revolt' (J.R.S. 31 1941 pp.151-7) Momigliano takes as a starting point the conversion to Epicureanism in 46 B.C. of Cassius who rapidly came to the conclusion that Julius Caesar had to be eliminated because of what appeared to be his tyrannical tendencies. The author emphasises that during this crucial period the adherents of the philosophy did not maintain a passive political aloofness. While some Epicureans actively supported Julius in a moderate way, a number opposed him, among whom were L. Manlius Torquatus, Trebianus, L. Papirius Paetus, M. Fadius Gallus, and, as the evidence suggests, L. Saufeius and Statilius. Momigliano concludes the article with the statement that "On the whole, the events of 44 B.C. prove that Cassius was not an exceptional case among the contemporary Epicureans. The majority stood for the Republic against Caesarism." (p.154). Now in the first chapter we saw that Horace seems to have felt an antipathy towards Tibullus and his patron Messalla which can be explained to some extent by political factors, in particular the strong republican sympathies which the latter still professed under the principate. Of Messalla, Momigliano writes: "Horace in later years wrote of him, 'quamquam

Socraticis madet sermonibus', a dubious expression, but the Ciris (whatever its date and author) shows him well acquainted with the Epicurean circle, and his leader was, as he proudly proclaimed, Cassius (Tac.Ann 4.34; Dio 47.24.5; Plut.Brut. 40). I suspect then that he was a definite Epicurean." (p.153). It is, then, I think possible that Messalla's political persuasions were coloured by his philosophical thinking and that his intellectual interest in Epicureanism was not merely of an ethical nature. Momigliano, arguing along the lines of Diels, maintains that in a passage of his treatise on the gods (1.25.22ff.) Philodemus the Epicurean was expressing a political view: "the words reflect the indignation of a man who saw the defenders of the Republic play into the hands of the tyrant." (p.154). Similarly in his treatise on death (35.6.11 ff.) the same philosopher recommends that men should be ready to face death in the event of political persecution (ibid.). Epicureans were capable of reacting decisively to political circumstances, this being a major point advanced by Momigliano who maintains for instance that the same Saufeius mentioned above was not outside politics absorbed in the 'intermundia' but that he mingled philosophical and political thinking in writings which probably account for his being exiled and falling victim to the proscriptions, and that Cicero's friendship with a number of Epicureans was based on the fact that adherents of the philosophy possessed political feelings with which he sympathised (pp.152-53). Both democracy and the non-tyrannical state found approval in the Epicurean theory of the social contract though the adherent of the philosophy was generally advised to remain outside politics (p.156). When we consider Messalla's resignation from the office of 'praefectura urbis' on the grounds that the power with which he was invested was unconstitutional

(incivilis ; see Putnam p.8, C.A.H. 10 p.134) I suspect that republican scruples combined with his adherence to a philosophical mode of thought which preached political aloofness, affected his decision. "His was a detached involvement" comments Putnam (loc.cit. note 26) on Messalla's republican sympathies and resignation from office in 25 B.C., and suggests "political as well as stylistic sympathy between Messalla and Tibullus" (ibid.). The philosophical overtones in Tibullus' work in my opinion reflect this sympathy and remind us that both poet and patron had reservations about contributing wholeheartedly to the advancement of the new regime and its ideals. In the programme elegy it is a detachment from the sort of life which would contribute to the welfare and strength of the state which the poet manifests. His political scepticism is the subject of enquiry in the latter half of this chapter.

Expressions of Disillusion in Tibullus

Having examined the philosophic tenor of Tibullus' verse and suggested the motives for its prominence, I wish to return to the question of his vision of a personal realisation of the Golden Age. He looks back to a primitive carefree age in his search for a future ideal, and this he does mainly to justify what to an outsider would appear to be a socially negligent existence. In the introductory elegy which is programmatic, he is anxious to justify his 'iners vita' (line 5) as opposed to the Roman preoccupation with 'adsiduus labor' (line 3). The description of these two ways of life are contained closely in three lines 3-5 for the sake of contrast. Boucher (Études sur Properce. note 3, pp.23-4) came to the conclusion that 'inertia' in the work of the elegists stands for a lack of interest in affairs of state, reminding us that the

'iners vita' of Tibullus does not preclude physical work on his own estate. For example, line 5 sc. 'me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti' is immediately followed by 'ipse seram' and a list of country activities which will keep his estate in good trim. To support Boucher's view I would cite the case of Sallust whose account of his own career highlights the problem posed by early retirement from the world of public affairs and who similarly anticipated the charges of 'inertia' and 'desidia' which would meet his decision to devote his life to 'otium' whether in country pursuits or in cultivating literary interests. Later under this heading I shall argue that Tibullus' vision of retreat is not a poetical fancy - no more than the belief that he was a soldier at heart 'cashing in ' literary wise by feigning disaffection for the military life - but is explicable in terms of a real prospect of premature retirement, hence the theme of reduced circumstances, not necessarily a stock elegiac attitude, and the same awareness of the sort of criticism which Sallust describes. We should remember that the latter was in his early forties when he abandoned all thoughts of a conventional career and undertook a new type of 'labor' which he knew others, whose lives were ruled by 'ambitio' would brand as 'inertia', that is, the antithesis of a political career:

'atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamquam utili <u>labori</u> meo nomen <u>inertiae</u> imponant certe quibus maxuma industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere' (<u>Jug.</u>2).

'Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium socordia atque <u>desidia</u> bonum <u>otium</u> conterere neque vero agrum colundo aut venando servilibus officiis

intentum aetatem agere, sed a quo incepto studioque ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur, perscribere' (Cat.4).

I think that Tibullus himself is more explicit as to what he means by 'adsiduus labor' and 'iners vita' in lines 57-60 of this elegy:

'non ego laudari curo, mea Delia: tecum
dum modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer.
te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
te teneam moriens deficiente manu.'

Here the contrast is surely between 'laudari' and 'iners vocari'. If we can discover what sort of 'laudes' he is contemplating then we should be in a strong position to interpret what he means by 'inertia'. The clue is to be found in the previous four lines:

'te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,
ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias:
me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae
et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.'
(lines 53-6)

These two passages of four lines each I would assess - as I imagine the author intended us to do so - as a whole. In fact line 53 in the latter passage is syntactically parallel with line 57 in the former with both containing pronoun, infinitive, verb and proper noun respectively:

'te bellare decet terra, Messalla.....'
'non ego laudari curo, mea Delia.....'

In lines 53-6 Tibullus emphasises the difference between Messalla's life as a soldier with his own as the captive of a 'puella'. By using the impersonal 'decet' he intends us to think of the 'decus' to be won in military campaigns and the image of enemy spoils hanging outside the victor's house expands this description of the personal prestige to be won in war. In lines 57-60 he is saying that unlike Messalla he is content to forego the 'laudes' of a successful military

career. Of course Tibullus had to be careful not to offend his patron in deprecating a military career and he handled his objections with tact; Messalla's motives are honourable in so far as they differ from those of others who campaign because they hope to enrich themselves (lines 1-4 and 75-7). However, in 1.10 which is his strongest denunciation of war, we find that Tibullus considers that there is a superior sort of praise to be won:

> 'quam potius <u>laudandus</u> hic est quem prole parata
> occupat in parva pigra senecta casa! '
> (1.10. 39-40)

- namely that of the man who lives to old age in peace surrounded by his children. When Tibullus says 'non ego laudari curo' he is, then, registering his disregard for the rewards of a military way of life and it is this which renders him 'segnis' and 'iners'. His shrinking from a martial life is not seen as a renunciation of a patriotic service but as a personal sacrifice; he can comfortably dispense with renown. I agree with Postgate (<u>Tibullus: Select Elegies</u> p.xix) that "the most natural explanation of 1.1 is that in it the poet says farewell to war and devotes himself to peace." I am not so sceptical as he in doubting whether Tibullus took part in the Gallic campaign shortly after Actium and which culminated in Messalla's Aquitanian triumph. As I argued at the outset of this chapter there is no conclusive evidence that the poet was a soldier in the sense in which Messalla was, rather he may have witnessed the hostilities and given his aid in a non-military capacity. After this experience he may have become disillusioned with war and elegy 1.1 could be a record of his sentiments. Indeed, I do not think 1.7 is primarily a eulogy of Messalla's military success. Lines 1-8 introduce us to the ostensible subject of the elegy namely the celebration of the Aquitanian triumph of his patron, yet viewing the

work as a whole surprisingly little is made of it, the military aspect being virtually ignored. One was led to expect a celebratory poem on the merits of Messalla as a warrior. By contrast the author of the 'Panegyricus Messallae' was at pains to extol Messalla as a masterly exponent of the martial arts. With regard to the opening lines of the Tibullan elegy, Putnam (Tibullus. pp.118-9) has commented how they are strongly reminiscent of Catullus (64) in particular the song of the Fates which discloses the destiny of the warrior Achilles who was to be the cause of the death of many; the song is filled with gloom on what should be an otherwise happy occasion, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and Catullus closes with a picture of the decline from the Golden Age hastened by warring feuds among mankind. The Tibullan echoes of Catullus are unmistakable and surely do not constitute the most auspicious device with which to announce the subject of the elegy. Tibullus is hinting that Messalla is a second Achilles; there is a measure of compliment in this but also an expression of reserve as to the misuse to which martial prowess can be put. At line 23 an extensive digression occurs continuing to line 48 the subject of which is somewhat unexpected, namely the praise of Osiris the teacher of mankind in the techniques of agriculture, viticulture, song and love, all of which are peaceful activities. Tibullus draws a parallel between Messalla and Osiris and by doing so implies that he has greater regard for the deeds which Messalla performed in peace-time. A fuller examination of 1.7 will be found below in the section devoted to the politics of elegy where the nature of Tibullus' praise will be seen to reside outside military considerations, and to honour Messalla on a political basis. Elegy 1.7 then, should not be viewed as an exception to the poet's distrust of military 'ambitio'. In it he avoids idealising

the heroic temper and registers his growing alienation from the soldiering life he had tasted in the campaign, the outcome of which serves as the backcloth to the elegy.

In 1.10.29-32 Tibullus again demonstrates his reluctance to be a soldier as well as a poet lauding martial success:

'sic placeam vobis: alius sit fortis in armis
sternat et adversos Marte favente duces
ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta
miles et in mensa pingere castra mero'

Here I suspect that Tibullus, while renouncing personal involvement with soldiering is also reversing the 'Homeric' picture of the poet who sings of feats of heroism to an audience at a banquet, for here he pictures himself the poet carousing, while the warrior relates his own deeds and experiences.

I propose next to investigate elegy 1.3 which has every appearance of being autobiographical and not simply what objectors might cite as another poem written tongue in cheek by one who exploited his position as a soldier writing verse which is decidedly anti-militaristic. The elegy was written on the eve of Messalla's mission to the East. Like the Gallic campaign this engagement was entered upon after Actium but cannot be dated with certainty. Putnam in his commentary observes a resemblance between lines 1-3 and lines 37-9:

'Ibitis Aegeas sine me, Messalla, per undas
o utinam memores ipse comesque mei!
me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris.'
(1.3. 1-3)

'nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas,
effusum ventis praebuerat que sinum,
nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris
presserat externa navita merce ratem.'
(ibid. 37-40)

The conclusion drawn by Putnam is that "it is likely that these two

couplets are a generic homily against those like Messalla (and his poet, too) who for motives of greed or ambition, destroy the possibility of the Golden Age" (p.80). By 'generic' the author intimates that Tibullus is not 'sincere' in his criticisms. We shall see that 1.3 has every appearance of being an authentic self-revelatory account of the feelings of the poet attendant upon the illness which incapacitated him and thus prevented him from joining Messalla, and hence I feel justified in employing (as nowhere else in my work) a psycho-analytic rather than a philological approach to the circumstances of an elegy. In psychological terms I should call the illness at Corcyra a case of conversion hysteria. I quote from a 'Modern Introduction to Psychology'(34): "A man may feel, for example, that his work is beyond him and long to retire; but he is still far from retirement age, and a premature resignation would straiten his means and would also be a confession of failure. In these circumstances, he may develop a timely illness, which will allow him to retire without discredit, and which will also excuse any loss of efficiency." (p.229). The admission in lines 19-20 -

'o quotiens ingressus iter mihi tristia dixi
offensum in porta signa dedisse pedem!

- of having stumbled while embarking on his journey may have been symptomatic of his condition though he regarded it primarily as an ill omen. He stumbles because he is unconsciously reluctant to undertake this adventurous enterprise at its outset. Indeed, in lines 16-18 he tells us that he deliberately sought excuses to delay his journey:

'quaerebam tardas anxius usque moras;
aut ego sum causatus aves aut omina dira
Saturni sacram me tenuisse diem.'

The reference to straitened means in the quotation from the

psychological handbook is again peculiarly relevant to the picture of Tibullus that we gain from the elegies. The recurrent motif of a longing for the land in the elegies may be not only an expression of the poet's hope that he might avoid the pressures of a career but also longing for retirement from whatever occupation in which he was involved. Tibullus was born around 54 B.C. and died a 'iuvenis' (according to the epigram of Domitius Marsus). In the first chapter[35] I explained that this term could describe one who was between twenty and forty years of age and consequently Tibullus could be described as a 'iuvenis' at the age of thirty five years when he died. For Tibullus to retire at such an early age would be a confession of failure to adapt to the demands of a normal working life and would no doubt straiten his means even if, as Horace said of him, the gods had given him wealth (Epp. 1.4.7). This Horatian statement has been seen by many as being at variance with Tibullus' protestations of limited resources, and hence a reason for denying that the addressee of the Epistle is the elegist Tibullus. Smith (p.32) rebuts such a denial by maintaining that "the definition of wealth however is largelyarelative, not to say a subjective, matter." This is not, to my mind, an entirely satisfactory way of resolving the problem. I do not think it is generally appreciated that the references to reduced circumstances with one exception[36] can be considered as being located in the future. The present tenses in elegy 1.1 are in the subjunctive mood and impart a dream-like quality to the picture of rural life. It is a dream which I would suggest has not yet been realised (cf. 'hoc mihi contingat.' line 49). There is in my opinion no problem in Horace's attributing wealth to Tibullus which may well have been substantial and not simply large in a "relative" sense. In the first chapter I maintained that Horace was

unsympathetic if not antipathetic towards Tibullus. In informing his readers that Tibullus was fairly well to do Horace may have sought to expose what he mistakenly considered to be merely a pose of the elegist facing economic difficulties; I say mistakenly for if, as I have posited, Tibullus was contemplating some sort of premature retirement, then retrenchment would become necessary for wealth such as he had would have to support him for an indeterminable number of years. I suspect that Tibullus' proposed withdrawal into a country existence may have struck his readers as somewhat unconventional in one who was quite young even at his death. In Cicero's De Senectute, for example, the enjoyment of the country life is seen as most suitable for the retired man: 'Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque delectat senectus.' (ibid. 57). Cato, moreover, has just expressed a similar thought in giving the etymology for the word 'senator' which he explains as being derived from 'senex': 'in agris erant tum senatores, id est senes.' (ibid. 56). Ovid also may not simply be reiterating his belief in the 'rusticitas', that is the sexual innocence of country dwellers when in the Remedia Amoris (169-210) he recommends country life as a cure for passion; he may have in mind the attraction of the city for the young and the country for the old whose passions have waned. Tibullus not only envisages 'opting out' prematurely but also enjoying the advantages of youth in surroundings which readers would be likely to equate with retirement, after some sort of service to the state, in someone of his standing.

Elegy 1.3 is, as I have attempted to show, a poem which gives an account of Tibullus' reluctance to further his career as a

member of the 'cohors' of Messalla, and his experience in Corcyra has every appearance of being a manifestation of his aversion for the expedition. The exact nature of Messalla's mission on this occasion is unknown, yet I notice that Tibullus uses the word 'militia' to describe it in line 82:

'illic sit quicumque meos violavit amores
optavit lentas et mihi militias

(1.3. 81-2)

Possibly the thought of witnessing conflicts once more proved too much for the poet's sensitive nature; in lines 57-66 he imagines how after death he will journey to the Elysian fields, but in lines 67-80 there is a chilling picture of Tartarus, a place which is reserved for those who have spoiled the course of his love and involved him in campaigns (see lines 81-2 sup.cit.). The elegy opens with an address to Messalla and his entourage (Messalla....ipse cohorsque) and it is difficult to see how they can be exempt from the number of those whom he would relegate to the less desirable sector of Hades. Though Tibullus seems to have enjoyed a warm friendship with Messalla there are elements of irony such as this to be found in his work.

In the same elegy his description of the decline from the Golden Age, the reign of Saturn, begins with man's desire to travel with the prospect of gain (cf. 'reprens compendia.... externa merce.' lines 39-40). Tibullus' illness was contracted during his journey and he may have regarded it as a punishment for taking part in an enterprise which was in reality alien to his character and he may be throwing part of the blame at the feet of his patron. If I am right then lines 35-6 are not without their sting:

'quam bene Saturno vivebant rege priusquam
tellus in longas est patefacta vias.'

The first step on the road to decline is not the building of the first ship as often in classical literature (this stage comes late in Tibullus' list) but the building of the first road. Now Messalla was renowned in his own day and at least a century afterwards as an excellent director of road construction, having restored a considerable portion of the Via Latina to serviceable condition and Tibullus acknowledges his achievement in 1.7. 57-62:

'nec taceat monumenta viae quem Tuscula tellus
candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare.
namque opibus congesta tuis hic glarea dura
sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex.
te canit agricola, magna cum venerit urbe
serus inoffensum rettuleritque pedem.'

I would like the reader to compare this passage with the following from elegy 1.3 and examine the verbal similarities to which I call attention.

'o quotiens ingressus iter mihi tristia dixi
offensum in porta signa dedisse pedem!'
(lines 19-20)

'at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates
reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari.
quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, prius quam
tellus in longas est patefacta vias!'
(lines 33-6)

As will be readily noticed lines 35-6 of 1.3, around which my discussion is centred, as well as the earlier two couplets, contain strong echoes of that part of elegy 1.7 which deals with Messalla's restoration of the Via Latina.(37) The dating of these two elegies remains a matter of conjecture but I suspect that the events which form the background to 1.3 postdate his patron's military operations in Gaul and his duties in connection with the road repair programme which was financed by proceeds from the former undertaking.(38) 1.3 can thus be seen as a further expression, employing autobiography and irony, of his disillusion with the idea of a life given over to

'ambitio' and military engagements, a state of mind induced by what was maybe his first and final contact with such an existence.

Elegy and Political Recrimination

Introduction

As amatory elegy is an essentially subjective genre in which the poet has an ideal opportunity to forget about the world at large, it would come as no surprise if there were no statements of direct relevance to the new regime in Latin elegy. This however is not the case. The worlds of love and politics often mingle within a given elegy. Horace on the otherhand had always been careful to keep them quite separate and in view of his somewhat cynical attitude to romantic love (39) one is led to conclude that he thought that the world of love was somewhat trivial when compared with the issues of the Augustan state. No doubt Vergil, though not nearly so unsympathetic towards the anguish which the emotion can produce, came nearer to Horace's way of thinking as he matured. The Eclogues clearly show the world of love and politics complementing one another; during their composition, as we saw in the first chapter, Vergil had much in common with the poetic thought which eventually produced Augustan elegy but in the Georgics he assumes a more Epicurean attitude of detachment towards 'amor' which he calls 'ignis' and 'furor'. (40) By the time he came to write the Aeneid he seems to have become more Stoical in his Weltanschauung. Aeneas, like Hercules, is a victim of 'fatum' who undertakes 'labores' in the service of mankind, and when faced with the prospect of a life in Carthage as the husband of Dido whose love Aeneas initially reciprocated, Vergil makes him abandon it in favour of a political mission to establish the Trojans in Italy with the consequence that the queen in despair is driven to suicide. The love affair between

Antony and Cleopatra was a recent event which would almost certainly have been brought to mind by the episode of Dido and Aeneas. Both African queens constituted a threat to the political autonomy of Rome by exciting the passions of men upon whose actions the fate of Rome depended. Indeed, Vergil himself seems to have intended such a comparison by employing similar language to describe Dido and Cleopatra. There are further parallels between the consorts of the queens which encourage such an interpretation.(41) Propertius, as we shall discover, defends his way of life by comparing himself to Antony who led an elegiac life on the grand scale, in order to describe the power of love to which the poet is willing to submit in neglect of other duties. Vergil's hero, however, got his priorities right unlike Antony, Octavian's political opponent, with whom Propertius identifies himself. 'Amor' for Propertius is a priority which overrides political considerations and this can be said of the elegists in general, for while Vergil and Horace diminished the importance of 'amor' and enhanced the value of 'labor', that is a devotion to the interests of the state, the elegists are at one in pressing the claims of 'amor' as opposed to those of 'labor', to the extent that the latter is thought an obstacle to the former. In fact the elegists sometimes voice open hostility on political matters and criticise the emperor himself as the author of trends to which they take exception. This is particularly true of his moral legislation which will however be treated in my final chapter. Political considerations in this section of my work will be mainly confined to statements with regard to military policy at home and abroad which can be seen as an extension of that rejection of the soldier's life which, as we have seen, each of the elegists advocated.

Propertius and the Parthian Question

Propertius' elegies contain a considerable number of allusions to Augustan military policy and the import of his statements amounts to a condemnation of the motives for Roman military intervention abroad, particularly with reference to the Parthian question. I will begin my assessment of Propertius' views on the subject by looking at elegies 3.4 and 3.5. There is a deliberate contrast between Caesar in 3.4 who is described as a 'deus' involved in martial exploits (arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos, line 1), and 'Amor' in 3.5 who is also called a 'deus' (Pacis Amor deus est, pacem veneramur amantes, line 1) whose preoccupation is with peace. 3.4 might easily be taken prima facie as a poem expressing a genuine hope that the Parthian expedition will prosper (cf. 'assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Iovi.' line 6). Certain details however, force us to question such an assumption. First of all it will be important for my argument to realise that a military campaign in the East is associated by Propertius with wealth:

> 'Arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos
> et freta gemmiferi findere classe maris
> magna viri merces: parat ultima terra triumphos'
> (3.4. 1-3)

In the Augustan poets, Arabia and India and even China are associated with a Parthian expedition for it was hoped that these lands might be encompassed in the martial thrust eastwards. This policy of expansion east-ward was largely prompted by the desire to secure the trade routes and amassed riches of the Orient.(42) In elegy 3.13 of Propertius there is again mention of the wealth which is found in Arabia and India; in that elegy the wealth which returns to Rome from the East is seen as instrumental in undermining the moral fabric

of Roman society (43) and I propose that the same thought underlies the two elegies under scrutiny. In the following lines from 3.4:

'ite agite expertae bello date lintea prorae
et solitum armigeri ducite munus equi
omina fausta cano. Crassos clademque piate
ite et Romanae consulite historiae!'
(lines 7-10)

- the poet portrays himself as a general, as it were, delivering a 'contio' before his troops about to go into battle as well as a soothsayer pronouncing omens for a war against Parthia to avenge the death of Crassus. Elegy 3.5 also refers to Crassus in the concluding couplet:

'exitus hic vitae superest mihi: vos quibus arma
grata magis, Crassi signa referte domum'
(lines 47-8)

but the poet, - just as in the concluding couplet of 3.4 viz

'praeda sit haec illis, quorum meruere labores:
me sat erit Sacra plaudere posse Via'
(lines 21-2)

- makes it clear that he will not give up his way of life in order to serve in the campaign. Now 3.5 contains an overt condemnation of war undertaken through the hope of material gain:

'nunc maris in tantum vento iactamur et hostem
quaerimus, atque armis nectimus arma nova
haud ulla portabis opes Acherontis ad undas
nudus in inferna stulte vehere rati'
(lines 11-14)

In the first two couplets of this elegy the poet contrasts a life of peace and love with the pursuit of wealth, and in lines 11-14 wealth is linked with war which he intimates is undertaken for material reasons, warning an imaginary person that we cannot take our gains into the next world. Hence when at the opening of 3.4 (see lines 1-3 quoted above) we are told that the emperor has designs upon 'dites Indos' and the 'gemmiferum mare' both of which promise to

yield 'magna merces', we are justified, I feel, in the view that Propertius is implying that the emperor's reasons for launching the campaign are dictated to a large extent by what we must call greed. Noteworthy in this respect is Propertius' declaration that he has no wish to slake his thirst in prodigal manner by drinking from a 'gemma dives' (3.5.4), a luxury item which the 'gemmiferum mare' (3.4.2), destined to be negotiated in the thrust eastward, would supply in abundance. The alternatives then, as Propertius sees them, are a life of peace owing allegiance to 'Amor', or a life devoted to war and the acquisition of 'praeda'.

I believe that the use of the word 'clades' in both elegies is deliberately calculated to alert us to Propertius' thinking with regard to Roman military policy past and present. As I have already pointed out, in 3.4 he refers to the defeat suffered by Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C. when in line 9 he writes 'Crassos <u>clademque</u> piate' and in 3.5 we find him expressing sorrow when contemplating the destruction of Corinth: 'nec miser aera paro <u>clade</u> Corinthe tua' (line 6). Now the wealth which flowed into Rome following the sack of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. aroused in the Romans a taste for luxury. Propertius could be intimating that the motive for Corinth's destruction was a material one. In 3.4 we are reminded how Rome under the generalship of Crassus (whose name must have been a by-word for wealth) failed to conquer Parthia, and how Rome herself suffered a 'clades', and since,as we have seen,the opening couplet of this elegy hints at a material motive for the emperor's projected campaign,Propertius may be delivering a lecture in morality. In other words I interpret Propertius as intimating that Rome's 'clades' at Carrhae was in fact retribution for the 'clades' inflicted upon

Corinth out of greed. 3.5 can also be taken as a hit at Augustus' taste for wealth and luxury.(44) Suetonius (Aug. 70) informs us that the emperor's contemporaries used the adjective 'Corinthiarius' to describe his love of finery: 'Notatus est et ut pretiosae supellectilis Corinthiorumque praecupidus et aleae indulgens. Nam et proscriptionis tempore ad statuam eius inscriptum est

'Pater Argentarius ego Corintharius''

Making this more plausible is the evidence of elegy 2.16 which is an attack upon the wealth (praeda. line 2) brought home from the provinces by successful officials (praetor. line 1) and which contains the wish that the emperor would live in a more materially modest manner:

'atque utinam Romae, nemo esset dives, et ipse
straminea posset dux habitare casa!'
(2.16. 19-20)

The reference to the straw-thatched hut must be a description of the Hut of Romulus on the Capitol (45) and Propertius is taking the emperor to task for identifying himself with Romulus while being reluctant to live frugally as Romulus was thought to have done. In my final chapter I will discuss at greater length certain passages in Propertius which deal with Romulus and show how the poet in criticising certain trends in morality instituted by the mythical founder of Rome is also calling into question the behaviour of the emperor, his modern counterpart. The concluding couplet of 3.4:

'praeda sit haec illis quorum meruere labores
me sat erit Sacra plaudere posse Via'

sees the prime aim of the Parthian campaign as being the winning of booty - 'praeda' which in line 14 is pictured vividly in Propertius' description of Caesar's triumphal car being weighed down with 'spolia'; it also emphasises the poet's detachment from the enterprise for he

will use the occasion to celebrate a day out with his 'puella'

as he imagines in lines 15-16:

'inque sinu carae nixus spectare puella
incipiam et titulis oppida capta legam'

This erotic element is found in the middle of the description of

Augustus' future triumph and is not in keeping with the 'gravitas'

of the occasion.

In the previous chapter (46) I demonstrated how throughout Propertius' elegies the corresponding motifs of 'spolia' and 'ossa' revealed how closely he identified the pursuit of riches with death and destruction. I briefly mentioned 3.12 but here I am involved with Propertius' attitude to the Parthian question in particular. The opening lines of this elegy are exceptionally strong:

'Postume, plorantem potuisti linquere Gallam,
miles et Augusti fortia signa sequi ?
tantine ulla fuit spoliati gloria Parthi,
ne faceres Galla multa rogante tua ?'
(3.12. 1-4)

Augustus is mentioned by name and the rhetorical questions have a poignancy which Catullus had exploited to express the feelings of Ariadne, and Vergil those of Dido both of whom were abandoned by their lovers. Propertius' novelty consists in presenting the plight of Galla against a background of a contemporary and politically-urgent situation. (47) Postumus is not credited with undertaking military service out of patriotic feeling but for reasons of personal prestige (gloria) and the gain (spolia) to be wrested from a vanquished nation. Postumus may have been a relative of the poet (48) but by attributing such self-interest to him it is difficult to see how the elegy can approximate to anything like a compliment. In fact the subsequent couplet pronouncing as it does a death curse (si fas est, omnes pariter pereatis avari / et quisquis fido praetulit

arma toro!), serves to confirm the belief that the poet's criticism transcends purely generic outcries in view of the fact that the subjects of the poem are almost certainly not fictional characters.

In 2.30b Propertius describes the war against Parthia in terms of a civil conflict:

'non tamen inmerito! Phrygias nunc ire per undas
et petere Hyrcani litora nova maris,
spargere et alterna communis caede Penatis
et ferre ad patrios praemia dira Lares!'
(lines 19-22)

Butler and Barber admit that maybe we are meant to understand civil war but it is Camps (ad.loc.cit.) who offers the satisfactory explanation; the poet imagines that some of the Parthian warriors are in fact Romans or sons of Romans captured at Carrhae. Horace in Odes 3.5. 5-9 expressed horror at the thought of Roman citizens marrying Parthian women and serving in the Parthian army, and it is partially on grounds of consanguinity that Propertius bases his refusal to identify himself with the policy of Augustus on the Parthian question and in so doing he evokes thoughts of civil war once more. It is in elegy 2.7 however in which his dissent is registered most strongly. The protest appears in the context of the poet's relief that the moral legislation of the emperor has been repealed;(49) it seems that he would have been obliged to marry and father children to help in a plan to increase the population, but he is aware of wider implications. Any male issue would be a welcome recruit for the army employed in campaigns such as the Parthian one but Propertius refuses to sire 'canon fodder':

'unde mihi patriis natos praebere triumphis?
nullus de nostro sanguine miles erit.'
(lines 13-14)

The strength of this outburst resides in its rejection of state

policy affecting both the individual and the welfare of the empire at large. The sentiment is totally alien to anything found in Horace who prayed for the success of the Parthian War in Odes 3.3. 42-4:

'....stet Capitolium
fulgens triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare iura Medis.'

- and in the Carmen Saeculare solicited divine favour for the success of the 'lex marita' (lines 17-20) and gave thanks to the gods now that the Parthian question had been settled. In Odes 1.35. 38-40 and 1.2. 21-2 he had also hoped that Rome would expend her pent up agression against the Orient rather than unleash it at home. Likewise Vergil in Georgics 3.30-31 hopes that Augustus will be victorious against the Parthians. It is only the elegist in Maecenas' circle who is critical (or who openly voices his criticism) of this aspect of foreign policy.

The Propertian View of Actium

As for Actium, Propertius is no less harsh in passing judgment on this naval battle which was decisive for Octavian in gaining political and military supremacy in the Roman world, for the Actian victory was in effect the foundation stone upon which the 'princeps' rebuilt and consolidated the new state. The Perusine War, a civil conflict of 41 B.C., must already have left an impression upon the poet as a boy and elegies 1.21 and 22 testify to his feelings of despair caused by that episode; Gallus had escaped death at the hand of Octavian's soldiers (per medios ereptum Caesaris enses. 1.21.7) only to fall victim to brigands. In 1.22, 'discordia' led to the 'funera' and 'sepulcra' at Persusia and a 'propinquus' of the poet, most probably the same Gallus, (50) is described as having

fallen victim to this military struggle. A decade later, Rome was to experience a conflict on a much larger scale namely the Actian War waged by Octavian against Antony and Cleopatra. Propertius' allusions to Actium in Bk. 2 are comparatively contemporary with this battle, the latest dateable historical event in this collection belonging to 26 B.C.(51) For this reason his observations on Actium are more consequential. Whereas Vergil and Horace endeavoured to make the emperor's opposition at Actium appear barbarous and foreign thereby championing the cause of Augustus who represented himself as the defender of Roman civilisation against an Oriental 'hostis',(52) Propertius emphasises the internecine nature of the war when, once more, Roman fought against Roman. The key passage in this respect is 2.15. 41-6:

'qualem si cuncti cuperent decurrere vitam
et pressi multo membra iacere mero,
non ferrum crudele, neque esset bellica navis,
nec nostra Actiacum verteret ossa mare
nec totiens propriis circum oppugnata triumphis
lassa foret crinis solvere Roma suos.'

The emperor celebrated the Actian triumph in 29 B.C. with great pomp and a quinquennial Actian festival was instituted to commemorate the victory. It was strictly illegal for a Roman to hold a triumph marking a victory over other Roman citizens, but Propertius refuses to gloss over the fact that this is exactly what Augustus did, hence he declares that Rome is triumphing over herself (propriis .....triumphis. line 45) and portrays the sea off Actium tossing the remains of Romans (nostra....ossa. line 44). (53)

Propertius has more to say on Actium in elegy 3.11 but his comments make it difficult to interpret the poem as patriotic in tone. Camps (ad.loc.) thinks that the erotic element serves only as a peg upon which to hang a "patriotic theme". If this is the case,

then the erotic element has the unfortunate consequence, as I see it, of identifying the poet with the political opposition at Actium which he ought to be denigrating if,as a patriotic writer,he is supporting the cause of Octavian. The opening lines introduce, by way of a rhetorical question,the theme of the elegy. Propertius is probably reporting the accusation of an imaginary detractor:

'quid mirare meam si versat femina vitam
et trahit addictum sub sua iura virum
criminaque ignavi capitis mihi turpia fingis
quod nequeam fracto rumpere vincla iugo?'
(lines 1-4)

He depicts himself as inextricably in love with a woman and seeks in the following lines to excuse himself by reminding us that mythological heroes had been similarly bound in love. The final illustration of the power of woman over man is,however,taken from the real world of contemporary events, the influence which Cleopatra exerted over Antony (lines 29ff.). Propertius had already compared himself with Antony in elegy 2.16:

'at pudeat certe, pudeat! - nisi forte, quod aiunt,
turpis amor surdis auribus esse solet.
cerne ducem, modo qui fremitu complerit inani
Actia damnatis aequora militibus
hunc infamis amor versis dare terga carinis
iussit et extremo quaerere in orbe fugam'
(lines 35-40)

-apart from the daring with which Propertius draws the parallel between himself and Octavian's opponent at Actium there is the implication in lines 39-40 of 2.16 that 'infamis amor', by leading Antony away from battle in pursuit of Cleopatra was responsible for Augustus' victory.(54) In fact in 3.11 Propertius again diminishes even more strongly the military achievement of Octavian in the words which he attributes to Cleopatra in line 55:

'Non hoc, Roma, fui tanto tibi cive verenda'

where she maintains that with Octavian as her protector, Rome should have had no grounds for fear. Of course it was otherwise and Horace in Odes 1.37 expressed Rome's sigh of relief that the threat which she posed had passed (see below). I think that the elegy is not without its irony. Is it really so surprising that a man can be enslaved to a woman - 'addictum sub sua iura virum' (line 2), when a woman felt sufficiently powerful to contemplate enslaving the senate - 'addictos in sua regna Patres' (line 32) ? I would suggest that the 'iura' which Cleopatra would have dictated in line 46 recall those which the lover submits to in line 2 and again I think Propertius is being deliberately sarcastic when he continues to ask what useful purpose it would have served for Rome to have broken the might of the Tarquins only to submit to the rule of a woman sitting on the Tarpeian Rock pronouncing judgment surrounded by the statues and arms of Marius, reminders of days when Rome coped with more dire threats:

> 'quid nunc Tarquinii fractas iuvat esse secures
> nomine quem simili vita superba notat
> si mulier patienda fuit? cape, Roma, triumphum
> et longum Augusto salva precare diem!'
> (lines 47-50)

This trivialising of the emperor's achievement was, as we saw in the previous chapter, a prominent feature of elegy 4.6. Octavian had hoped to exhibit Cleopatra in his triumph but Propertius thanks the gods that this was not to be. A great triumph it would have been, a woman led as captive along the Via Sacra,a journey which Jugurtha had made when Rome had redoubtable foes (4.6. 65-6). With reference to Propertius' use of the word 'mulier' I believe that Tränkle (55) is correct in regarding this as one of the occasions on which the poet employs it in a contemptuous sense; this would support the view that Propertius does indeed rate lowly the idea of

a woman featuring as a major trophy in a triumph, and is consequently declaring that he is singularly unimpressed by the emperor's success.

In the event Cleopatra took her own life to spare herself the humiliation of being paraded in Rome as a spoil of war. Even if Octavian had suggested to her that she would be subjected to this treatment in the hope that she would commit suicide and do him a service, (for he did not have the authority to order the execution of a woman (56)) the motive of the emperor, dictated as it may have been through a wish to avoid an embarrassing spectacle would hardly have been known to Propertius: "what passed was never known but to their two selves; our accounts are merely rhetorical exercises" (C.A.H. Vol. 10 pp.109-10). I think that the poet was more likely to regard the appearance of an effigy of Cleopatra in the Actian triumph (Dio 51.21; Plut. Ant.86) as an indication that she would have been exhibited if her death had not frustrated what he probably understood to be the emperor's original plan. It is generally accepted that Horace, while scorning her decadent ways and over-weening ambitions in Odes 1.37 (cf.esp. lines 5-16) emphasises that by her death she exhibited an almost manly noble resolution (quae generosius / perire quaerens nec muliebriter /.....expavit ensem .....lines 21-3). This observation on the Ode is made by Nethercut (T.A.P.A. 102 1974 p.421) whose article as a whole supports the view that 3.11 is critical of Augustus with regard to Actium. As to why Propertius makes Cleopatra less dignified than Horace, I find myself in disagreement with the article on this point. Of 3.11 he says "Degraded Cleopatra may appear, but she is hardly contemptible as a foe." Later we read "It may even be more a cause for finding the triumph ridiculous, if so degraded a woman was the chief prize" (p.442). Surely the triumph would be ridiculous because she either

was, or ought to have been, negligible and contemptible as a foe in the poet's opinion and not because of her decadence as Nethercut implies; it is after all the power of women over men which is the subject of the elegy and Propertius is saying that he can hardly be arraigned for being under the sway of a woman's influence when the emperor had to reckon with the power of the female sex. Horace, unlike Propertius, asserts that Cleopatra represented a real threat to the Roman world:'antehac nefas depromere Caecubum / cellis aritis, dum Capitolio / regina dementis ruinas / funus et imperio parabat.' (lines 5-8). In attributing to her a manly resolution Horace is no doubt seeking to magnify the stature of Augustus as the conqueror of a formidable opponent and likewise Vergil in Aeneid 8.675-728 makes Augustus' victory at Actium momentous and his triumph attest to his military capability. Propertius is alone in minimising the extent to which she menaced Rome. To pursue this point further, I wish to draw attention to the reference to the fate of Pompey in Egypt:

'tris ubi Pompeio detraxit harena triumphos!
tollet nullo dies hunc tibi, Roma, notam.
issent Phlegraeo melius tibi funera campo,
vel tua si socero colla daturus eras.'

(lines 35-8)

Propertius feels that Pompey would have been more fortunate had he met an earlier fate than that destined to overtake him after his defeat at Pharsalus in 49 B.C., the allusion being to his illness at Naples in 50 B.C. (see Camps on line 37). In line 35 he refers to the three triumphs which the general celebrated. His career was brought to an end by Augustus' adoptive father in this battle of 49, and on his arrival in Egypt he was assassinated by Ptolemy Dionysius who sought to win the approval of Pompey's victor. Camps translates 'colla daturus' (line 38) as bow the neck, but I propose that there is the strong hint at the fact that Pompey's head was presented to

Caesar (socero) after his execution. Propertius in my opinion is expressing sympathy for the champion of the republican cause, and the 'nota' of line 36 is the shame which Rome should feel at the nature of his demise. Moreover in line 35 Propertius credits Pompey with three triumphs which immediately reminds us of Augustus' triple triumph which centred upon his Actian victory alluded to in line 49, and he also placed Pompey among the military heroes of the republic in line 68 for his conduct of the Mithridatic War. We are reminded of a republican who was as great as Augustus, and if Cleopatra is in the propaganda of the time (see below) to be considered a blemish (nota. line 40) on the royal house of Macedon, then this incident in the career of the leader of the anti-republican faction who was succeeded by the emperor, is likewise a cause for Rome's shame (nota. line 36). To Egypt both Pompey and Cleopatra had taken flight, but whereas the former was a military genius who had proved a dire threat to the first Caesar, the latter, as I argued above, hardly stands comparison as an adversary of the new Caesar. For these various reasons I see Propertius in this elegy as maintaining a critical view of the Actian episode, and not simply attempting to adapt elegy to serious institutional poetry in the service of the emperor, rather the imaginary question about his life in lines 1-4 allows him to express his feelings on wider issues.

Taking store of the strong vein of criticism in Propertius' review of Actium I am drawn to the conclusion that in lines 29-49 which contain uncomplimentary remarks about the opposition of the Alexandrian court under Cleopatra, the poet is presenting us with a specimen of typical anti-Alexandrian propaganda which he seeks to expose by balancing it with his own feelings on the subject which help to redress the balance.

Finally, in the light of Propertius' comments upon Actium in the course of discussing his susceptibility to 'amor' in elegies 2.16 and 3.11, I am tempted to see an underlying reference to Antony's affair with Cleopatra in 2.3. 43-4:

'sive illam Hesperiis, sive illam ostendet Eois,
uret et Eoos, uret et Hesperios.'

In lines 35-6 he tells us of his earlier surprise that Helen could have been the cause of a great conflict between East and West but in lines 43-4 he imagines the effect of the beauty of his 'domina' which would be similarly capable of stirring passion in these quarters. Camps points to the phrasing of Amores 1.15.29 of Ovid which speaks in similar tone of the fame of Gallus abroad, implying that Propertius and Ovid are echoing a Gallan line. Be that as it may, Propertius could also be thinking of the more recent conflict in which Cleopatra played a leading role, and identifying his own affair with that of Augustus' enemies as he does elsewhere. Propertius may be giving a political turn to a Gallan line.

The Political Import of Tibullus 1.7

Political criticism in Propertius is, as we have seen, fairly vociferous. I sense its presence in Tibullus, but it is much more subdued which is consonant with his retiring nature. I think it is fair to conclude that the silence in Tibullus with respect to the Augustan achievement speaks largely for itself. Propertius had less reason for being grateful for the new system than Vergil and Horace who were socially advanced by it. Tibullus had even less reason than Propertius,for in addition to coming from a well to do background (cf. eques R(omanus): Vit.Tib.) he had a patron who was less indebted to the Augustan state. I intend to deal now with the two of Tibullus' elegies which approximate more than any others to verse dealing with

current affairs in Augustan society namely 1.7 and 2.5. I will begin with an analysis of 1.7 which treats the theme of Messalla's triumph over the Aquitanians held in 27 B.C. Nevertheless, only four lines (5-8) actually describe the occasion when Messalla appeared as 'triumphator'. The digression, a feature of epyllia, would appear to be used here by Tibullus in order to underline the peaceful achievements of Messalla. Gaisser (C.P. 66 1971 p.227) points to similarities of language and image to be found in the description of Messalla's triumph and the hymn to Osiris; for instance, to the 'victrices lauros' of Messalla (line 7) corresponds the 'frons redimita corymbis' of Osiris (line 45), (cf. also the 'mollia serta' of Messalla's Genius (line 52)). The'pubes Romana' (line 5) is echoed by the 'pubes barbara' (lines 27-8); with 'te canit' (line 27) Tibullus introduces the hymn to Osiris just as 'te canit' introduces the praise of Messalla's feat of road engineering (line 61) for which the 'agricola' is grateful (line 61) just as it is the 'agricola' who benefits from the bounty of Osiris-Bacchus (lines 39-40). If Tibullus was consciously equating his patron with the Egyptian deity as these correspondences seem to demonstrate, then he is surrounding Messalla with a nimbus of divinity which is even more evident when he describes the Genius of Messalla as consorting with Osiris on his birthday (lines 49-54). If Augustus was to be the second Romulus as the benefactor of Rome, then it seems as though Messalla is to be the new Osiris and in fact in the most recent edition of Tibullus, I imagine that Putnam recognises that the poet is honouring his patron in this sort of way when he calls Messalla the 'Roman Osiris' who conquers and restores (p.119). Vergil and Horace might extol the emperor as a great victor but nowhere does Tibullus refer to his military prowess,being content to bypass his 'res gestae' in favour

of those of Messalla for whom he reserves his divine honours. I find it very interesting that Tibullus should have associated the two events, the triumph and the birthday in this elegy; it has been thought that Messalla celebrated both on the same day.(57) The first Roman general to do this was Pompey in the year 61 B.C. and he was following what was in fact the practice of oriental and Hellenistic kings to make their birthdays public affairs. Weinstock (Divus Julius. pp.206-11) has traced the development of such celebrations and believes that Messalla was following the precedent of Pompey. Augustus was also to be influenced by this new custom which his adoptive father had taken over in 45 B.C.. For his Actian victory, the princeps' birthday was made public in 30 B.C. while the birthday of Antony was pronounced a 'dies vitiosus'. As Weinstock has observed (p.209), when Horace celebrates Maecenas' birthday it is very much a private business (Odes 4.11.17ff.). By way of contrast I would suggest that Tibullus seeks to make the birthday of Messalla a much more public celebration, partly by treating it in the context of the triumph but also by inviting the presence of the chief deity of Egypt. Within the framework of the birthday celebration Tibullus voices the thanks of the citizens of Tusculum and Alba for Messalla's civilian achievement as well as that of the farmer whose journey from the city to the countryside is made easier. By this means Tibullus enhances Messalla's standing on a political level by describing him as celebrating triumph and birthday on the same day as Pompey had done and by increasing the significance of his birthday in keeping with the monarchical traditions of Egypt and the East which Julius Caesar and eventually Augustus also followed. When Tibullus in lines 55-6 says:

'at tibi succrescat proles, quae facta parentis
augeat et circa stet veneranda senem'

he is almost certainly evoking line 26 of Eclogues 4: 'At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis / iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus,....' and Putnam's remarks on the correspondence are significant for my argument: "the phrase is used by Vergil of the epic deeds of a newborn boy's father. The compliment is to Messalla's sons. They further enhance the deeds of their father and are themselves worthy of admiration." (p.125). I would develop the commentator's note by proposing that Tibullus is once more investing Messalla with aspects of divinity; the soteriological significance of this appeal to the 'Messianic' Eclogue would hardly be lost on an erudite audience suggesting as it does that it is with Messalla and his offspring that the Golden-Age will dawn. The later work of Vergil and Horace contains several passages which represent Augustus' mission in terms of a deliverance from troubles such as a divine being might undertake. I think that in this elegy Tibullus may be performing a service for Messalla along similar lines to that which these poets of Maecenas' circle performed for Augustus in praising the benefits of his rule and crediting him with a quasi-divine charisma. Finally, the favourable prominence which is given to Egypt and its chief god in this elegy so soon after Actium is out of tune with the official attitude towards the country and its ways. Augustus banned the rites and worship of Egyptian deities in Rome in 28 and 21 B.C. and to quote the C.A.H. Vol. 10 p.481) one of the main reasons for this move was that "These rites were further discredited as a result of the campaign against Cleopatra in which Augustus had rallied in his support national sentiment and the old feeling against 'the beastly devices of the heathen', dog-headed gods, and the like." (58) Osiris was represented and worshipped on earth as a white ox which was kept at Memphis and so falls into the category of zoomorphic deities

denounced by Vergil. Moreover the 'supplicatio' performed on Augustus' birthday was made to the divinities Mars, Neptune and Apollo to whom he felt himself indebted for his victory at Actium.(59) The god whom Tibullus summons in connection with his patron's birthday was, on the otherhand, on the wrong side at Actium, being an Egyptian deity; Vergil had ranged the Roman gods against those of Egypt and Augustus had neglected them in his 'supplicatio'. Tibullus, if my view is correct, is first of all interested in the peaceful achievements of Messalla and while exalting his patron's political standing he ignores their relevance within the context of Augustus' generalship and statesmanship. The ease with which Tibullus draws the parallel between Messalla and Osiris belies the political importance of the comparison. Augustus was wary of accepting divine honours himself and cannot have viewed with equanimity their attribution to those of lower political standing. In this attempt at institutional poetry Tibullus demonstrates how far removed he is from being a writer willing to outline and allude to the emperor's 'res gestae', a point which becomes even more pressing in elegy 2.5.

I think we can safely conclude that Tibullus did not feel sufficiently concerned about the new regime to introduce themes relating Messalla's 'res gestae' to the 'Pax Augusta' which his patron had,after all,helped to create both by his military and civilian undertakings. Why we might ask does Tibullus not mention the part played by Messalla at Actium fighting for the emperor either in this elegy or any other? Having ably commanded the centre of the fleet at Actium Octavian was so impressed that he declared that he had fought as well for him as he had done against him at Philippi. Not even in elegy 2.5 where the god Apollo is conspicuous is there any direct reference to Actium and the command which Messalinus'

father held; by the time Tibullus wrote these elegies Apollo had been received 'intra pomerium' and was in possession of a splendid temple on the Palatine, a tribute paid to the deity by Augustus who believed that he had been instrumental in securing the victory at Actium. The name of the god would have been virtually synonomous with Actium when Tibullus was writing yet the poet is silent on the subject and so for that matter is the author of the 'Panegyricus'.(60) Messalla had, as I pointed out in my first chapter, strong republican sympathies which led him to oppose Octavian at Philippi and subsequently to espouse the cause of Antony.(61) Though subsequently reconciled with Octavian he was an outspoken admirer of republicanism and his resignation from the post of 'praefectus urbis' may have been dictated by a feeling that his powers were unconstitutional from a republican point of view.(62) He withdrew from public life retaining only his augurship. His resignation is usually dated to the year 26 B.C. and it is reasonable to suppose that it was about this time when Tibullus composed 1.7 commemorating the triumph celebrated in 27 B.C. The silence in the 'corpus Tibullianum' over Messalla's involvement at Actium may be attributed to a waning of his enthusiasm for the new regime. His friends would immediately sense this and be reluctant to remind him of the active part he played in the battle, the success of which permitted Octavian to reorganise society along new lines which Messalla, it seems, later found not entirely to his approval.

Irony and 'Levitas' in Tibullus 2.5

Both elegy 1.7 and 2.5 celebrate attainments on the public level. I have explained how 1.7 fails to acknowledge the political system in the context of which the triumph took place, and wish to

comment similarly upon 2.5 in which irony and humour operate to an extent which ought to awaken our suspicions as to whether Tibullus was waxing sincerely nationalistic in his treatment of themes popular in the official poetry of the day. This elegy was written to honour the appointment of Messalinus the son of the poet's patron to the board of the XVviri sacris faciundis. The elegy opens with a hymn to Apollo the god of prophecy, for it is with the supervision of the Sibyllini Libri that Messalinus has been entrusted. The description of the god could easily be coloured by the impression that Tibullus received of the statue of Apollo by Skopas placed in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine newly erected by the emperor to the deity 'ex voto' for his victory over Sextus Pompeius. The emperor also had reason for thanks to Apollo for his victory at Actium and this would account for the lavish treatment which he afforded the god in installing him in the new temple. Tibullus is, however, interested in Apollo as the god of prophecy and poetry in lines 1-18 and apart from line 5 (ipse triumphali devinctus tempora lauro) and an obscure reference to Apollo's song to Jupiter after the expulsion of Saturn in lines 9-10 (qualem te memorant Saturno rege fugato / victori laudes concinuisse Iovi), there is no other mention of his other aspects. These two allusions to the god's role as a punisher refer in the first instance to his part in the fight of the Olympians against the Titans and the rout of the Gauls at Delphi.(63) The story of Jupiter's victory over Saturn and Apollo's song to the victor is at first sight extraordinary. I find this particularly so in the light of what Tibullus had to say about the two gods in elegy 1.3: 'quam bene Saturno vivebant rege, priusquam tellus in longas est patefacta vias! (lines 35-6), 'nunc Iove sub domino caedes et vulnera semper, / nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae.' (lines 49-50). Tibullus makes

it clear that he would have preferred to live in the Golden Age of Saturn than in the age of Iron in which Jove rules (cf. lines 35-48, and elsewhere 1.10., 2.3.71ff.). Are we to believe that he has experienced a change of heart? Neither Smith nor Putnam have admitted that if Tibullus is speaking favourably of Apollo's behaviour at this point then there is an element of contradiction in what the poet says. Putnam deserves credit for pointing out that there are two sides to this elegy, and cites as one of the manifestations of the poet's ambivalent approach to his subject the case of Apollo: "Tibullus seems to use the same vocabulary in both a dignified and a less lofty manner, as if to warn the reader that such subjects have both a serious and a lighter side (or, with some irony, that such high themes deserve a certain undercutting). The two sides of Apollo, as god of war and poetry, are paralleled in an archetypal Roman myth of Mars without his weapons seducing Ilia." (page 183). I suggest that in speaking of Apollo's being party to the exile of Saturn in lines 9-10 Tibullus is employing this technique of undercutting. Before I pursue the matter further it will have become obvious that I must take exception to Putnam's statement that "a Roman would have felt an explicit analogy between king Saturn, exiled by Jupiter, and Antony defeater by Octavian." (ibid.). The rule of Saturn during the Golden Age, symbolises, as I have indicated, a period of felicity in the imagination of the poet; in the light of this it is most unlikely that Tibullus would have so blatantly paid Antony such a compliment at the expense of Actian Apollo betraying a patent dislike for the new order of Augustus. Even if, as I mooted above, Messalla had gone through a phase of self-examination with regard to his active support for the Augustan state, it would be out of character for Tibullus to reflect the feelings of his patron on contemporary issues

in such a provocative way. The answer to the problem resides in the former of Putnam's observations quoted above in which he holds that the elegist is concerned with the two aspects of Apollo as a warrior and a poet. I believe that Tibullus is praising Apollo on the one hand for his services to poetry but censuring him for his history of military involvement, Actium included. There could also be a sting in the reference to the episode when Apollo was on the side of Jupiter in lines 9-10 and Tibullus claims that Apollo 'victori laudes concinuisse Iovi.' The fact is that at Rome Apollo was now the rival of Jupiter as the most important god in the Roman pantheon.(64) Apollo was eminently qualified to assume the titles Triumphator and Prodigialis which Jupiter had previously monopolised. Looked at from this angle line 5 is not without its irony; the victories which Apollo has won include not only those over the Titans, the Gauls, and the opposition at Actium but also one over Jupiter of the Capitol in ousting him in the popularity league of Olympian gods at Rome.

Tibullus mocks his essay into the realm of national verse on several occasions.(65) The Sybil for example describes Aeneas as the brother of Cupid: 'impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris' (line 39). Putnam's comment here on Aeneas and his brother is apposite: "an elegiac, perhaps slightly ironic touch reminding us that the subsequent prophecy cannot be taken completely in the high tone, say of Jupiter's words at Aen. 1.257-96. Aeneas (we think of Dido or Troy in flames) and his brother both have in common agility" which he follows by noticing an echo of line 36 in line 40; just as the 'puella' enamoured of the shepherd sailed (vecta) across the Tiber so Aeneas 'brother of Love' is ship borne (vehis ratibus). One is reminded of how Ovid was later to disrespectfully exploit the

geneology of Venus and her son Aeneas in the Amores to undercut the Aeneas legend which Vergil had exploited in his national epic.(66) Similarly, just as the 'puella' is described in line 35 as 'placitura magistro', so Ilia, the Vestal virgin who forgot her vows of chastity, is described as 'Marti placitura' in line 51 and as Putnam observes 'furtim' (line 54) shows that the poet is presenting the episode of Ilia's seduction as an elegiac situation and "Reference to a 'sacerdos' who forgets her vows, however momentous the results, comes amusingly in a poem devoted to the initiation of another 'sacerdos' ". (p.189). When Tibullus makes the Sibyl say that she hopes to preserve eternal virginity as a measure of her status as a prophetess of truth ('vera cano: si usque sacras innoxia laurus / vescar, et aeternum sit mihi virginitas.' lines 63-4) there is no doubt a certain humorous irony in her hopes in this respect when she has just prophesied the disgrace of Ilia, and in the concluding couplet of the elegy there is surely a humorous ring to the poet's prayer that Apollo's locks may remain unshorn and Diana may remain a virgin, especially when the vulnerability of 'castitas' has been a feature of the poem. If as is widely agreed lines 71-8 are a prophecy of the portents which occurred in connection with Julius Caesar's assassination (67) then Tibullus is showing himself to be only half hearted in his attempt to treat his subject in a mood of 'gravitas'. I am indebted to Putnam once more for pointing out that the repetition in line 114 of the verb 'praemoneo' also found in line 78,"amusingly links Tibullus, elegiac lover-poet, with the grand portents accompanying Caesar's demise" (p.194) and that 'sacro' used in an elegiac context in line 114 takes up 'sacris' in line 81 used with respect to the holy rites connected with Apollo. Here I would refer the reader to my first chapter (68) where I explained how Tibullus, in claiming that Nemesis

was the inspiration of his verse in lines 111-12, was dispensing with the idea of Apollo as an inspirer of his song which is another touch of disrespectful humour in this elegy in which Apollo is especially prominent.. In line 5 Apollo was portrayed as 'devinctus lauro' but in line 117 the phrase is appropriated to describe Messalinus, and here I take Tibullus to be implying that just as Nemesis and not Apollo was the source of his inspiration Messalinus also will be a substitute for the god when the poet sings of his future triumph. His playful twisting of the term 'vates' into the stock currency of elegiac terminology is typical of the approach of the poet to the theme of 2.5 as a whole; he may be aware of the conventions of vatic inspiration and the themes which it treats, but is unwilling to enter into the spirit of the concept in the same way as Vergil and Horace. Tibullus may have had Propertius' light-hearted treatment of Apollo in mind when in the 'recusatio' 2.1 he denied Apolline inspiration for his elegies and gave this role over to Cynthia (2.1.3-16). Tibullus had an ideal opportunity in this elegy to introduce us to Palatine Apollo the patron god of Augustus and tell in passing of Rome's deliverance at Actium, and the heroism of Messalla in the same battle, all of which would have fallen naturally within the prophecy of the Sibyl. I think it revelatory that Tibullus himself prophesies a triumph for Messalinus (lines 115ff.) when again this would have fitted well into the Sybilline prophecy. Tibullus in this way demonstrates that in his own private life with Nemesis and in his friendship with Messalla's family he wishes to preserve a detachment from officialdom on both the political and the artistic levels. The humour which is evident throughout demythologises the new cult of Apollo and shows that on the artistic level he is responsible to himself - Nemesis is his goddess and Tibullus her

prophet. Propertius had also dispensed with Apollo as inspirer of his elegy and hinted at his disregard for Palatine Apollo in particular.(69) Tibullus then, apparently shares Propertius' scepticism towards the new cult of Apollo; there is a fundamental 'levitas' in this Tibullan elegy which argues against it being a form of homage however indirect to the new order, for the humour, centred as it is largely around the legends of Aeneas and Apollo the hero and god particularly favoured by Augustus, is consequently more damaging to the imperial image than to the family of Messalla.

A Political Echo in Tibullus 1.1

Beyond the treatment of contemporary events in the two elegies I have just dealt with, there is only one other allusion to the political background of the poet's life; in elegy 1.1 there is what has every appearance of being an autobiographical statement concerning the early years of his life when his family, like many others, found a substantial part of its estate appropriated by Octavian and Antony to be distributed as a reward for their veterans:

> 'vos quoque, <u>felicis quondam</u>, nunc pauperis agri
> custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares'
> (lines 19-20)

- the contention that this historical event is in the poet's mind gains validity from a parallel use of diction in <u>Eclogues</u> 1 of Vergil which evoked the harsh realities of the proscriptions:

> 'impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
> barbarus has segetes? en quo discordia cives
> produxit miseros! hic nos consevimus agros.
> insere nunc, Meliboee, piros, pone ordine vites.
> ite meae, <u>quondam felix</u> pecus, ite capellae.
> (lines 70-4)

- where the 'impius miles' (line 70) who has been a cambatant in the civil wars has dispossessed the speaker of his land. The harsh reality of such a situation in which ones home and land could be

indiscriminately handled for sectarian reasons may also, I believe, be referred to in elegy 1.3:

> 'illo non validus subiit iuga tempore taurus,
> non domito frenos ore momordit equus,
> non domus ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris
> qui regeret certis finibus arva, lapis.'
> (lines 41-4)

Here Tibullus is looking back to the Golden Age which was free from the turmoils of contemporary Roman life. The meaning behind the use of the verb 'regere' (line 44) is the measuring out of land (cf. Putnam ad.loc.cit.) and the 'lapis' is thus a boundary stone. Tibullus in my opinion is calling to mind the days of the confiscations just as Propertius did when Horos reminded him how the cruel measuring rod deprived him of his ancestral property (abstulit excultas pertica tristis opes. 4.1.130). This view is further substantiated by Tibullus' use of the words 'fines' and 'arva' in line 44, boundaries and fields which as Putnam remarks (ibid.) were a feature of Eclogues 1 which vividly evoked the misery caused by the settlement of the veterans. It is significant that the Golden Age in which Tibullus set this ideal of a society free from the problems caused by land tenure is imagined as having existed in the past. He is not so optimistic as Vergil who in Eclogues 4 saw the day near at hand when the problems which beset the Roman state would vanish. There is no expression of gratitude for the benefits of the Augustan 'pax'. Possibly Tibullus and Propertius found it hard to forgive the author of the proscriptions whereas the poets from Mantua and Venusia coming from very modest backgrounds, unlike the elegists, had lost little by comparison but gained much in the way of social advancement and material prosperity which was more than adequate recompense.

The Military Metaphor as Political 'Nequitia'

Propertius: 'Amor Armatus'

'at tu finge elegos, fallax opus: haec tua castra! -
scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo
militiam Veneris blandis patiere sub armis
et Veneris pueris utilis hostis eris
nam tibi victrices quascumque labore parasti
eludit palmas una puella tuas.'

(4.1.135-40)

In these three couplets Horos advises Propertius to renounce his plan outlined in lines 1-70 of writing verse on national themes and to continue instead to write amatory elegy. His description of the latter option draws heavily upon words whose primary significance is military; 'castra', 'militia', 'arma', 'hostis' and 'victrices palmae' all possess this meaning, and their usage in a secondary erotic sense has many precedents in the earlier books of elegies. I do not propose to systematically catalogue such instances which are fairly obvious in themselves but to make an attempt to gauge the spirit in which military language is metaphorically applied to amatory experience. One of the reasons which can account for the development of the metaphor can be found in the fact that the elegists were aesthetically opposed to the epic genre which by tradition had as its subject martial exploits often those of a patron whose achievements the poet sought to advertise. By reworking the language of 'castra' which was an epical theme, the elegists emphasised their divergence from a tradition in Roman literature which was being carried on by Vergil and Varius Rufus to laud the most influential of patrons, the emperor himself. In my first chapter I argued that by arrogating the machinery of the 'vates' concept for use in their own verse which was totally removed from the type of verse for which

the concept had been intended, the elegists treated it in a parodistic fashion which accentuated their revolt from true vatic poetry. The use of military diction in the context of verse which is opposed to the military ideal is, in my opinion, another example of a similar process; as a soldiering lover the elegist has no more respect for military ideals than he has for serious vatic poetry as a poet-priest. Again, as my supervisor has pointed out to me, the same sort of technique is employed in elegy 1.14 where after Propertius has told the wealthy Tullus that riches cannot compare with the possession of true love (lines 1-8) he proceeds to describe the love which he prizes in terms of items which make a man rich in the ordinary sense of the word (lines 9-12) and in the concluding couplet expresses disdain for affluence which holds no attraction for him so long as this love is not upset. By adapting the military metaphor to the predominant, and for themselves the serious amatory aspect of their work, the elegists devalue heroic standards which their work as a whole subjects to criticism. The closest modern counterpart to this process in real life would be the casual wearing of items of military clothing or uniform by those who are of a pacifist persuasion or preserve a scepticism towards institutions. The application of figurative military language in verses fundamentally opposed to military ideals is the poetic equivalent of this attitude and in the case of Tibullus may reflect a change of heart towards the campaigns with which he had been associated. In the next chapter it will be seen that the elegists were to indulge in another form of terminological transference in describing free-love relationships in terms applicable to marriage and this could not have failed to provoke the vexation of the emperor who was seeking to improve morality in general and enforce marriage. The elegiac reaction in such circumstances was to defend

what from an official point of view would be accounted an immoral way of life unbound by the civil obligations of marriage, by adapting the terminology of marital status to describe a non-marital relationship. Propertius indulges in this transference in 2.6 in which Cynthia is called 'uxor' (line 42) and in 2.7,while expressing relief that he has avoided the necessity of marrying,he concludes with a profession of loyalty to her which possesses monogamous overtones.(70) It is also in this elegy that he employs the military metaphor. Here, when Propertius demonstrates his attitude of non-co-operation with the demands of this Augustan legislation which endeavoured to raise the birth rate to provide sufficient citizens to maintain the military strength of Rome, it is the 'castra puellae' (line 15) to which his loyalty is given after he has dismissed the 'arma' (line 5) and the 'triumphi' (line 13) of the Augustan state. Propertius has made a political decision in choosing the 'castra puellae' as opposed to the 'arma' of Augustus. We ought therefore to seriously consider whether the use of the metaphor might possess a political as well as a literary significance. Already in the Monobiblos the military metaphor had been employed in a politically revealing way for in reply to Tullus in elegy 1.6 he had written:

'non ego sum laudi, non natus idoneus armis
hanc me militiam fata subire volunt'
(lines 29-30)

The 'militia' of the elegist is the endurance of the hardships of love referred to in line 23 - 'labores' such as those to which Horos alludes in 4.1.139 (sup.cit.). The 'arma' which Propertius finds unacceptable in 1.6.29 are those which are the concern of Tullus in line 22:

'semper et armatae cura fuit patriae'.

Even at this early stage Propertius differentiates between the

military camp of those who have the welfare of Rome at heart, and the camp of love whose ideals are divorced from such considerations. As Baker has stated (Latomus 27 1968) this is the underlying meaning of 'extrema nequitia' in line 26 which involves the rejection of 'arma' which "represent the military service of Rome, but much more besides. They represent all the military, political and social aspirations expected in young men of Rome at the time. Propertius and the other writers of love elegy abandoned these in order to establish their pursuit of love as a way of life in itself." (art.cit.,p.325). It is 'nequitia' which I see as a major factor in the use by the elegists of the imagery of the 'castra amoris'.

Baker has omitted from his article any discussion of the motif of the triumph which is an important part of the military metaphor which is the subject of his article. Galinsky remedies this deficiency in an article to which I will refer in due course; since the triumph is the culmination of a successful military mission, charged with religious and political moment, the reconditioning of this institution as an amatory motif must bear examination.

We must see the use of military language in elegy against the background of Augustus' reorganisation of society, in particular of the equestrian class to which the elegists belonged. One outward manifestation of the emperor's new plan for the modification of the 'ordo equester', aimed at tailoring it to the needs of the empire, was his restoration of the 'transvectio' which had fallen into neglect. Formerly held every four years it was now revived on an annual basis. By renewing this parade he sought to emphasise the original military aspect of the order, and military training became part of the demands placed upon it. This emphasis upon military discipline was also

directed to the young of the class in the form of the staging of the 'Lusus Troiae' and the institution of the 'Juventus'. Military service (militia equestris) became a prerequisite for those 'equites' who wished to embark upon the 'cursus honorum' for their order.(71) Therefore by using military metaphors to describe a life-style which is opposed to any martial pursuits, the elegists as members of the very order in which the emperor was attempting to encourage an interest in the army as a career in itself or a means of promotion elsewhere, are, I maintain,responding to the new importance which Augustus was placing upon military ideals. Indeed, elegy 2.7 of Propertius, in which as I indicated above the poet announces his allegiance to the 'castra puellae', is most probably a literary expression of the same sort of hostility which drove the 'equites' as a body to demonstrate against the legislation which forms the background of the poem.(72) Having been prepared by Propertius in the sixth elegy of the Monobiblos to equate amatory 'militia' with a rejection of the sort of 'militia' which advances Roman influence abroad (vetera oblitis iura refer sociis. line 20) and maintains the strength on which it is dependent (armatae cura patriae. line 22), a disassociation expressed vividly in the declining of an invitation from one who is preoccupied with sustaining this dominion (pars eris imperii. line 34) we are, I would suggest, prepared to recall this aspect of dissent whenever the imagery is utilised. Apart from the phrase 'sumere et arma' in 1.3.16, a textual crux (73) which describes a lover's tactics in terms of a soldier's actions, this elegy contains the earliest instances of overt military language in either its primary or transferred sense. Its prominence in 1.6, where it is employed in both senses and in which Propertius disclaims the way of life which it describes in its original sense, is

sufficient to remind us of his attitude whenever the military metaphor recurs. In short I would suggest that the imagery of the 'castra amoris' acts as a type of leitmotif in Propertius' elegies, registering the incompatibility between the elegist's way of life and that of the career orientated servant of Rome.

In elegies 1.6 and 2.7 the metaphor occurs in the context of a political statement of the poet. In elegy 3.5 where he declares that he is content with 'dura proelia' waged with his 'domina', its appearance in line 2 is also politically meaningful. This derives from an internal denunciation of war, in particular that which resulted in the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. as well as the contemporary Parthian war towards which he betrays a spirit of non-involvement in the final couplet and also through the anti-heroism of the sentiment which reduces Marius and Jugurtha to similar misfortunes in Hades. The contemporary aspect of the elegy is not confined to the closing lines, for the poem as a whole is linked to the preceding composition which has as its setting the political atmosphere of the day generated by Rome's desire to avenge the disaster which befell Crassus at the hands of the Parthians. Earlier in this chapter I related 3.4 to Propertius' wider views on the Parthian question and brought evidence to show that the Parthian campaigns were included in his criticism of wars undertaken from a material motive, and how Rome's 'clades' in 3.4.9 was retribution for that which she inflicted on Corinth described in 3.5.6. That 3.4 is to be paired with 3.5 is also suggested by the fact that the opening couplet in which the military metaphor occurs, directly evokes the opening couplet of the earlier elegy in which Caesar, like Amor in 3.5, is a 'deus'. As a 'deus', Caesar is involved with 'arma' which he hopes to utilise for his designs upon the wealth of the Orient afforded by the 'dites Indi'

and the 'gemmiferum mare' (lines 1-2). In 3.5 Amor is also a 'deus' but he, like Propertius, is devoted to 'pax' (lines 1-2). Moreover, the poets 'proelia dura' (line 2) are waged with his mistress and he tells us that he is not motivated through a desire to gain wealth (lines 3ff., cf. also gemmiferum, 3.4.2. gemma, 3.5.4). In 3.4.15ff. Propertius portrays his detachment from a future Roman triumph over Parthia, and effectively summarises this feeling in the concluding couplet. In the same position in 3.5, Propertius states that those who prefer a life devoted to 'arma' may retrieve the standards of Crassus but he makes his own position quite clear, for he does not wish to be personally involved. This use of 'proelia' in its amatory sense in 3.5, finds an earlier parallel in the 'recusatio' 2.1 where, after dismissing the 'bella' and 'res' of Augustus as themes for his verse (lines 25-34) or an account of the vicissitudes of the Trojan lineage to which the emperor belongs (line 42) Propertius asserts that just as a person's occupation provides the subject matter for conversation (lines 43-4) his own amatory exploits provide him with thematic material for his compositions:

'nos contra angusto versantes proelia lecto' (line 45)

These amatory 'proelia' are surely contrasted with the 'arma' in their true sense (line 18) and with the 'bella' and 'res' referred to above and also with the 'vulnera' of the preceding pentameter which the soldier is said to recount, and so Propertius emphasises his lack of sympathy for the military spirit and its achievements by describing his amatory experience in terms of a martial conflict. In this elegy as well as 3.5 Propertius has in mind the military adventures of Augustus.

Elegy 2.14 like 3.5 employs the metaphor in the context

of Augustus' Parthian enterprise. Success with his 'puella' counts for more with Propertius than a Roman conquest of Parthia:

> 'haec mihi devictis potior victoria Parthis
> haec spolia, haec reges, haec mihi currus erunt.'
> (2.14. 23-4)

It is the amatory equivalent of a general's victory and its tangible reminders among which are reckoned booty, captive kings and a triumphal car. Propertius will offer his own takings (exuviae. line 28) to Venus, not to Jupiter Capitolinus as would a triumphant general. The description of this dedication in lines 25-8 constitutes a continuation of the metaphor applied to the career of a military triumph.

I think we can reasonably say that Propertius was obsessed with Parthia in particular when he wished to draw the distinction between the elegist devoted to peace and love and the soldier whose life represented the antithesis of these elegiac pursuits. A further example which also embraces the metaphor is afforded by elegy 2.27 where we are told that military adventurers are kept in a state of anxiety as to their eventual fate whereas the lover knows exactly how and when he will die:

> 'seu pedibus Parthos sequimur seu classe Brittanos,
> et maris et terrae caeca periola viae:
> solus amans novit, quando periturus et a qua
> morte, neque hic Boreae flabra neque arma timet.'
> (lines 5-6 and 11-2)

I have attempted to show how Propertius draws the wider issues of his day within the scope of the metaphor. The tension between the worlds of 'amor' and 'arma' was strongly felt by him; one has only to read elegies 3.12 and 4.3 to realise this point and these poems are typically set within a political situation which lured the male protagonists to take part in the Parthian wars to

fulfil ambitions which are not entirely honourable and which cause misery for their female counterparts. (74) A good example of the metaphor seasoned with Propertian irony can be found in elegy 3.13 in the light of his condemnation of avarice as the driving force behind the Parthian campaign in 3.12, for in lines 9-10 he exercises the military metaphor to explain how the wealth of the Orient, portrayed in the preceding four lines, is making an assault upon virtue:

'haec etiam clausas expugnant arma pudicas,
quaeque gerunt fastus, Icarioti, tuos'

This I imagine to be a defensive tactic on Propertius' part, for he is surely intimating that his own life-style does not represent a threat to morality but rather the influx of precious goods to Rome. (cf. Nethercut in C.P. 65 1970, p.99). In elegy 3.12 he suggested that the motive for partaking in the campaign was a material one as it commonly is elsewhere in the elegies and his use of the metaphor in the passage above reminds us of the 'arma' which obtain the wealth and in turn are transmuted into metaphorical 'arma' which lead the attack on morality. Politically speaking, Propertius is emphasising a belief that the process is a self-defeating one in that military policy results in the necessity for moral reform.(75) The subtle use of the metaphor on this occasion scores a point against conventional modes of thought, for Propertius is proposing that it is not the elegiac modus vivendi which is morally corrosive but the military life.

Propertius: 'Amor Triumphator'

Baker (art.sup.cit.) has treated the military metaphor from a wide angle describing how Propertius uses it to distinguish between the duties of a military career and his own 'vita iners'.

I have sought to demonstrate how the poet uses it to convey his disregard for the Augustan army which was currently being established on a professional basis, a programme which required the co-operation of the equestrian class, and how this criticism of militarism embraces an important aspect of foreign policy namely the Parthian question with which he linked the ambitions of the military mentality. I will now briefly discuss how Propertius brought the theme of the triumph within the workings of the military metaphor before dealing with Tibullus and Ovid and giving an assessment of the complexion of the imagery taking into account its appearance in the work of Horace.

It is essential that we do not allow our familiarity with what became a topos in Ovid blunt our sensibility as to the originality of the triumph motif in elegy. In the words of Galinsky (W.S.N.F. 3 1969) it "was not a literary convention rooted in Hellenistic precedent, but the elegists' individual reaction to a Roman institution" (p.75) which he reminds us was "one of the most venerable highly coveted, and awe-inspiring..... the highest honour a Roman would ever attain" (p.76). The greatest highlight of Augustus' career had been the momentous triple triumph of 29 B.C. but thereafter triumphal celebrations became increasingly rare as he took steps to ensure that the prestige of such an event should accrue to himself or his immediate circle and as a manifestation of this new policy Galinsky cites Augustus' practice of awarding 'ornamenta triumphalia' rather than triumphs proper, the celebration of which now became the preserve of the heir apparent. In my treatment of the Jupiter Feretrius aition in the previous chapter we saw how Augustus apparently sought to monopolise military renown in refusing Crassus' claim to the 'spolia opima'. His postponement of the

triumph of Carrinas to the year following his own triple triumph is symptomatic of a similar desire not to have his thunder stolen. It became treason for a legate to levy troops or conduct a war 'iniussu principis', and when soldiers were victorious they hailed the emperor 'imperator' for all campaigns took place under his auspices. These developments along with greater emphasis upon the religious significance of the occasion which included a new procedure which brought the 'triumphator' into closer contact with the divinity Jupiter Optimus Maximus to whom the celebrant donated his crown of laurel, attest to the high value which Augustus placed upon the ritual and his dream of triumphal pomp as recorded by Suetonius is a revelation in this respect.(76) Propertius was fully aware of the value of the triumph as a symbol of military and political success but he very often prevents our assessing his statements concerning the triumphs of Augustus as being written in a congratulatory spirit; in 2.1.25ff. he refuses to write about 'civilia busta' - the civil wars fought at Mutina, Philippi, Naulochus and Perusia, the less glamorous side of Augustus' 'res gestae' - as well as the Actian triumph, and elegy 2.7 presents the poet as unwilling to contribute to the success of 'Parthi triumphi' (line 13) just as he is reluctant in 2.10. 7-16 to have the progress of a Parthian campaign and its triumphal outcome feature in his verse at present. In 2.15.45 Rome's civil wars are described as a series of triumphs celebrated over herself and this immediately follows the poet's condemnation of Actium which is seen as an example of such an internecine conflict implied in his use of the words 'nostra ossa' (line 44). Elegy 3.4 connects a Parthian triumph (line 3) with the pursuit of wealth and the exercise of military power; his involvement with the undertaking will be confined to witnessing its celebration in the company of his

'puella', a detachment which is elaborated upon in 3.5 which resumes the theme of the incompatibility between the worlds of 'amor' and 'arma' as I explained earlier. In my appraisal of 3.11 I put forward the view that Propertius depreciated the magnitude of Augustus' Actian triumph (line 49) by minimising the scale of the threat represented by Cleopatra, and reserved him sympathy for Pompey who had known triumphs against Rome's enemies but had fallen victim to Augustus' adoptive father. (77) In 4.3 Arethusa prays for a Roman triumph over Parthia (lines 67-8) but her motive in doing so is dictated by her wish to have Lycotas return safely home and not out of any sense of national pride and indeed her husband's spirit of military adventure is a source of misery. In 4.6 Propertius thanks the gods that Rome was spared the sight of Cleopatra in the Actian triumph, a poor spoil by comparison with Jugurtha; Propertius did not intend this elegy to be a paean to Augustus upon the successful issue of the Actian War but rather a humorous parody of panegyric.(78) This survey of the triumph theme in its proper sense is based chiefly upon points which I have already raised in the course of this chapter. Towards Augustan triumphs past and future Propertius remained a 'positive' sceptic, for this institution was the symbolic expression of values which played no part in his own philosophy of life. His reaction to the institution provoked a political response of dissent. In applying the image of the triumph to portray both the power which 'amor' exerts over him and the success of his career as an elegiac poet, I believe that he is further emphasising the distance which he feels between the values of his own world and those which operate in the world of the institution proper. It is thus an extension of the military metaphor and owes its origin to a similar desire to draw a contrast between diverging ways of life. That the arrogation of

military terminology in descriptions of erotic situations is inspired by anti-militaristic sentiment, becomes evident through the consistency with which the process involves criticism of militarism while the life devoted to 'amor' and 'pax' is praised. The Augustan triumph falls within the scope of Propertius' criticism and surely the adaptation of the image of the triumph falls into the same category and constitutes a travesty of the institution and its importance as a political advertisement.

The most graphic example of the adaptation of triumphal imagery occurs in elegy 3.1:

> 'quo me Fama levat terra sublimis, et a me
> nata coronatis Musa triumphat equis,
> et mecum in curru parvi vectantur Amores,
> scriptorumque meas turba secuta rotas'
> (lines 9.12)

These lines are, as Galinsky notes, an expression of the self-confidence felt by Propertius in having secured a victory for the elegiac genre though I differ with him and others who feel that this success has been secured at the expense of 'imitatores' in the same field of literature (see below). More important for my line of enquiry is his description of the motif as a "usurpation of an epic and 'official' custom for himself" and his observation that the 'Amores (line 11) fit into the pattern of a real triumph for "the male children of a triumphant general would ride with him on his chariot." (art.cit.p.88), a good instance, I would add, being the appearance of Marcellus (son of Octavia) and Tiberius (son of Livia) in the chariot of the emperor in his triumph of 29 B.C.[79] Now in lines 7-8 Propertius expresses approval for the writer who absolves himself from martial themes and adheres to the principles represented by the 'ars tenuis' which are opposed to the genre of epic which

would accommodate such subjects:

'a valeat, Phoebum quicumque moratur in armis!
exactus tenui pumice versus eat'

In lines 15-16 he is more precise as to the sort of martial theme treated by those who follow the annalistic tradition in epic:

'multi, Roma, tuas laudes annalibus addent,
qui finem imperii Bactra futura canent'

As Camps remarks Bactra stands as a "typical objective in a war against the Parthian empire." (ad.3.1.16). Elsewhere Propertius reveals that he does not share the enthusiasm of supporters of the regime who looked forward to a Roman triumph over Parthia, and I suggest that he is cleverly manipulating the motif in describing his own poetry as deserving higher acclaim than that of those writers who, unlike himself, would give enthusiastic coverage in a heroic poem to Roman interference in Parthia. The only thing which the 'scriptorum turba' (line 12) and Propertius have in common is the fact that they are writers. Camps puts forward the same view as Galinsky in holding that the 'turba' are 'imitatores' so that when he comments on the couplet which follows viz.

'quid frustra missis in me certatis habenis?
non datur ad Musas currere lata via'
(lines 13-14)

- concerning the content of the pentameter he remarks "it seems that the rivals are baffled because there is no room to pass" (ad.loc.cit.). The reason as I see it for their difficulty in overtaking lies in their practising poetic ideals which are unsuited to the narrow way pursued by poets like Propertius who subscribe to the Callimachean ideal. Propertius is deriving his imagery from the Preface to the Aitia (lines 25-6) in which Apollo advises Callimachus to take the narrow way rather than the worn broad highway. The 'scriptores' in this

elegy have, I propose, been following the broad highway (lata via. line 14) hence the futility of their attempts (frustra line 13) to adjust to the conditions of what Propertius sees as the right road to the Muses and poetic victory. They have been practising the wrong sort of poetry to secure renown; they are not jumping on the elegiac bandwaggon but competing on their own terms and lose. 'Scriptores', a somewhat prosaic word, occurs only in this elegy and significantly in the previous elegy, a detail apparently overlooked by commentators and critics. In 2.34 Propertius tells us that although he has enjoyed no triumph in the real sense (line 56) he still rules 'mixtas inter puellas' (line 57), and he enjoys 'Fama' (line 94) through his verse. This elegy as a whole contrasts elegiac and minor amatory poetry (Vergil's Eclogues) with epic, a field in which other 'scriptores' (line 65) operate. Propertius is anxious to support the claims of minor poetry against those of epic which was traditionally pre-eminent (80) and 3.1 can be seen as the triumph of the elegist over this major genre, in which 'Fama (line 9) bears him aloft. In lines 15-16 of 3.1 immediately after questioning the 'scriptores', he refers to the epic tradition of Rome which would treat the martial conquest of Parthia and he is thinking of this genre when in line 7 he frowns on those who introduce 'arma' into their poetry and flourishes before them the doctrine of the 'ars tenuis' in line 8. This evokes the 'arma' of epic mentioned in line 63 of 2.34. In these ways 3.1 expands upon ideas found in 2.34 and the same tension between elegy and epic is evident. The reference in 3.1. 7-8 to the inadvisability of involving Apollo with such themes was to be developed in 3.3. 1-24 where the god warns Propertius against adopting them, and there it is specifically a 'turba' (line 24) which has set out on a sea of epic poetry with whom

Apollo compares Propertius' less adventurous love poetry.(81) Indeed, I think that Propertius may intend us to equate the 'invida turba' of line 21 in 3.1 with the 'scriptorum turba' mentioned earlier in line 12 of the same elegy. The former hearks back to the Callimachean Envy (See Camps' note ad.loc.cit.). Just as the Callimachean ancestor of this 'turba' symbolised a poetic thought opposed to Callimachus' aesthetic views,so the Propertian descendant represents a poetic outlook opposed to his own. Rothstein (ad.3.1.12) supports his view that the 'turba' are inferior exponents of verse similar to that of Propertius, (elegiac counterparts to the 'servum pecus' of imitators which Horace rebuked in Epistles 1.19.19) by arguing back from Horos' advice in 4.1.135-6 that Propertius should abandon his heroic design in favour of continuing with elegy so that others may learn poetic composition by his own example:

'scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo.'
(line 136)

Here again,however,there is no reason why we should not regard the 'turba' in 4.1 as a class of poet who may have been practising poetry alien to Horos' (and Propertius') conception of the ideal sort of verse.(82) I imagine that Horos fears that Propertius is about to violate his artistic principles and follow the ways of the 'cetera turba' when he should be showing them the correct approach to writing verse. We should not forget the passages in Callimachus where the imagery used to symbolise the grand style to which he is opposed is that of well frequented roads or teeming, noisy, or muddy waters.(83) Even if we cannot conclusively identify the 'turba' in question, we can still say of this elegy as a whole that it portrays a symbolic triumph of the elegiac genre over the kind of verse which treated of triumphs proper,and it can hardly be coincidental that there are

allusions in the elegy to the work of Vergil and Horace for whom the triumphs of Augustus elicited a congratulatory response.(84) Propertius emphasises that he is not the one to concentrate on military campaigns in his work, in particular that destined against Parthia. He is unconcerned with the "Kriegsruhm des Vaterlandes" (Rothstein, ad.3.1.1) but in presenting this disinclination in terms which subvert the ideals of martial enterprise by reworking details of the august institution which enshrined them, Propertius does something more than dismiss the category of verse to which he feels they belong. The literary rejection is thus coloured by his antipathy for militarism and once more Parthia is the subject of the expression of feelings. To this underlying criticism of military ambition he has added a graphic parody of the institution which had become virtually an imperial prerogative and this renders his censure quite forceful. Propertius,after all,could not at this moment have been certain that the solution to the Parthian problem would have been settled other than by armed intervention under the auspices of the emperor.

In the previous chapter I proposed that elegy 4.8 undercut heroic values by drawing upon the military metaphor. Cynthia's triumphant chariot ride down the Appian Way (lines 17-18) is the counterpart to the Actian triumph and she matches the ferocity of the winners of the 'spolia opima' (lines 63-6) while her devastating effect on the household (lines 53-6) is calculated to remind us of the capture of Rome by Tatius. This is yet another way in which Propertius intimates that he does not take seriously his essay into the realm of national verse nor uphold the values which the various institutions embody. The reason for the unusual prominence in this

elegy of the imagery of the 'castra amoris' and an instance of a triumph motif applied to Cynthia's journey to Lanuvium which was an erotic escapade (causa fuit Iuno, sed mage causa Venus. line 16) can be attributed to the same desire to depreciate the dubious heroism of the 'patriotic' poems. There remain two more examples of the triumph motif in Propertius for consideration. I have already referred to Propertius' choice in 2.7 to follow the 'castra puellae' and his expression of non co-operation with the moral legislation which also provoked his hostility to 'patrii triumphi'. In the elegy which follows,(85) Propertius employs the triumph motif in its amatory sense; in 2.8. 9-10 he compares his former successes in love which has now deserted him to the reversals of fortune suffered by those who once held power in a way reminiscent of Catullus 51, but whereas Catullus had concluded that 'otium' upon which 'amor' thrives, was 'molestum' and had the effect of allowing ones substances to deteriorate,(86) Propertius defends the influence which the emotion possesses over him. His 'puella' has been attracted by another and in desperation he meditates her murder drawing the parallel between Achilles' unremitting thirst for vengeance after Patroclus had been slain by Hector - all on account of his being deprived of Briseis. The elegy concludes with the poet claiming that it is not so surprising that he should be enthralled by 'amor' to such an extent:

'inferior multo cum sim vel matre vel armis
mirum, si de me iure triumphat Amor?'

Shackleton Bailey (Propertiana. p.76) has put forward the view that 'iure' (line 40)is not necessarily pleonastic (i.e. with 'mirum'. cf. Camps ad 2.8.40) but may refer to the concept of the 'iustus triumphus' and Galinsky accepts this latter interpretation citing Horace in particular as one who applied it to Augustus: 'ille, seu

Parthos Latio imminentes / egerit iusto domitos triumpho.....'
(Odes 1.12. 53-4). His conclusion on the appearance of the motif in this elegy is that "It is characteristic of Propertius that when he wants to summarise the theme of the elegy he uses a graphic Roman metaphor, which is relevant to his time and society, rather than mythological exempla" (p.83). It is this contemporary aspect of the imagery which I think is important. The 'iustus triumphus' is the highest form of a triumph fulfilling numerous technical qualifications and Propertius awards this high distinction to 'Amor' in precise terms which immediately reminds us that he is consciously adapting the terminology of an institution.

A further clue as to the spirit in which the triumph motif is utilised may be found in the Monobiblos. The sixteenth elegy, containing a paraklausithyron delivered in this case by the door which narrates the typical song of an 'exclusus amator', opens with the door's complaint that the behaviour of the 'domina' of the household is a bad reflection upon the former grandeur which it had witnessed (lines 1-12). The first four lines tell us that it had enjoyed the honour of receiving triumphal processions:

'Quae fueram magnis olim patefacta triumphis,
ianua Tarpeiae nota pudicitiae;
cuius inaurati celebrarunt limina currus,
captorum lacrimis umida supplicibus'

With reference to the significance of the door and the triumph Galinsky comments that "To suit his purpose, Propertius completely disregards the details of the actual triumphal procession which always came to an end on the Capitol and never proceeded to the house of the triumphator. But since the triumph was the most enobling event in the life of a Roman, Propertius has the 'ianua' partake in triumphal glory so as to set the decline of its fortunes into the

strongest possible relief" (pp.80-1). These observations are not in my opinion conclusive. First of all, certain tangible reminders of a triumph might end up at the home of the 'triumphator'. Butler and Barber (p.177) note that a representation of the triumphal chariot may have been located in the vestibulum of the victorious general citing Juvenal Satires 7.125-6 as evidence: 'alti / quadriiuges in vestibulis'. Moreover,in elegy 1.1 Tibullus speaks of 'hostiles exuviae' adorning the entrance to Messalla's house (see Putnam p.58) but even so,Propertius seems to be implying the arrival of the procession at the door, and this prompts Galinsky to suggest that the poet is disregarding the traditional itinerary of the procession. Why does Propertius permit such apparent obscurity regarding the sort of building which,while being a dwelling,was also a calling point for momentous triumphal processions? Butler and Barber supply a relevant detail of information in admitting one interpretation of the adjective 'Tarpeia' (line 2) which allows us to place the house on the 'mons Tarpeius' forming part of the Capitol. In discussing the geography of the Capitol in the introduction to 4.4 the commentators have cause to refer to Tarpeia, the 'mons Tarpeius', and Jupiter Capitolinus but do not associate these names in 1.16. However, in 4.4 29-30 Propertius makes Jupiter the neighbour of Tarpeia: 'et sua Tarpeia residens ita flevit ab arce / vulnera vicino non patienda Iovi'. and we know that when Tarquin raised the temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, the tomb of Tarpeia was demolished to accommodate the new building, but her former presence in the vicinity of the god's abode was recorded in the term 'mons Tarpeius' as a synonymn for the 'mons Capitolinus' (see Butler and Barber p.343). This permits Enk to construe 'Tarpeia pudicitia' as 'pudicitia Capitolina', a reference to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus which also housed the goddesses Juno and Minerva,

the former of whom had special regard for the dignity and chasteness of marriage while the virginity of the latter was proverbial. Enk's main evidence that 'Tarpeia' is used loosely in this way is taken from Juvenal Satires 6.47: 'Tarpeium limen adora / pronum et auratam Iunoni caede iuvencam / si tibi contigerit capitis matrona pudici'. In proposing that 'Tarpeia' would suggest Jupiter rather than Juno (citing Juvenal 13.78: Tarpeiaque fulmina. p.46) Shackleton Bailey overlooks the possibility that Propertius is using deliberate ambiguity. I favour Enk's elucidation of line 2 but would qualify it by emphasising that the temple in question also witnessed the culmination of a triumph.(87) In this way, the ideas of 'pudicitia' and a 'triumphus' introduced in the first four lines, are coherent. The same ambiguity embraces the 'ianua' which can be understood as the temple door. Paley's objection that this word is used of domestic buildings, whereas 'porta' is that applied to religious ones, can be met by Propertius' use of the former to describe the door of the temple of the Bona Dea in 4.9.62: 'nec tulit iratam ianua clausa sitim'. However, I am not arguing that the building in question is a temple rather than a private residence but that Propertius' imagination is working on two levels. The 'ianua' on the Capitol protected the entrance which received those who sought to honour the deities who were guardians of morality as well as the deity upon whom a triumph was focused. With this in mind Propertius thinks of a 'ianua' attached to a secular building possibly on the 'sacer clivus' leading up to the Capitol, whose mistress is neglecting those virtues of which the more august occupants of the temple are guardians. Such a domestic building may once have been the residence of a high ranking Roman of consular or proconsular rank whose own residence would both have witnessed any of his triumphs, and have been close to

their destination.(88) Even at this early stage we discover Propertius throwing into opposition the private world of amatory experience and the public world of the Roman triumph. The lament of the 'exclusus amator' no doubt typifies Propertius' feelings rather than the speech of the door which expresses reactionary sentiments over the elegiac lifestyle with which it is now besieged. Finally, I believe that Propertius indulges in ironical ambiguity in a way which discredits the 'ianua' and confirms our suspicion that he does not sympathise with this personification but with the 'amator'. I refer to the alternative meaning behind the term 'Tarpeia pudicitia'. The door, while voicing shock at the immoral behaviour which it now witnesses, refers to such 'pudicitia' in connection with the moral and civic virtues associated with the cults located in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol - the destination of the triumphs with which it was formerly acquainted. Of course, isolated from the context of the triumph,'Tarpeia pudicitia' is no virtue at all,but an evocation of the treason of Tarpeia who according to the version of the story which Propertius follows in elegy 4.4, was a Vestal Virgin who broke her vows of chastity. By this means Propertius lends a hollow ring to the door's expression of prudery. The boast of former splendour and virtue contains an ironical contradiction; the door's self description implies both civic and personal virtues with which it has been familiar but both categories are opened to suspicion for a 'Tarpeian' door would allow an enemy an entrance and easy triumph over the city and involve a violation of good morality whether on the part of the door (which is personified) or the occupant of the building to whom it may be said to belong. We should perhaps remember Propertius' attack on hypocrisy in 2.6. 35-6 when he asks what use serves to erect temples to 'Pudicitia' when Roman matrons are a

moral law unto themselves. The juxtaposition of the social and political world of the triumph and the private world of the elegist produces a subtle questioning of the merits of the way of life reflected by the former, which is the essential motive behind the triumph motif in its more developed form.

Before leaving Propertius, I wish to put the 'femineus triumphus' of Cornelia (4.11.71) within the context of this enquiry. In treating of Cornelia in the foregoing chapter, her attitude to life and death was observed to be materialistic and vainglorious. In applying the motif to Cornelia's career, Propertius does not give it the amatory significance which he attaches to it elsewhere. Here is no mention of surrender to the overwhelming power of 'amor' but to her performance as a 'matrona' for which she claims 'laudes' and 'fama' as part of the reward for her 'facta' (lines 70-1). She seeks acknowledgement such as would be accorded to success on a social and political level. Camps proposes that 'libera fama' (line 72) refers to the reputation afforded through children and I would support this view by suggesting that Propertius may have had Tibullus' elegy 1.7 on Messalla's triumph in mind where the hope is expressed that the offspring of the 'triumphator' will add to the fame already won by their father, through their own achievements.(89) There is what may be a conscious echo of Tibullus in the Propertian elegy:

'at tibi succrescat proles, quae <u>facta</u> parentis
<u>augeat</u> et circa stet veneranda senem'
(Tib. 1.7. 55-6)

'.....mihi cumba volenti
solvitur <u>augurig</u> tot mea facta meis'
(Prop.4.11. 69-70)

The borrowing of the image of the triumph to illustrate her achievement is consonant with the value which she places upon the military

tours de force of her ancestors the Scipios and Aemilius Paullus and shows that she ranks herself on a similar scale of importance, and that her private life is in harmony with the ideals of her class and family which has continued to aspire to public distinction.(90) This is a reversal of the practice in the elegies whereby the transformation of military and triumphal imagery into a figurative language serves to portray amatory experience and the art which records it while manifesting an aversion for martial enterprise. My appraisal of Book 4 put forward the view that Propertius' sympathy resided with Cynthia and her fervid spontaneity rather than the frigid reserve of the calculating Cornelia; the triumphal career and military tactics in their metaphorical sense as applied to Cynthia reveal that this transferred use of military terminology was being exploited vigorously in the last book in a poem succeeding one in which Cynthia is treated with affection. Augustan values are questioned in these later elegies and the concluding elegy which epitomises many Augustan ideals is no exception. By permitting Cornelia to award herself triumphal status Propertius endorses his scepticism towards her outlook on life, for even at this late stage he was still criticising military ambition which could only be satisfied by the triumph, the pinnacle of its success.

Tibullus

While such imagery is not so common in Tibullus' work, the programme elegy 1.1 contains an example in lines 75-8:

> 'hic ego dux milesque bonus: vos, signa tubaeque
> ite procul, cupidis vulnera ferte viris,
> ferte et opes: ego composito securus acervo
> despiciam dites despiciamque famem.'

These lines describe his alienation from the soldiering life and

balance the four lines which open the elegy where he describes the pursuit of wealth by those who follow such a life. The only strife which he intends to encounter is that in which lovers indulge, depicted in lines 73-4: 'nunc levis est tractanda Venus, dum frangere postes / non pudet et rixas inseruisse iuvat.' The elegy, as I maintained when observing the social aspect of Tibullus' elegies in the former division of this chapter is most likely to be an expression of disillusion with the campaigns which he had witnessed. In this case the military metaphor can be seen as underlining his ultimate aversion for the army. Again, in elegy 1.10, his strongest vociferation against militarism, he makes use of the metaphor:

> 'sed Veneris tunc bella calent, scissosque capillos
> femina perfractas conqueriturque fores.'
> (lines 53-4)

-and in line 55 the winner of the lovers' fight is called 'victor'.

Yet even taking into account these two passages, one wonders why such exploitation of the metaphor is comparatively rare compared with Propertius' work. I suppose this could be largely attributable to the actual experience of both poets. Tibullus had savoured the life which Propertius could only speculate about and his abandoning of the military life was a sufficiently forceful way of manifesting his preference. Propertius, on the other hand, needed to voice his disapproval in an abstract fashion. Lacking first hand experience he could turn to a parodistic and satirical inversion of military terminology. Indeed the examples from Tibullus 1.1 and 1.10 may have been influenced by Propertius' exploitation of the terminology in the Monobiblos and his second book, if in the latter case we agree that individual elegies may have been published separately at a 'recitatio' or otherwise.

Galinsky's appraisal of the triumph theme in Tibullus neglects an occurrence of its metaphorical usage in 1.1; the relevant passage comprises lines 53-6:

'te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,
ut domus hostiles praeferat exuvias:
me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae,
et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.'

The first of these couplets is an obvious enough reference to the booty which would adorn the fore-court of a victorious general's house while the second intimates that the poet has become the plunder of 'amor'; as Putnam remarks on 'praeferat' "the house sports the booty in front of itself, as if it were leading the triumphal procession. (Delia's house, as the next couplet shows, presents only Tibullus on the threshold, spoils of another sort.)" (p.58). This variation on the triumph theme, coupled with the military metaphors in the elegy, are all the more effective for their appearing in the context of Tibullus' announcement that he has discovered a ratio vitae more in keeping with his character, and such language reinforces the rejection of the alternative occupation of which it is primarily descriptive. On the relatively few occasions when it appears, it is, to a certain degree, more poignant than the instances in Propertius' elegies for the reason that Tibullus had an ideal opportunity to further himself with a military career which his patron was in a position to promote, but opted out of such involvement as his poetry - which I believe to be largely autobiographical - adequately testifies.

Tibullus successfully ignored the 'arma' of Augustus while he extolled the military triumph of Messalla in a later elegy, bestowing on him praises possessing an effulgence worthy of a head of state; even so, there is a neglect of 'arma' in 1.7 explicable by

the poet's dislike of militarism. It is the socio-political status of Messalla which Tibullus set out to enhance, as my earlier examination of this elegy concluded. There being no pressure to write verse in praise of 'arma' there was no need to resort to a 'recusatio'. In the company of the poets of the circle of Maecenas, Propertius felt such a compulsion, and elegy 2.1 gives us an idea of the type of verse which may have been expected of him - a heroic poem featuring the 'bella' and 'res' of Augustus in which his patron would be a major character (lines 25-6 and 35-6). In the case of Propertius, pressure was the mother of invention, and the evolution of the topoi deriving from the clash of the two incompatible worlds which feature in the work of the writer of heroic poetry and of the amatory elegist seems to have been accelerated by insistence that former world should accommodate or yield to the values of the latter.

Horace

The Odes of Horace span the period during which amatory elegy was taken up by Ovid, and the 'castra amoris' is an idea found in the lyric poetry of Horace whom I suspect of responding to the current trend in elegiac verse. This is rendered more likely by the fact that Greek lyric verse which Horace was adapting to Italian measures had no tradition of exploiting the idea.(91) Such imagery in elegy goes hand in hand with statements of aversion to militarism which often refer to specific areas of martial intervention recent and contemporary and which consequently assume a political tone, as well as of a determination to avoid compromise by treating martial themes in verse. Horace, on the other hand, did not omit to give encomiastic coverage to the military success of the imperial family, especially in the fourth book which opens with an appeal to

Venus to spare him her 'bella' and 'signa militiae' (4.1.2 and 16). Age is no doubt one reason for his request (lines 3-7) another being his wish to discharge the undertaking which, Suetonius informs us, was suggested by the emperor himself, to celebrate the military victories of Drusus and Tiberius over the Rhaeti and Vindelici in 15 B.C. (Aug. 21). It is hard to resist Page's assessment of this work: "... the book is only published to afford a plausible pretext for the publication of Odes 4, 5, 14 and 15: The other Odes, which are of a purely lyric character, serve to mask the distinctly political purpose of these four, which bear throughout the stamp of the official utterance of a Poet-Laureate." (p.395). Though the same could not be said of the first three books, Horace undoubtedly had the welfare of the state and the success of Roman arms at heart in these earlier collections, and thus his design in introducing the military motif in his amatory verse is hardly calculated to detract from his serious work but rather to afford scope for his wit and humour. This is the case with Odes 3.26 which draws upon the motif and which commentators have interpreted as humourous or satiric.(92) Whereas Horace is inclined to take his political verse seriously and makes light of amatory themes, in elegy the reverse tends to be the case. Ovid admittedly writes tongue in cheek exploiting the humour of amorous situations which finds more varied expression in the Ars Amatoria but his criticisms are most often of a social and political nature and mainly attacking the hypocrisy inherent in officially approved standards of morality. (93)

Finally I regard it as a sign of Horace's reluctance to undercut military ideals with too wide a use of the metaphor of the 'militia amantis', with which he may well be twitting the elegists on those rare occasions where we find it, that he avoids using the

triumph motif as an additional feature of the concept. In doing so may he not have been unwilling to treat the institution flippantly even to score a point against the elegists?

Ovid

The nation of the 'militia amantis' is strongly evident throughout the Amores of Ovid for whom the paradox of contention arising out of peaceful pursuits provides an excellent excuse to give rein to his wit. The resulting 'facetiae' are,however,often scored at the expense of the establishment. The poet amplifies the allegory of the 'castra amoris' and at the same time imports into his own work the elements of detraction directed towards the influence of 'arma' in society which is, as we have seen, a marked feature of Propertius' elegies. A good example of this technique is found in Amores 1.2 of which about two thirds (lines 19-52) are given over to the triumph of 'Amor'. The noun 'triumphus' appears four times (lines 25, 28, 34, 49) and the corresponding verb once (line 39) as though we were being reminded that Ovid is manipulating the circumstances of a real-life triumph from which he borrows vivid details such as triumphal garland and chariot, captives and floral tributes. He is aware of the serious religious significance which attaches to the institution proper when he speaks of a 'sacer triumphus' (line 49) but the new context in which he modifies this public celebration negates any vestige of respectful awe which it enjoyed. It is at least mock-religious and is as lacking in reverence as his claim to be a 'purus sacerdos' in an elegy succeeding one the impurity of which renders it unsuitable for translation in the Loeb edition. The virtues which Ovid personifies under the names 'Mens Bona' and 'Pudor' (line 31) possessed a temple and shrine respectively at Rome, the latter being

almost certainly an allusion to 'Pudicitia' (94) and it is against these opposing honourable qualities that 'Amor' has secured a victory. From an official viewpoint this figurative assault on virtue must have appeared as a true reflection on the sort of life which amatory elegy projects and for the curtailing of which, in actuality, legislation was introduced. In portraying the subversion of virtues and their replacement by 'Error' and 'Furor' (line 35) at a time when moral rearmament had become governmental policy, and doing so by means of a parody of an official ceremony, Ovid manifests the political 'nequitia' which I am attempting to circumscribe. The final couplet is overtly political in tone:

> 'adspice cognati felicia Caesaris arma -
> qua vicit, victos protegit ille manu.'
> (lines 51-2)

Ovid requests 'Amor to follow the example of the leading representative of the 'gens Iulia', to whom he is related by common descent from Venus, by being lenient to his captive. This is an allusion to the clemency which Augustus, following the lead of his adoptive father Julius who had made use of the political catchword 'parce civibus' during the civil wars, came to pride himself upon, advertising his humanity on a series of coins bearing the legend 'ob cives servatos'(95) a boast which appears on the Monumentum Ancyranum: 'victorque omnibus v(eniam petentib)us civibus peperci.' (Res Gestae 3). Vergil was probably attributing this quality to Augustus when in Anchises' speech the future mission of Rome is said to involve conquest of the haughty but leniency towards the conquered (parcere subiectis. Aen. 6.853). When Horace in the Carmen Saeculare prays that the emperor may be 'bellante prior, iacentem / lenis in hostem ! ' (lines 51-2) he is expressing the same thought, and when Ovid submissively begs to be allowed to receive the 'iura' of his conqueror and be granted 'venia'

and 'pax' (lines 20-1) he is taking up this idea. That Ovid does not expect to be treated so, may, I feel, be the implicit idea in his petition, for as Syme points out Augustus' claim to the commodity of 'clementia' was somewhat impudent and contradicted even by historians favourable to the 'princeps'. The executions of Scribonius Curio and Canidius among others should make us wary as to the sincereity of what are predominantly partisan statements in accounts of the emperor's career.(96) The aftermath of Perusia which led to executions and the sacrifice to the shades of Divus Iulius of three hundred Roman knights and senators is another sidelight on the actualities of Octavian's 'res gestae' which he did not care to put on record.(97) The direct reference to the emperor in lines 51-2 (sup.cit.) is possibly an indication that the metaphorical aspect of the composition is relying upon a political situation. It appears to have been suggested by a couplet in elegy 2.16 of Propertius:

'Caesaris haec virtus et gloria Caesaris haec est:
illa, qua vicit, condidit arma manu.'
(lines 41-2)

Propertius has just drawn a parallel between the dominating effect exerted by 'amor' on his own life and its influence on Antony the rival of the emperor. Now we know that the paramour of Cleopatra had considered himself the incarnation of Dionysus when he was still on good terms with his wife Octavia and that, in the words of Syme, "when Antonius met Cleopatra at Tarsus, it was Aphrodite meeting Dionysus for the blessing of Asia." (pp.273-4). He even went so far as to wear buskins, ivy wreath and to hold in his hand a thyrsus, all of which were emblems of the god .(98) In lines 47-8 I propose that Ovid may have the later affair of Octavian's opponent in mind when he likens the overwhelming potency of 'amor' to the triumphal progress of Dionysus from the East:

'talis erat domita Bacchus Gangetide terra;
tu gravis alitibus, tigribus ille fuit'

(lines 47-8)

The emperor is related to Amor (line 51) but is also a 'cognatus' of Dionysus in the sense that he was the brother-in-law of Antony who regarded himself the living embodiment of the divinity. Below, we shall see that the first two elegies of the Amores contain several allusions to the Georgics and I shall explain how I believe elegy 1.2 recalls the proem to Bk. 3 of this work dealing with Vergil's poetic triumph and the triumphs of Augustus. At this stage I wish to draw attention to Vergil's mention of the emperor's triumphs, in particular his conquest of the land of the Ganges described in 3.26-7 referring to his conflict with the alliance of eastern nations, under the leadership of Antony, who were opposed to him at Actium. It is possible that Ovid too employs this river name in line 47 to represent the domain of Antony, the latter-day Bacchus, and that he intends us to remember this Vergilian passage. At this level of thought Ovid seems to suggest that even though 'Amor' as Antony-Dionysus may have suffered a set-back exercising true 'arma' against his relative, his later use of them in the metaphorical sense results in triumphs which are more overwhelming (cf. magna..... nimiumque potentia regna. 1.1.13). Ovid seems to have taken his cue in this elegy from Propertius' description of his poetic triumph in elegy 3.1 examined above, and he may also be presenting what are concrete illustrations elsewhere in Propertius' work, in more abstract terms; hence the ardent entanglement between Antony and Cleopatra and its consequences which interested Propertius in 2.16. 37-40 and 3.11. 29-58 may be the underlying thought in the Ovidian elegy. Ovid asks 'Amor' to spare him such infatuation by exercising Augustan 'clementia', but he is no doubt aware that his chance of exemption

is rare indeed just as though he were begging for political 'clementia', a rather vain expectation considering the limits within which it was granted, and a concession which, ironically, was denied him when he suffered exile.

Wilkinson (99) asserts that this elegy is typical of the shift in mood to be found in the Amores compared with the work of his precursors in the genre and that this entails our being entertained rather than being moved. One is bound to agree, but we must ask ourselves whether the amusement is being afforded at anyones expense. In this elegy it is an official institution which is the centre of diversion and the head of state is necessarily and, as the final couplet demonstrates, deliberately involved. The following chapter will clarify how this Ovidian approach to elegy is centred above all around questions of morality, a key issue of Augustus' reign at which Ovid pokes fun. The elegy under scrutiny irreverently exploits the genealogy of the emperor descended from Venus through Aeneas' half brother of 'Amor'. Vergil enhanced Augustus' political status by correlating his destiny with that of Venus' son, and his divine inheritance serves to legitimise his rule.(100) The 'arma' exercised by Aeneas were later taken up by Augustus to fight the enemies of Rome which he sought to establish anew. Ovid commences the Amores with a rejection of 'arma' on the orders of a representative of the 'gens Aeneadum' and in this way emphasises the divergency between the aims of Vergilian epic and Ovidian elegy, both of which begin with the word 'arma' but are otherwise dissimilar. Ovid's apostrophe to 'Amor' in the context of his figurative triumph is a further instance of the differing programme of the two poets; in his first elegy Ovid addresses the elegiac Muse -

'cingere litorea flaventia tempora myrto
Musa, per undenos emodulanda pedes ! '

(lines 29-30)

Galinsky (pp. 91-2) observes that this is an echo of Georgics 1.28:

'accipiat cingens materna tempora myrto'

Vergil invokes various deities and Octavian, referring to his divine lineage stemming from Venus in a passage (lines 24-42) which contemplates his future apotheosis. This is one of several examples[101] where the poet honours the head of state; the Proem to the third book clearly shows the strength of his commitment to extol the success of a great benefactor which was largely achieved through the composition of the Aeneid. Ovid's intentions in the Amores are entirely removed from such considerations. That he was unsympathetic to a didactic poem which impressed upon its audience the benefits of the Augustan reformation and affirmed that they had reached even the grass roots of Italy is evident in the Ars Amatoria which is a parody of the genre and which advocates moral laxity in the face of an officially controlled drive towards a cleaning up of sexual behaviour. It is in this spirit which Ovid all but quotes the Georgics in the couplet referred to above. In the subsequent elegy Ovid speaks to 'Amor' again in tones deriving from this line of the Georgics:

'necte comam myrto, maternas iunge columbas.'

(1.2.23)

Ovid frivolously misapplies the terms of Vergil's homage to the emperor in addressing them to a deity whose activities were subversive in the sphere of morality; Augustus was intolerant of loose behaviour in his immediate family [102] and would hardly be amused by the picture of a relative on the divine level creating havoc with his plan for moral improvement. One of the reasons adduced by Ovid for his banishment is his writing of the Ars Amatoria,[103] the didactic

nature of which is foreshadowed in the Amores (eg. 1.8) and which developes a tradition deriving from Tibullus (1.4) and Propertius (4.5). The tone of both works is similar in many ways, above all in their attempt to shock society out of its staidness; comparing them,Wilkinson senses that the "outrageous 'nequitia', the blasphemy against conventional sanctities, that we found in the 'Amores' is still the salt of the Ars Amatoria" (Ovid Recalled. p.121). The elegy under discussion is replete with this Ovidian disrespect which includes flippant allusion to Vergil's didactic work which the author and his patron read to the emperor, and which had most likely received official encouragement. (104) Another example is found in lines 13-16:

'verbera plura ferunt, quam quos iuvat usus aratri,
detractant pressi dum iuga prima boves
asper equus duris contuditur ora lupatis
frena minus setit, quisquis ad arma facit'

The 'servitium' imposed by 'Amor' (line 18) is likened to the process of 'breaking in' of work animals described in Georgics 3.16 ff. (cf. servitium. line 168). (105) Ovid was later to evoke the Georgics in the 'Ars Amatoria' making light of the triumph as a spectacle affording an opportunity for embarking upon a love affair which is further evidence that Ovid's exploitation of the institution and the amatory motif associated with it is aimed at official quarters; Galinsky (p.101) points out that the description of the temple of Venus as 'facto de marmore templo' (Ars Amatoria 1.81) corresponds to the 'templum de marmore' which Vergil contemplates erecting to honour Octavian as a deity in Georgics 3.10ff. Vergil's temple will have a rural setting by the waters of the Mincius (lines 14-15) whereas the temple to which Ovid refers (that of Venus Genetrix) has an urban setting (line 82). When Ovid adds to his list the triumph as a

resort for amatory adventure he makes the knowledgeable lover draw a picture of the Euphrates in terms which recall Vergil's description of the Mincius.(106) While agreeing with Galinsky that here we are witnessing cases of "mocking imitation" he does not emphasise that a major theme of the proem to Bk. 3 of the Georgics is the triumphs of Octavian and the portrayal of the poet's literary progress,the success of which is represented as a triumph of sorts; the poet as 'victor' (lines 9 and 17) bears 'palmae' (line 12) such as a victorious general would carry in a triumph and this conscious parallel between real and literary victory leads McKay, for instance, to remark that Vergil thought his work a "partner to the marble architectural monuments of Octavian and Agrippa and the contemporary 'triumphatores'." (Vergil's Italy. p.121). Galinsky relates this section of the Georgics to the Ars Amatoria but by now it will be seen that Ovid probably had the Proem in mind when he staged the triumph of 'Amor' in Amores 1.2. The triumphs of the emperor and his followers as well as the allegorical triumph of Vergil are amusingly shown to be less momentous than that of Ovid's conqueror. Vergil refers to Octavian's triumph over the land of the Ganges in line 27 by which he means the defeat of eastern alliance led by Antony at Actium, and as I proposed above,Ovid may have compared the conquest of 'Amor' to the subjugation of the land of the Ganges by Bacchus in 1.2. 47-8 with Vergil in mind. In this case there is the suggestion that the achievement of 'Amor' is as great,if not more so,than that of his living relative. Ovid's distaste for 'rusticitas' - boorishness and prudery,is almost certainly one of the reasons for his mocking allusions to the Georgics which extolled the simple peasant life. As this same work of Vergil contains statements which are politically enthusiastic for the emperor's cause, it may be that Ovid is being scurrilous at the

expense of this element to be found in it.

Again in Amores 2.12 in which Ovid celebrates his conquest over Corinna as the triumphal outcome of his 'militia amoris' there is what might easily be a further reference to the Georgics overlooked by Galinsky in lines 25-6:

'Vidi ego pro nivea pugnantes coniuge tauros;
spectatrix animos ipsa iuvenca dabat.'

One is reminded of the fighting among the bulls who seek as a mate the 'formosa iuvenca' in Georgics 3.219-28 in an extensive passage (lines 209-83) which deals with the effects of 'amor' upon animals and humans alike. In this elegy Ovid maintains that the amatory triumph is a greater distinction than its military counterpart on the grounds that it involves no loss of life:

'haec est praecipuo victoria digna triumpho,
in qua, quaecumque est, sanguine praeda caret.'
(lines 5-6)

A triumph proper involved the slaughter of Rome's enemies, it being laid down that a certain number be killed as a condition of its being awarded, and so Ovid's idea of the triumph involves a reversal of the heroic criteria whereby it was governed. I note that the hexameter of this couplet contains verbal similarities with a line in Propertius 4.11 in which Cornelia speaks of a woman's triumph:

'haec est feminei merces extrema triumphi
laudat ubi emeritum libera fama rogum'
(lines 71-2)

The pentameter in each case qualifies the novel concept of triumph introduced in the hexameter, both of which begin with a demonstrative 'haec est' end with the word 'triumphus' and contain an adjective of high degree. Cornelia sees her matronal achievement as the feminine equivalent of the male triumph such as her ancestors celebrated and

of which she is proud. Her life has complemented male ideals which found expression in the triumph whereas Ovid turns such ideals upside down. The triumph of the sort of 'amor' depicted by Cornelia leaves Ovid cold as I believe it left Propertius. Galinsky makes no comment on this couplet but he does make the valid point that in line 16 Ovid invites the presence of a personified triumph with the words 'huc ades' which were used by Tibullus to hail the appearance of Osiris on the occasion of Messalla's triumph and birthday (1.7.49) and which bear similarity with the 'huc age' addressed to Apollo in the elegy upon the public appointment of Messallinus (2.5.2). I would contest any suggestion that Ovid is making mock of Tibullus; the importance of this adaptation, as I see it, is that the poet is demonstrating his independence as a poet writing verse which is distinctly 'unofficial'. My earlier treatment of these Tibullan elegies put forward the view that they were themselves indicative of a remoteness in the verse of Tibullus from the political sentiments prevailing in the poetry emanating from the circle of Maecenas. Compliments worthy of Augustus are features of verse which successfully avoids relating Messalla's public and private life to the fortunes of the emperor. It is such verse which Ovid evokes and reminds readers of his long standing friendship with Messalla who gave encouragement to his early literary efforts. The case for malicious parody of Tibullus is considerably weakened by the fact that Ovid was moved to compose a fine elegy upon his death, which suggests a close acquaintance between the poets. It is the air of detachment from the mainstream of Augustan events and the freedom to compose without directions which Ovid conjures up.

In elegy 2.9, hoping to divert the 'tela' of 'Amor', Ovid

tenders political advice to the boy-god pointing out that Roman grandeur depended upon an extension of dominion (lines 17-18) and that there is a ready field for the conquest of Roman youths whose subjection will yield 'magna laus' and a 'triumphus' (line 16). The imperial theme which we find expressed so eloquently by Vergil Horace and Livy has, with Ovid, become the object of his 'vis comica'. In keeping with this lack of seriousness towards the wider canvas of imperial issues,he expresses in a later elegy of the same book, a policy of extolling his own achievements,referring to them in terms more applicable to affairs of state:

'resque domi gestas et mea bella cano.'
(2.18.12)

By transferring such terms to a personal amatory situation,Ovid makes a striking declaration of his steering clear of topics of official interest and of the genre which would afford them coverage; Macer is writing martial epic, a medium which lends itself to the treatment of the 'res gestae' and 'bella' of a triumphant general whereas Ovid, while avoiding the subject of 'arma' (line 11), attributes to his own work the dignity of the major and its associated themes by speaking of it in epic and official tones. Ovid seems to be implying that amatory elegy is of equal importance with epic whose potential as a vehicle of political propaganda had long been recognised and that the private life of one who shuns involvement with issues of state bears comparison with the public life of one applying himself to such concerns. Macer may be adopting a Greek mythical theme but I detect an allusion to the epic of Vergil in line 2 when Ovid speaks of arms and men:

'<u>primaque</u> iuratis induis <u>arma</u> <u>viris.</u>'

The adjective 'primus' also occurs in the hexameter in which Vergil

announces that he will sing of arms and a man (arma virumque ..... qui primus) which lends weight to the probability that Ovid is thinking of Vergil and the Roman epic tradition which embraced contemporary topics. It is perhaps not entirely fortuitous that in line 12 Ovid uses the verb 'cano' of his treating the subject of his own affairs when Vergil uses it in the very line to which Ovid alludes in line 2. Here Ovid is reversing the code of epic to illustrate his disregard for the 'arma' 'res gestae' and 'bella' of others. In Vergil these centred around Aeneas, a model of imperial virtue, as well as his descendant Augustus, so that Ovid may, in oblique fashion, be showing disrespect for the emperor's achievements. Below I shall offer evidence for believing that the following three lines of the elegy contain features in common with Vergil's first Eclogue whose background is charged with the immediacy of a political situation and which launches into the praises of a major public figure - a practice to which Ovid refuses to submit in the 'Amores' and one which never came naturally to him. These pointers to Vergil's verse go unheeded by Galinsky but are in my opinion important for a correct understanding of the elegy. When he describes 'Amor' in line 18 as triumphing over his attempts to write a dramatic work I suspect that he is thinking of the potential of the 'fabula praetexta' as a vehicle for political themes rather than the type of play to which he eventually turned his talents, (107) and using the triumph motif in the way I have just outlined. The elegy commences with what I interpret as a deliberate evocation of the opening of Vergil's first Eclogue.

The relevant similarities are indicated overleaf:

'Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena:
nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.
nos patriam fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas.
.....
saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.
ille meas errare boves.....(sc. permisit)'

(Eclogues 1.1-5., 8-9)

'Carmen ad iratum dum tu perducis Achillen
primaque iuratis induis arma viris,
nos, Macer, ignava Veneris cessamus in umbra
et tener susuros grandia frangit Amor.
saepe meae "tandem" dixi "discede" puellae.'

(Amores 2.18. 1-5)

Tityrus enjoys the shade and a carefree existence (otia.line 6) just as Ovid lingers in a shade which is called slothful (ignava. line 3). In each case the 'umbra' is connected with a divinity. Tityrus' tranquil life is made possible by the dispensation of one whom he exalts to divine status and whom in the light of the political circumstances which surround the Eclogue we can reasonably regard as representing Octavian. Ovid associates the 'umbra' with Venus and it is more than likely that here as elsewhere he is playing upon the fact that the ancestry of the 'gens Iulia' of the emperor stemmed from this goddess and is irreverently intimating that the divine aspect of the family manifests itself on more than the political level. Ovid interweaves this reference to the Eclogues with one to the Aeneid in line 2 as explained above. Each of these Vergilian works contains a fair measure of political panegyric and when Ovid asserts that he writes about amatory 'res gestae' and 'bella' and calls such a theme his 'castra' (line 40) I think that it is with this element, as well as the obvious martial character of the Aeneid and epic in general, that he contrasts his own work. Here we have a use of the military motif used not simply to denote anti-militaristic sentiments, but to advertise a deliberate avoidance of

the species of literature in which the author surrendered his talent to congratulating a prominent public figure whose success was invariably founded upon victories in the field. Ovid makes it clear that he is thinking of Augustus but pays him no compliment by hinting that the subjectivity of the private elegiac world means more to him than objectifying praises of the epic undertaking of the emperor on a public front. In line 12 in particular, Ovid appears as an upholder of the 'causa privata' as opposed to the 'causa publica', an attitude which he reversed in exile when he professed to be solicitous for the progress of Tiberius' campaign against the Germans and its triumphal outcome (Trist. 4.2.73-4).

In the pre-exilic period, Ovid could afford to retreat into subjectivism and irreverence towards military endeavour and the symbol of its success, and this work is consequently more likely to be a reliable guide to his outlook on the subject. The poetry of exile turns frequently to the theme of the triumph in its true sense, and details of verbal and stylistic resemblance between this later serious response to the subject and its earlier frivolous treatment such as Galinsky has specified (108) suggest that Ovid was often at pains to atone for the frivolous approach to the subject in his amatory verse. This I interpret as a further indication of the consciousness with which the poet was undiplomatic in his use of the triumph motif and military metaphor in general.

Note References for Chapter Three

1. The word is used in this somewhat more strict sense in the article by L. R. Taylor, referred to immediately below, in which the author is concerned with the subject of republican and Augustan writers who held equestrian rank and who refrained from politics.

2. G. Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry p. 559.

3. 'Hi omnes versus Galli sunt de ipsius translati carminibus'. Servius ad Eclogues 10.46. F. Skutsch, Aus Vergils Frühzeit argues that this notice applies to the whole of Gallus' speech: "Servius' Bemerkung ist richtig, nur eingeschränkt; sie ist auszudehnen auf die ganze Reihe der verliebten Klagen des Gallus". (. 18).

4. op.cit.loc.cit.

5. J. P. Postgate, Tibullus: Selections, Appx. A. p. 181.

6. J. P. Postgate op.cit. p. xix, and critical appendix, p. 212 and lit.cit.

7. 'Maxima autem haec aetas a libidinibus arcenda est, exercendaque in labore patientiaque et animi et corporis ut eorum et in bellicis et civilibus officiis vigeat industria'.

8. 'Prima est igitur adulescenti commendatio ad gloriam si qua ex bellicis rebus comparari potest in qua multi apud maiores nostros extiterunt'.

9. 'qui eam quam dico tranquillitatem expetentes a negotiis publicis se removerint ad otiumque perfugerint'.

10. Assuming of course that the Gallus of 1.21 is one and the same person as the propinquus in 1.22. See note 50 below.

11. For the equestrian status of Tibullus see the Vita: 'Albius Tibullus eques R(omanus), and that of Propertius see elegy 4.1.34 with its reference to the 'aurea bulla' on which see Butler and Barber Propertius, a Commentary, p. xix. With regard to the confiscations, see Propertius 4.1.128-29, which speaks specifically of the 'portica tristis', and Tibullus 1.1.19ff. and 41ff. where the references to reduced circumstances would fit in very well with the effects of confiscation.

12. Ad Att. 1.17.5; Pro Cluent. 153; In Rab. Post. 15-17; see L.R. Taylor in T.A.P.A. 99 1968 p. 472.

13. Cf. L. R. Taylor, art.cit. p. 486.

14. In using the verb 'tonare' Horos is also probably reminding Propertius that he has been a literary disciple of Callimachus who used the Greek equivalent of this verb - βροντᾶν - in the Aitia (Pfeiffer frag. 1.20) to describe the misguided activity of those who write grand epic works. Cf. the use of the verb 'intonare' with reference to literary composition, again in connection with Callimachus, in Prop. 2.1.39-40: 'sed neque Phlegraeos Iovis Encaladique tumultus / intonet augusto pectore Callimachus....' It is, then, possible that Horos is referring to life as well as literature in using the word 'castra' in line 135 as I have suggested. See below, note 15, for Ovid's describing his rejection of a career in terms which recall Callimachus' views on poetry.

15. Here in Amores 1.15, 'Livor edax' appears to be an echo of Callimachus' Hymn (2) to Apollo line 105; Φθόνος reminds one of Βασκανίη of the Aetia (Pf. frag. 1.17), the malicious envy of Callimachus' critics. Ovid refers to Callimachus in line 13.

16. Horace also uses Jupiter as a pseudonym for Augustus; see L. P. Wilkinson, Horace and his Lyric Poetry p. 33 and G. W. Williams, The Third Book of Horace's Odes p. 59. For examples elsewhere in Ovid see Tristia 1.5.78; 3.1.38; 3.11.62.

17. P. Dunlop, The Poems of Tibullus, p. 28.

18. See R. Syme, op.cit., p. 359.

19. As it seems to have appeared to Horace in particular, as I argued under the heading The Horatian Reaction in my first chapter in connection with his theories of poetry and attitude to elegiac love. Quintilian's assessment of Alcaeus (10.1.63) is probably coloured by a similar attitude of the pragmatic Roman mind to the subject of love in verse: 'sed et lusit et descendit in amores, maioribus tamen aptior'. Cf. note 1 of my Introduction.and note 39 below.

20. On the 'Lusus Troiae' see R. Syme, op.cit., p. 445.

21. Vergil, Eclogues 1.11-14.

22. Butler and Barber (p.162) doubt whether Tullus was actually a member of the retinue of his uncle (probably L. Volcacius Tullus proconsul of Asia in 30-29 B.C.) on the grounds that "to ask an aide-de-camp to outdo his chief (anteire secures) is

22. (contn'd) grotesque." Camps, however, (on 1.6.19) suggests that "anteire might mean either that he is to travel to Asia ahead of the proconsul or that he will march ahead of him as a member of his suite." I favour Camps' interpretation; in any case the Tullus whom Propertius mentions seems to have tried to involve him in some official business in the East (see note 23).

23. The nature of the business to which Propertius imagines Tullus as destined to attend was probably connected with the task of restoring the temple offerings which had been confiscated by Antony in Asia (cf. Res Gestae 24.1) and generally restore order in this province, as is suggested by line 20: 'et vetera oblitis iura refer sociis.' See Butler and Barber (p.162) for further details of the former mission.

24. For the hostile official view towards astrology see C.A.H. Vol. 10 pp.90; 474; 500; 629; 673. No doubt two of the reasons for this stance were first of all the fact that the Romans had traditionally sought knowledge of the future through prophecy (the Sibylline books and Delphi) and also that Augustus' patron god Apollo had famed powers in this respect (cf.op.cit.p.473).

25. Heroides 4.53; 6.51; 8.15; 12.35.

26. See for example Amores 2.1.2: 'ille ego nequitiae Naso poeta meae.'; Amores 2.17.1-2: 'si quis erit, qui turpe putet servire puellae/illo convincar iudice turpis ego!'; Amores 2.4.1-2: 'non ego mendosos ausim defendere mores/falsaque pro vitiis arma movere meis.'

27. 'huic tu candentes umero suppone lacertos,
et regum magnae despiciantur opes'.

- which may have been written with Propertius 1.14.23-24 in mind:

'quae mihi dum placata aderit, non ulla verebor
regna vel Alcinoi munera despicere.'

28. See A. S. Wilkins, The Epistles of Horace, pp. 297-98 (ad Epp. 2.2.46).

29. See F. H. Sandbach, The Stoics, p. 163.

30. 'furor' (line 1069), 'rabies' (line 1083), 'rabies' and 'furor' (line 1117). In lines 1149-91 Lucretius advises one who wishes to break free of his passion to concentrate on the faults of his partner to which he has been blind; this is in effect a 'remedium amoris' and typifies his attitude that love is a disease which needs to be cured.

31. F. Skutsch advanced these views in the books Aus Vergils Frühzeit and Gallus und Vergil.

32. See for example K. Witte in Hermes 57 1922 pp. 563-87. Duff, (A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age) p. 323 describes the song as "a Lucretian account of the universe in Lucretian phraseology and rhythm".

33. Lines 75-76 of Eclogues 6, for example, are identical to lines 59-60 of the Ciris. For the debate on the significance of the parallels see J. W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome (Origins to Golden Age), pp. 355-57.

34. By Knight and Knight - see bibliography.

35. See Chapter One under the heading Messalla and Tibullus and note 43 of that chapter.

36. i.e. 1.1.19-20 probably a reference to the confiscations - see under the heading A Political Echo in Tibullus 1.1 in this chapter.

37. M. C. J. Putnam Tibullus, A Commentary p. 79 has noticed the correspondence between 'antiquo' in 1.7.58 and the same word in 1.3.34 citing them only, however, as examples of Tibullus' regard for tradition.

38. See R. Syme, op.cit. p. 402. The task of repairing roads was apportioned to those generals who had been awarded triumphs after the civil wars and was paid for 'ex manubiali pecunia' (Suet. Aug 30; Dio 53.22). Cf. 'opibus...tuis' in Tibullus 1.7.59.

39. "His imagination was excited less often by the extremes of happiness or despair of lovers than by their self-contradictions, illusions, or deceptions. It was, perhaps, the fact that lovers suffered so abundantly from these that made the subject appeal to him beyond any personal involvement he may have known....Even in a poem (C.3.7) written ostensibly to comfort the lonely Asterie, Horace retains as profoundly ironic a view of her sex as he did in describing the variable Pyrrha (C.1.5)" - S. Commager, The Odes of Horace, pp. 141-42. In Odes 2.8 Commager suggests that in using the words 'Adde quod', "a prosaic formula unique in the Odes", Horace is recalling Lucretius 4.1121-22: "Lucretius is describing the evil endemic to all passion, and Horace, we realise, is hardly more specific".

39. (contn'd) (op.cit. p. 150). A 'Lucretian' view of passion is evident also in the Georgics of Vergil (see below) whereas, as we have seen, Tibullus seems to have defended his amatory experiences with Lucretius in mind.

40. The passage 3.242ff. contains much which is borrowed from Lucretius who discussed the instinct of sex in 4.1037ff. See for example J. W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age who describes the Georgics as "Permeated with Lucretian speculation" (p. 328).

41. See W. A. Camps, Virgil's Aeneid page 96 and note 2; in Aeneid 4.644 Vergil describes Dido as 'pallida morte futura' and in 8.709 Cleopatra is described in almost identical terms - 'pallentem morte futura'. On pages 95-6 Camps notes that the affair between Antony and Cleopatra was too recent for an analogy not to be felt between that of Aeneas and Dido: "the glimpses that he (sc. Vergil) gives us of the two lovers abandoned to their private pleasures and 'forgetful of honour', of Aeneas' purple raiment and jewelled sword - these are reflections, in less vivid but more seemly terms, of what we read of Cleopatra and Antony in Plutarch". (p. 96).

42. For this association see W. A. Camps' note on Propertius elegy 3.4.1, and for the material motive for Rome's involvement in the East see C.A.H. Vol. 10 pp. 249-50 and A. H. M. Jones, Augustus, p. 50.

43. Hence foreign policy paradoxically contributes to the defeat of the domestic policy on immorality, a point which I shall develop in the final chapter under the heading Immorality:

43. (contn'd) Counter-indictment in elegy.

44. I suspect that,being desirous of improving immorality, the emperor realised that he should appear to the public somewhat abstemious sober and frugal, yet in the final chapter I shall have occasion to draw attention to the evidence that his morals were not above suspicion.

45. See Camps' note on Propertius elegy 2.16.20, and G. McKay, Vergil's Italy pp. 125, 133 and 140.

46. Under the heading Jupiter Feretrius.

47. See M. Rothstein, Propertius Sextus, Elegien on elegy 3.12; of Galla he writes "sie kann eine Tochter des Fuhrers der ungluecklichen Arabischen Expedition vom Jahre 25 gewesen sein". Butler and Barber, op.cit., suggest that she may have been the sister of Aelius Gallus, the Prefect of Egypt to whom Rothstein refers. There is then the possibility that Propertius may be referring to the Arabian Expedition (see C.A.H. Vol. 10, pp. 249-52) rather than the Parthian Campaign to which Butler and Barber (op.cit. p. 293) and Camps (Propertius Elegies Book 3 p. 113) understand the poet to be alluding. Propertius may be confusing them as a result of seeing them both as examples of aggression motivated by the desire to acquire riches.

48. "Postumus is probably identical with C. Propertius Postumus, senator and proconsul (of praetorian rank), mentioned in C.I.L. vi. 1501, an inscription which Mommsen (Hermes, iv (1870), p. 370) assigns to the Augustan Age". - Butler and Barber, The Elegies of Propertius p. 293.

49. The Parthian problem was settled in the years 22-19 B.C., therefore the legislation referred to in 2.7 is not that of 18 B.C. but probably that which was proposed in 28 B.C. on which see Butler and Barber, op.cit. p. 202.

50. This is the generally accepted view, see for example Butler and Barber, op.cit. p. 186.

51. That is, the death of Cornelius Gallus; see Butler and Barber, op.cit. p. xxvi.

52. See especially Aeneid 8.676ff. and Odes 1.37.

53. See W. R. Nethercut in T.A.P.A. 102 1974, p. 413 note 4, where after pointing out that it was strictly illegal for a Roman to celebrate a triumph over other Roman citizens, he suggests that Propertius "seems to come dangerously close to hinting that such was the case, when he contraposes 'Actia rostra' with 'Sacra Via' in 2.1.34, making the most pointed reference to Rome's venerable past and the one parade in which Antony would have most been brought to mind". (referring to the parades which marked the Actian triumph).

54. In elegy 3.11 (see below) Propertius further depreciates the emperor's victory but here I would point out that at 3.11.49, as at 4.6.65, Propertius uses the word 'mulier' in what is surely a sarcastic way and with a contempt which does not reflect on her as a person but on the threat she represented to Roman might. (For a contemptuous use of the word 'mulier' elsewhere in Propertius see Butler and Barber, op.cit., on 3.24.1 and H. Tränkle, Die Sprachkunst des Properz und die

54. (contn'd) Tradition der Lateinischen Dichtersprache, p. 121). In both cases the poet refers to her in this way within the context of an allusion to the momentous achievements of the Romans. Propertius would appear to be using the word in a way which throws the contempt rather on the Romans for having to reckon seriously with what should have been negligible opposition.

55. See previous note.

56. For the illegality of such an action see Syme, op.cit. pp. 298-99. For his wish to have her appear in his triumph see Plutarch Ant. 78; instead, an effigy of the dead queen was displayed at the triumph (id.ibid.86). For her resolve to escape the humiliation of being displayed alive see Pseudo-Acron on Horace Odes 1.37.23 who refers to Livy on this subject, and Suetonius Aug. 17: 'Cleopatrae, quam servatam triumpho magnopere cupiebat, etiam psyllos admovit, qui venenum ac virus exugerent, quod perisse morsu aspidis putabatur'.

57. See S. Weinstock, Divus Julius, pp. 206-11 and K. F. Smith, The Elegies of Albius Tibullus, p. 35.

58. See also Dio 53.2. Further details regarding the official attitude towards the religions of Egypt will be found in my discussion of Ovid, Amores 2.13 in the following chapter under the heading 'Orbitas' versus 'Ubertas'.

59. See S. Weinstock, op.cit. p. 209.

60. In lines 135-46 the author speaks optimistically in the most general terms of how Spain, Gaul, and the East will be unable to

60. (contn'd) resist his might.

61. His political career is the subject of discussion in the first chapter under the heading Messalla and Tibullus.

62. Jerome, ab Abr. 1991: 'incivilem potestatem contestans'; see C.A.H. Vol. 10, p. 134-35 and Putnam, Tibullus, p. 8.

63. "The laurel crown on the Apollo of Skopas was evidently meant to suggest the song of triumph after the fight with the Titans to which Tibullus himself alludes in 9-10" - K. F. Smith, The Elegies of Albius Tibullus, p. 446 (ad Tib. 2.5.5).

64. See for instance C.A.H. Vol. 10 p. 585, and R. Payne, The Roman Triumph, p. 149: "Octavian...seems to have abandoned the worship of Jupiter as the most powerful of the gods; he prayed instead to Apollo and Mars."

65. I am indebted to Putnam whose commentary on elegy 2.5 brings to our notice those elements of mockery which I record below.

66. e.g. Amores 1.8.42; 2.14.17; cf. also 3.9.13.

67. See for instance K. F. Smith, The Elegies of Albius Tibullus, p. 467 (on 2.5.71-78).

68. Under the heading The Elegist as Vates: Aim and Motive.

69. See previous note; I refer to my discussion of Propertius elegies 2.30 and 31 under that heading.

70. I refer to lines 19-20:

'tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus:
hic erit et patrio nomine pluris amor.'

70. (contn'd) which is in turn reminiscent of line 23 in elegy 1.11:

'tu mihi sola domus, tu Cynthia sola parentes'

a line which evokes Andromache's famous words to her husband Hector in Iliad 6.429. I shall have occasion to focus attention once more on 2.7.19-20 in my fourth chapter under the final heading, where I investigate in greater depth the monogamous overtones in the elegists' descriptions of free love.

71. See C.A.H. Vol. 10, pp. 186ff. p. 231, and L. R. Taylor, in T.A.P.A. 99 1968 p. 481 on the military obligations necessary for advancement along the 'cursus honorum'.

72. For the opposition of the 'equites' to the emperor's moral legislation see C.A.H. Vol. 10 p. 453.

73. See Butler and Barber op.cit. p. 159 for the difficulty of accepting the reading 'arma' as a zeugma with 'oscula'.

74. See my remarks on elegies 3.12 and 4.3 in Chapter 2 under the heading Tarpeia and Arethusa.

75. This paradox is the subject of wider discussion in connection with further evidence in my final chapter.

76. The dream is recorded in Suetonius Aug 94.8; G. K. Galinsky, in W. S. N.F.3 1969 pp. 76-77 discusses the new procedures which the emperor adopted in connection with the triumph.

77. This was my interpretation of lines 35-38 of elegy 3.11 which I put forward under the heading The Propertian View of Actium in this chapter.

78. The reader is referred to my conclusions on this elegy in the previous chapter under the heading Actian Apollo.

79. Suetonius, Tib 6.

80. See my discussion of Propertius 2.34 in the first chapter under the heading Propertius' View of Vergil's Literary Career where I argue that Propertius esteemed Vergil's minor work, the Eclogues, higher than the Aeneid.

81. See my remarks on the use of the word 'turba' in these elegies under the heading Programme and Motive in Chapter 2.

82. 'Turba' occurs in a literary context in 3.3.31 where Propertius refers to the doves of Venus as 'mea turba' which may be deliberately contrasted with the 'turba' of line 24 which, as I argued in Chapter 2 (see previous note) may not be restricted to the meaning of 'turbulence' (medio maxima turba mari est) but also may be intended, as an extension of the Wassersymbolik, to refer to the 'throng' of those who have set out on a sea of large-scale composition and have got themselves into difficulties. Here again then, the word 'turba', the second instance of which in elegy 3.3 may be using the doves as a symbol for elegy (Propertius for instance personifies his elegies as the 'parvi Amores' who take part in the triumph in 3.1.11 and Paris speaks of 'Amores volucres' in Ovid, Heroides 16.201) probably possesses literary associations and so when the word 'turba' occurs in elegy 4.1 we have, I suggest, already been prepared to think in terms of the contrast between different types of poetry as I have explained.

83. See Callimachus Hymn to Apollo 105-12: noise of sea and muddy waters. Preface to Aitia (Pfeiffer, Frag. 1.25-28): paths well worn by carriages and chariots.

84. Butler and Barber (op.cit.) compare 3.1.3-4 with Vergil, Georgics 2.175; 3.10, and Horace Odes 3.30.13, and Epistles 1.19.23. See also Camps on 3.1.9, and 34-35.

85. For the unifying symmetry of elegy 2.8 which Butler and Barber would divide into three separate poems, see Camps' introduction to the poem: "This elegy is instructive because it exhibits a quantitative symmetry in the disposition of its component parts, these component parts being clearly identified in each case by successive changes of the person apostrophized...." (p. 101).

86. 'Otium, Catulle, tibi molestumst;
otio exultas nimiumque gestis.
otium et reges prius et beatas
perdidit urbes'

(51.13-16)

Cf. Cicero Cael. 44 'amores et hae deliciae....quae firmiore animo praeditis molestae non solent esse'. For the same thought and connection between 'otium' and 'amor' cf. Ovid Remedia Amoris 139:

'otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus,
contemptaeque iacent et sine luce faces
quam platanus vino gaudet, quam populus unda,
et quam limosa canna palustris humo
tam Venus otia amat; qui finem quaeris amoris,
cedit amor rebus: res age, tutus eris.'

87. Later the temple of Mars Ultor (erected in 20 B.C.) was to become the destination of the triumph (Suet. Aug 29); see R. Payne, The Roman Triumph p. 149.

88. See Paley's introduction to this elegy in The Elegies of Propertius.

89. See K. F. Smith, op.cit. p. 339 on Tibullus elegy 1.7.56 for further examples of a similar wish in the verse of others.

90. See Butler and Barber, op.cit. pp. 378, and 381-84 for the careers of her ancestors and also J. P. Hallett, Book IV: Propertius' Recusatio to Augustus and Augustan Ideals p.166 who describes how Cornelia describes her private life in very formal terms, for example, she says that her life was 'insignis' a word with strong military connotations (see Hallett's note 39 for this page).

91. The idea first occurs in Greek tragedy, makes a fleeting appearance in Middle Comedy and appears in the Alexandrians and epigrammatists such as Poseidippus and Meleager; see E. Thomas in G.R. 11 1964 pp. 152-53, who discusses its history and final development and fashioning by the Augustan elegists.

92. Cf. T. E. Page, Horace, Odes p. 378: "Notice the humorous inconsistency between the declaration at the beginning and the prayer at the conclusion". The satiric element is commented upon by L.P. Wilkinson, Horace and his Lyric Poetry p. 50 who referring to this and other Odes writes: "These are the poems of a satirist..."

93. This tendency in Ovid's amatory elegy is discussed at several points in my enquiry in the final chapter dealing with morality. In particular the reader is referred to the discussion under the heading Elegy and the Rural Ethic where it will be seen

93. (contn'd) that Ovid mercilessly made fun of the 'official' standards of morality.

94. After the Roman defeat at Trasimene, a temple was erected to Mens Bona on the Capitol; cf. Livy 22.9.10; Ovid, Fasti 6.241-46. In the city there was a temple of Pudicitia patricia in the Forum and of Pudicitia plebeia in the Vicus Longus (cf. Livy 10.23; Juv. 6.307). Rothstein (op.cit. ad Prop. 2.6.25-26) has suggested that these were among the temples which Augustus restored.

95. See R. Syme, op.cit. pp. 159-60, and 299 (referring in particular to Suet. Jul 75.2 and Vell. Pat. 2.86.2).

96. See R. Syme, op.cit. pp. 299-300 and especially p. 480.

97. See R. Payne, The Roman Triumph p. 136 and R. Syme, op.cit. p.212.

98. Velleius (2.82) gives a picture of Antony as the new Dionysus in his account of the triumphal procession in Alexandria in 34 B.C. in which Octavian's opponent was decked with the emblems of this god. M. Grant refers on numerous occasions to Antony's associations with the god in Cleopatra pp. 171ff., 181f., 243f., 277f. and 327-28.

99. L. P. Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled p. 49

100. For example Aeneid 6.791-94: 'Hic vir, hic est tibi quem promitti saepius audis, / Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet/saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva / Saturno quondam'. cf. the remarks of L. R. Taylor in The Divinity of

100. (contn'd) the Roman Emperor regarding this underlying motive for the association of ruler with divinity: "First he (sc. Augustus) held a great triumph and then with elaborate ceremonies and games he dedicated the temple of the divinity on whom he depended for the legitimization of his power.... Then the new temple on the spot where Caesar's body had been burned was dedicated to Divus Julius, the newly created god, whom Caesar divi filius had taken as the authorization of his power just as Julius himself had taken Venus, the ancient goddess-mother of his race."

101. See L. P. Wilkinson in G. R. 19 1950 p. 21 for further examples.

102. I refer to his banishment of his daughter Julia for immorality in 2 B.C. and similarly of his granddaughter Julia in 8 A.D.; for their strict upbringing see Suetonius Aug. 64. In the final chapter I shall argue that their immoral behaviour may have been a reaction against such an overprotective and restricted upbringing (see particularly under the heading Freedom and Repression).

103. For examples of similarities between the Amores and the Ars Amatoria see for instance note 21 for Chapter Four, comparing advice in Amores 1.8 with that which appears in the later work. On the subject of Ovid's banishment see note 84 for Chapter Four.

104. For this private recital see Donatus, Vit. Verg. 27 (42). While the work may not be primarily motivated by a desire on the part of Vergil to contribute to the success of the state's

104. (contn'd) policy on agriculture, it is easy to see how it would have been looked on favourably by the emperor; see for instance H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature, p. 245: "Octavian was far too shrewd not to realise that the depopulation of the countryside which had already been seen and lamented by the elder Gracchus a century earlier was a source of weakness to Italy and the Empire such as no government could afford to neglect".

105. It is presumably to this section of the Georgics that Galinsky refers when he speaks of Ovid's using "Georgic examples", (art.cit. p. 92).

106. Ars. Amatoria 1.223: 'hic est Euphrates, praecinctus arundine frontem'. cf. Georgics 3.15: 'Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas'.

107. The 'Medea' no doubt gave Ovid the opportunity to explore the realms of female psychology and the relations between the sexes. For the 'fabula praetexta' as a vehicle for contemporary and political themes see W. Beare, The Roman Stage pp. 41-44 and passim.

108. G. K. Galinsky, art.cit. pp. 102-07.

CHAPTER FOUR

IRREVERENCE AND IMMORALITY

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Introduction

This final chapter focuses upon evidence to be found in amatory elegy of a mood of disaccord and antagonism felt towards those reforms of Augustus which more than any others represented an incursion of the state into the affairs of its citizens on a personal level, namely his plans for moral improvement and religious revival. The moral legislation was, in reality, an attempt to increase the birth-rate to replenish the depleted ranks of the equestrian and senatorial ranks as well as maintain Rome's military strength. The measures taken to stem the decay of traditional religious practices had the advantage of making the moral reforms appear less of a political expedient and more of a wider 'cura deorum', and Horace can be seen as reflecting what was probably the emperor's wish to appear as the possessor of a divine mandate when in Odes 3.6 moral laxity is associated with troubles which can only be averted through a rebuilding of the temples of the gods, an undertaking which Augustus pursued on a large scale. Again, in the 'Carmen Saeculare' he petitions the gods to favour the new legislation and make prolific the race of Romulus[1] under whose name the poet is almost certainly thinking of the emperor, as he is when in Odes 4.5. 1-2 Augustus is called the 'Romulae custos gentis' of divine descent and even a god himself, (line 32) under whose rule the exercise of 'mos' and 'lex' ensure chaste and unpolluted homes (lines 21-2). It is Romulus whom Propertius and Ovid indict as the instigator of immorality in the city and I shall suggest that their criticism contains an element of rebuke aimed at the latter-day Romulus who was personally involved in raising moral standards; Ovid in particular is scornful of the rural way of life - typical of the age of Romulus - and the virtues

traditionally associated with it, which strongly coloured the Augustan ideology. I shall argue that the rural theme in Tibullus, however, is not to be regarded as a response and contribution to the promotion of 'rustic' ideals such as we find in those works of Vergil and Horace written in an official vein, and hence not of the sort to which Ovid would have taken exception. Ovid's pair of elegies on the subject of abortion (Amores 2.13 and 14) are surprising enough in themselves but are even more so in the context of the governance of Augustus who is known to have spoken before the Senate on the topic of stimulating the birth-rate and devised rewards for fathers apart from resorting to the force of law with the same end in mind as mentioned above. I shall argue that Ovid is indulging in anti-Augustan bravado in this unique pair of elegies.

The life-style of the elegiac 'puella' is discussed under the fourth heading of this chapter where I seek to demonstrate that it largely reflects social developments which had been gaining momentum under the republic but which were hostile to the Augustan ideal of feminine behaviour.

The ambiguity which makes it difficult for us to decide in many instances whether the characters represented in the work of the elegists possess single or marital status constitutes what I believe to be a third example of phraseological transference such as I have dealt with in the case of the 'vates' concept and the military metaphor. Such imperspicuity often permits us to construe the relationships as adulterous. While an affair of this nature was not so serious under the republic, it became a criminal offence and not simply a matter of private concern during Augustus' reign. Whereas the elegists could more often than not protest that the situations

described were innocent in this respect by maintaining that they meant only the innoffensive interpretation to be placed upon the ambiguity, there can be little doubt that they must have been aware that they were laying themselves open to the charge of normalising or even advocating illicit behaviour. While legislative measures set out to define areas of intercourse which the state sought to place out of bounds, much of the elegiac terminology can be regarded as applicable to conduct within this area; distinctions become blurred at a time when official policy placed greater emphasis upon them in order to delineate the bounds of acceptable behaviour.

The late republic as well as witnessing a deterioration in moral standards saw women become a more dominant force in what was essentially a man's world. It is more than likely that in portraying the woman in elegy as exercising a large amount of control over affairs and imposing 'servitium' upon the 'amator' who acts submissively towards his 'domina', the elegists are reflecting to some extent this social phenomenon. The male assumes a more passive, feminine role and vice versa. Role inversion such as this was at odds with Augustan ideals which upheld the traditional patriarchal virtue of wives' subservience to their husbands.

Latin amatory elegy, a literary phenomenon rooted in the neoteric movement of the Republic, both benefited and suffered from the Augustan political climate in which it bloomed and withered. It was a detrimental period for the genre because more than ever the law attempted to coerce the 'modus vivendi' which it represented and even recommended, a situation which could easily have persuaded talented writers to employ their gifts in another direction. Yet the

very restrictions which the new regime began to impose upon society are, in a paradoxical way, responsible for stimulating its development, for vigour was imparted to the genre when Propertius in particular began to react to the marriage legislation which no doubt awakened his feelings of resentment to the new order which I have discussed throughout my investigation. The fact that he did not soft-pedal this issue is in itself an indication that his choice of a genre was not necessarily a reflection of his neutrality but rather of his unwillingness to compromise his personal beliefs. The Augustan reader unlike his modern counterpart would almost certainly have been more sensitive to a tension in amatory elegy between the licence of the elegiac world and the growing constraints within the new Augustan society. Catullus living at the end of the Republic pursued an openly adulterous affair with the wife of L. Caecilius Metellus Celer and widely advertised the relationship in a series of poems in which he was conscious that some old-fashioned prudes would find it a good topic for gossip:

> 'vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus
> rumoresque senum severiorum
> omnes unius aestimemus assis.'
>
> (Catullus 5.1-3)

In Propertius too we discover a feeling on the part of the poet that his attachment to Cynthia will give rise to scandal mongering:

> 'ista senes licet accusent convivia duri:
> nos modo propositum, vita, teramus iter.
> illorum antiquis onerantur legibus aures.'
>
> (2.30. 13-15)

The important difference, however, is that Propertius asks Cynthia to join him in brushing off prudish criticism which by now was speaking in official tones, the reference to 'antiquae leges' as well as the use of the verb 'accuso' being most likely a reflection

on Augustus' recent attempt to have his plan for the raising of moral standards given the force of law (see below). The 'senes' on this reckoning will be the 'senatores' who, as Dio tells us, complained to the emperor about the abandoned conduct of the young and prompted him to take action to correct it (54.16). The legislation did not come effectively on the statute book until 18 B.C. when by the Leges Iuliae 'de maritandis ordinibus' and 'de adulteriis coercendis' property disqualifications were imposed upon celibates and severe punishments were meted out for adultery. In Catullus' day there had been no legal penalty for adultery but Propertius writes against a background which renders his statements provocative. On the subject of Cynthia's status I do not share the confidence of Williams (Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry pp. 529-35) who maintains that she was not a 'meretrix' but a married woman like Catullus' Lesbia and that the elegist's affair was an adulterous one enacted in real life, a situation which is responsible for the dramatic tension to be found in an elegy such as Propertius 2.7. Nevertheless there are elements in the elegists' descriptions of their amatory relationships which can easily give rise to such confusion and which continue to elicit diverse opinions on the nature of elegiac relationships. I shall argue that the elegists' mistresses are represented as free-born women who modelled their behaviour on that of the more refined sort of 'meretrix' and that they, like their poets, preferred to pursue free-love relationships despite the fact that they were both targets of the legislation which sought to impose upon them the married state. The description of such relationships in terms appropriate to marital ones constitutes the third type of terminological transference mentioned above, and gives rise to a tension which is generated by the real pressures to conform to a

moral standard which surround the circumstances of the elegies whether they portray affairs which are fiction or fact. On occasion the use of the vocabulary pertaining to the married state admits of an ambiguity which could easily mislead the reader to appraise certain passages as an incitement to immorality and which results from the free use of such vocabulary in connection with the elegists' own free-love relationships; one cannot always be sure whether the woman of whom the elegist is enamoured is being asked to deceive a lover or a husband. Such a blurring of distinctions increases the possibility of the reader's being able to identify with the characters depicted in the poems and a spokesman for official interests in the sphere of morality might have objected that they appealed to a class whose standards of behaviour were under scrutiny. Ovid anticipates this objection, and while he regards it as invalid, takes it sufficiently seriously as to acquit himself of the charge when he defends himself in exile:

> ' 'at matrona potest alienis artibus uti,
> quodque trahat, quamvis non doceatur, habet...' '
>
> (Tristia 2.253-4)

The warning issued in Ars Amatoria 1.31-2 to virtuous women not to model their behaviour after the pattern of the female characters whom he is about to portray is in itself evidence that he foresaw that he might be charged with inciting potential 'matronae' to lax conduct and eventually to adultery (cf.lines 33-4). In retrospect, this warning seemed sufficiently important to warrant quotation verbatim (Tristia 2.247-50) in defence of the plea that he had not represented situations which in real life would constitute an infringement of the law.

Immorality: Counter-indictment in Elegy.

We would not be far wrong if after a reading of all three elegists we concluded that they found the greatest benefit of the Augustan 'pax' to reside in its permitting them to follow the way of life which they describe with the minimum of external interference. They were to discover that this stability enabled the emperor to contemplate reforms which threatened to curtail certain freedoms which were favourable to the elegiac life-style. Propertius is forthright in his questioning of the right of the state to interfere in his private life and like Ovid he hints strongly at the hypocrisy which underlies Augustus' plan of improving the 'mores' of citizens. Propertius confines his tribute to the success of the emperor's 'arma' to a recognition of their service in the interests of peace:

> 'Caesaris haec virtus et gloria Caesaris haec est
> illa qua vicit, condidit arma manu.'
> (2.16.42)

This reminds us of elegy 2.7 which records Propertius' sense of relief at the withdrawal of one of Augustus' laws dealing with moral issues which would have seriously affected his private life, and in which, while he acknowledges the military prowess of the princeps, he disputes whether his abilities in this direction qualify him or give him the right - for I believe this to be the implication - to tamper with the personal concerns of others:

> ''At magnus Caesar.' sed magnus Caesar in armis:
> devictae gentes nil in amore valent.'
> (2.7. 5-6)

'Amor' is a phenomenon occurring on the personal level whereas the 'res gestae' of the emperor exist within a national and imperial context having little relevance to the life of the individual. Elegy 2.16 from which the former quotation is taken also contains a comment

in lines 19-20 on the discrepancy between the emperor's protestations of favouring the simple life and his actual life style. In the foregoing chapter I related this couplet to elegy 3.5, which like its counterpart 3.4, is set against the background of the Parthian campaigns which the poet regards as motivated by greed. (2) In the couplet of 2.16 to which I refer, the 'straminea casa' must denote the legendary hut of Romulus on the Capitol (3) and 'ipse dux' is of course the emperor. Propertius is saying that if the emperor allows himself to be compared with Romulus, indeed as Suetonius informs us he almost assumed the name Romulus (quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis. Aug.7. cf.Dio 53.16) then he ought to live as frugally as Rome's mythical founder.(4) Moreover, I do not consider it accidental that in the elegy which precedes that which rejoices over the repeal of the early moral legislation Propertius has some harsh words to say about Romulus in connection with moral depravity in the city; elegy 2.6 accuses Romulus as being the author of sexual immorality and civil war among the Romans. The aitiology followed by Ennius in his account of the origins of civil war at Rome is the quarrel between Romulus and Remus which resulted in the death of the latter. Propertius in this elegy discounts the Ennian tradition and accuses Romulus of being the originator of war through the rape of the Sabine women. Sexual indiscretion had been the cause of the famous conflicts in Greek myth:

> 'his olim, ut fama est, vitiis ad proelia ventum est,
> his Troiana vides funera principiis;
> aspera Centauros eadem dementia iussit
> frangere in adversum pocula Pirithoum.'
> (2.6. 15-18)

In the succeeding four lines Propertius illustrates the same point with the earliest example in Roman myth:

'cur exempla petam Graium ? tu criminis auctor
nutritus duro Romule lacte lupae
tu rapere intactas docuisti impune Sabinas
per te nunc Romae quidlibet audet Amor'

(ibid. 19-22)

Sexual incontinence, encouraged by Romulus, was responsible for a hostile act which is seen as the origin of sexual permissiveness at Rome in the poet's own day. Propertius in all likelihood is hinting to his readers that the emperor's own 'mores' were far from exemplary. Octavian's first marriage to Claudia had ended in divorce before it was consummated. In 40 B.C. he married Scribonia and became her third husband as a political expedient, only to divorce her a year later for similar reasons; "marriage and divorce were the public tokens of political pacts or feuds" and this also motivated his taking a second wife Livia "with unseemly haste"; her husband Claudius Nero agreed to a divorce even though she was due to be delivered of a child, and the marriage caused the "enrichment of public scandal" (Syme pp.228-9). In reply to Octavian's accusations of his addiction to drink and Cleopatra, Antony was able to cite his opponent's intrigues with Rufilla, Salvia Titisenia, Terentilla and Tertulla (Suet.Aug.69). The last but one of these ladies is most likely to be the wife of Maecenas, Terentia, with whom the emperor is said to have gone to Gaul to escape the jibes which were made at Rome about his relationship with her (Dio 54.19). Propertius' second book spans the years 28-5 B.C. well within the period covered by Horace's second book of Odes one of which (2.12) describes the charms of Terentia which doubtless had already attracted the attention of Augustus. Antony also threw it in his teeth that without concealment he had conducted the wife of an ex-consul from her husband's dining room into the bedroom and that when they returned to the table she appeared flushed

and dishevelled; friends, he claimed, would arrange assignations for him with married women (Suet.loc.cit). The senators whom Dio informs us informed the 'princeps' to take positive action to curb immorality were not above hinting that he himself had pursued many love affairs (54.16). Suetonius (Aug.71) even relates how Livia was instrumental in seeking out maidens so that her husband might indulge a peculiar passion. We learn from the same historian that during her marriage with Agrippa (21-12 B.C.) the emperor's daughter Julia was already giving a foretaste of the licentious ways for which she was destined to be banished in 2 B.C., for she was already trying her wiles on Tiberius, her husband's son-in-law and stepson of her father: 'ac Iuliam Augusti filiam confestim coactus est ducere, non sine magno angore animi, cum et Agrippinae consuetudine teneretur et Iuliae mores improbaret; ut quam sensisset sui quoque sub priore marito appetentem, quod sane etiam vulgo existimabatur.' (Suet.Tib.7). Tacitus, moreover, mentions an adulterous liaison between Julia and Sempronius Gracchus carried on during her marriage to Agrippa (Annals 1.53). The imperial house, then, was not a haven of exemplary morality. Lines 25-6 of the elegy:

'templa Pudicitiae quid opus statuisse puellis.
si cuivis muptae quidlibet esse licet ?'

- are perhaps, as Rothstein (ad loc.) has proposed, an indication that Augustus included the temples of Pudicitia patricia and Pudicitia plebeia among the eighty-two temples which he renovated (Res Gestae 20.4) and the neglect of this cult recorded by Livy (10.23) may be alluded to in lines 35-6:

'sed non immerito! velavit aranea fanum
et mala desertos occupat herba deos.'

The sentiment is similar to that in Odes 3.6 (cf. especially the use of the adjective 'immeritus' in line 1 and the image of decaying

temples in lines 3-4) which is to be viewed within the context of this programme of rebuilding undertaken in Augustus' sixth consulship (28 B.C.). Both elegy and Ode were probably written between 28-6 B.C. and Propertius may well be responding to the work of Horace though not in a sympathetic spirit, for the elegist has his own theory of the causes of moral disintegration which necessitate correction (see below). An allusion to a law 'de pudicitia' mentioned by Suetonius (Aug.34) may also underlie the poet's expression of the futility of raising monuments to a virtue which has little following and the lines 27-34 intervening between these two couplets have, I suggest, topical connotations. What is the point, Propertius asks, in making a religion out of moral virtue when the subjects of works of art which confront the eyes of the virtuous are an incitement to 'nequitia' (line 30) and are conducive to a neglect of Rome's divinities? Some critics have felt uneasy about lines 35-6 (sup.cit.) which present a vivid and sudden image of this neglect and either favour a transposition so that they follow on from lines 25-6 (sup.cit.), thus placing side by side references to religious architecture whose restoration from a squalid condition is illustrated in two contrasted couplets, or like Lachmann, regard it unintelligible in the context of the elegy as a whole and while doubting whether it is correctly located in the manuscripts do not suggest a more suitable position for it in the poem.(5) Paley allows it to remain explaining that the temples, such as that of Pudicitia, are deserted - a concomitant vice and immorality prevail - no wonder (non immerito) the gods are neglected and the temples deserted - how therefore (igitur) can he keep Cynthia virtuous? If however, restoration of the temples is the thought behind line 25 it is easy to see how readers find the picture of neglect in lines 35-6 a little surprising, but most of all

I believe it is the sudden transition by Propertius from what at first glance is a reference to purely domestic or secular art in lines 27-34 which has recommended to some the conjoining of lines 25-6 with lines 35-6, in that order, for the latter couplet also deals with religious matters; indeed Camps suggests that by 'fanum' (line 35) Propertius may mean the very 'templa Pudicitiae' (line 25). However, the words 'domus' (line 28), 'tecta' (line 33) and 'paries' (line 34) can refer to public as well as religious buildings such as Augustus was erecting and renovating. In Vergil and Ovid for example we find 'domus' applied to various types of non-domestic architecture including abodes of divinities, and similarly the words 'tecta' and 'paries' can refer to institutional and religious as well as domestic buildings.(6) Even if Propertius is referring to indecent decoration in private homes in line 28 we cannot dismiss with certainty the possibility that he continues to point out that similar ornament is to be found in religious edifices. We know for example that paintings portraying both Helen and Atalanta naked were on view in a temple at Lanuvium (Pliny N.H. 35.17), and similar works were to be found in the buildings to which the emperor, his friends and lieutenants gave their attention; the famous Helen painted by Zeuxis who had engaged five naked maidens as models (ut quod in quaque laudatissimum esset pictura redderet) found a place in the portico with which L. Marcius Philippus surrounded the temple of Hercules Musarum whose restoration he had undertaken (Pliny Ibid. 35.64-6); Augustus himself bought the painting of Aphrodite by Apelles and exhibited it in the temple of Divus Iulius and filled the city with representations of the goddess of love. In the Porticus Octaviae which he built and dedicated in the name of his sister were placed statues of the goddess by Pheidias, Philiscus and Polycharmus

and also of Cupids, notably that of Praxiteles (id.ibid.36.15; 22; 28; 35; 36). With regard to the prominence of this goddess, Strong writes: "inspired by a reawakened interest in the Trojan ancestry of the Romans, the picture of the loves of Mars and Venus recall the honour in which the patron gods of the Julian race were held in Rome". (C.A.H. Vol.10 p.569). Such prominence given officially to a divinity whose own conduct fell far short of the moral ideals which the state sought to inculcate in its citizens could not have failed to have appeared inconsistent to the thoughtful, and Ovid, as we shall observe later, exercises his trenchant wit in his approach to this matter. Shackleton Bailey (Propertiana p.72), while avoiding detailed argument in defence of the coherence of the Propertian passage under consideration, remarks that the poet's decrying of the effect of painting on morals has parallels in Roman comedy and that the wealth of erotic paintings discovered at Pompeii should remind us of the relevance of the protest. Pompeian paintings owe their survival to peculiar circumstances which Rome escaped but they are none the less a good guide to the type of decor which adorned Roman buildings and in this respect I find that one of these on the theme of the 'Origins of Rome' depicts the rape of Rhea Silvia by Mars, a crucial episode in Rome's history for from this illicit union were born Romulus and Remus.(7) By building the Lupercal on the Palatine (Res Gestae 19) Augustus furnished a sacred grotto where sacrifice could be performed as a memorial of this momentous birth and around which the fertility cult of the Lupercalia with its licentious ritual was focused.(8) If a similar painting existed in this shrine at Rome then Propertius' outburst against the corrupting influence of art would have particular point for we can appreciate how he might feel that the state was being morally

pretentious in requiring adherence to a certain code of behaviour while preaching, as it were, through a visual medium, a laxity in standards of this sort. In Amores 3.4 Ovid also mentions the name of Romulus with respect to contemporary 'mores' but not without irony for a husband who feels aggrieved at his wife's infidelity is described as 'rusticus', an adjective which would well suit Romulus and his age which had become symbolic of the primitive virtues promoted by an antiquarianising outlook favoured by the emperor, the 'alter Romulus':

> 'rusticus est nimium, quem laedit adultera coniunx,
> et notos mores non satis urbis habet
> in qua Martigenae non sunt sine crimine nati
> Romulus Iliades Iliadesque Remus'
>
> (lines 37-40)

Here, by calling Romulus an inheritor of sin (crimine natus) Ovid reminds the reader of Mars' violation of Ilia (Rhea Silvia) which was responsible for his birth. Earlier in 1.8 he had likewise contrasted the supposed innocence of primitive Romans with the realities of contemporary morality, and here once more he cites the names of central figures in Roman mythology:

> 'forsitan inmandae Tatio regnante Sabinae
> noluerint habiles pluribus esse viris;
> nunc Mars externis animos exercet in armis,
> at Venus Aeneae regnat in urbe sua.'
>
> (lines 39-42)

In 3.4 Ovid spotlights the scandalous behaviour of Mars to whom, as well as his son Romulus, Augustus showed special regard in erecting for him a new temple, that of Mars Ultor dedicated in 20 B.C. to commemorate the avenging of Julius, and which dominated the new Forum. (9) Here in 1.8 he also hints at the streak of immorality to be found in the Trojan stock to which Augustus, having acquired Venus as an ancestor through adoption by Julius Caesar, bore a

special relation; Julius himself had used the name Venus Victrix as a watch-word and dedicated a temple to Venus Genetrix honouring the goddess as the founder of his family.

In this way, Ovid like Propertius, implies that central figures in the Augustan ideology are hardly a good advertisement for the stricter morality which the emperor was seeking to encourage and enforce; Venus had, after all, been unfaithful to her husband in pursuing affairs with numerous gods and Aeneas himself was the offspring from her illicit union with a mortal. In naming both Mars and Venus in the latter couplet Ovid surely expects us to remember the adultery of the goddess with the god of war, than which, as he tells us in the following elegy, no story was better known among the gods (notior in caelo fabula nulla fuit. 1.9.40); it was nevertheless a story which Vergil chose to omit from the Aeneid. Moreover, I think it probable that in speaking of Mars as responsible for detaining men abroad on military service (Mars externis animos exercet in armis. line 41) Ovid is implying that the military commitments of the empire are themselves instrumental in fostering immorality; we shall see below that Propertius in his diagnosis of the causes of moral decay puts forward the same view on several occasions, arguing that women who are married or others who would normally be expected to remain faithful to their partners while they are serving in the army are exposed to temptation while left behind in the city. In line 42 Venus' influence is described as being widespread in the city and Ovid could be saying that Mars, whose own morals are suspect as I have just explained, has the same sort of influence abroad, and in this respect I would suggest that in line 41 'animi' may well refer to amatory passions as much as to martial

spirits and 'externa arma' to amatory skirmishes and encounters with other women (cf. Camps ad Prop. 1.3.16; 3.8.29-30;3.20.20 for 'arma' in an erotic sense). I shall have more to say about elegies 1.8 and 3.4 under my next heading where I shall examine in greater depth Ovid's reaction to the idealisation of the life and ways of the early Romans which is a marked feature of verse written in official vein and which in many ways epitomises the ethos of the Augustan state.

In Amores 3.8 Ovid is not only irreverent to the cult of Romulus, the emperor's mythical prototype, but also to Julius Caesar his father by adoption; Julius we should remember, had anticipated Augustus in fostering a comparison between himself and Rome's eponymous hero. (10) The poet complains that the amassing of personal wealth is the overriding concern of contemporary society while it is ungenerous towards the writer of elegy (tenerum carmen. line 2) and speaks scornfully of a knight who has won his 'census' through the new system of promotion devised by Augustus in connection with the troubles which the elegist has to endure as a result. The pursuit of riches is seen as a morally corrupting force symbolised by a rationalising of the myth of Jove's appearing before Danae in a shower of gold which Ovid interprets as the god's purchase of the maiden's favours (lines 29-34). In man it is the prelude to an overweening ambition which strives to attain immortality. Again Ovid becomes a rationalist when, as typical examples of man's desire to stand on a par with the gods, he euhemeristically instances the deification of the Greek Bacchus and Heracles, while as Roman parallels he cites the names of Romulus and Julius Caesar:

'cur non et caelum, tertia regna, petis ?
qua licet, adfectas caelum quoque - templa Quirinus,
Liber et Alcides et modo Caesar habent.'

(lines 50-2)

Caesar's temple is, of course, that which Augustus dedicated in 29 B.C.. Ovid is in my opinion obliquely censuring the emperor as one whose aspirations have become similarly megalomaniac. He must have knownthe passage in the Odes (3.3.9-16) in which Horace prophesied the apotheosis of Augustus in the same breath with which he had spoken of Hercules, Bacchus and Quirinus. It is in the company of these gods that we find Julius in the elegy of Ovid who could not fail to be aware that a cult of Augustus was spreading rapidly through the empire with its altars to his 'genius' and 'numen' (11) foreboding the accuracy of Horace's forecast which would accord the emperor equal status with his adoptive father. The elegy is quite daring in accusing the 'gens Iulia' of being party to the perverse ambitions of mankind which spell its own undoing (see lines 45-6) and shows that Ovid was no less critical of it than Propertius. The evidence of the Ars Amatoria tends to support the view that Ovid's estimation of Romulus in the Amores is a critical one. Again he relates the behaviour of Rome's founder to the state of contemporary morality, but here I detect an extension of the detraction which renders it more topical, depending as I propose it does, on an allusion to one of the achievements of a member of the imperial family by means of the way in which he reworks some lines of Propertius. In lines 101-34 of the first book of the Ars Amatoria he describes how, as a consequence of Romulus' example in taking advantage of the occasion of a public entertainment to acquire by force wives for his men, the theatre has become a place where a lady's modesty is at risk:

'scilicet ex illo sollemnia mere theatra
nunc quoque formosis insidiosa manent'

(lines 133-4)

Ovid commences his tableau of this incident in Romulus' reign by emphasising the lack of sophistication in those early days, in particular the absence of an elaborately furnished theatre:

'primus sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos,
cum iuvit viduos rapta Sabina viros.
tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,
nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco.'

(lines 101-104)

In dealing with the question of the programme and motive of Propertius' last book in the second chapter I quoted lines 15-16 of elegy 4.1 which forms part of his description of the primitive site of Rome and the simple ways of its inhabitants who lived in an age when the luxury of a theatre complete with awnings and a saffron drenched stage was unknown:

'nec sinuosa cavo pendebant vela theatro,
pulpita sollemnis non oluere crocos.'

I showed that there is good reason for supposing that Propertius is evoking his earlier elegy 3.18 on the death of Marcellus which is woven together with thoughts on the vanity of human ambitions. Propertius asks to what avail were his noble birth, his 'virtus', his mother's love or even the awnings which fluttered over the crowded theatre:

'aut modo tam pleno fluitantia vela theatro'

(line 13)

Both Paley and Camps take the view that Propertius was thinking of the Theatre of Marcellus in the couplet cited from elegy 4.1 and we can see that Ovid has modelled the latter passage quoted from the Ars upon the same couplet. In elegy 3.18.19-20 Propertius speaks of 'Magni Ludi', a reference to the magnificent games celebrated by Marcellus as curule aedile (see Butler and Barber p.308). Now in Ovid's version of the rape of the Sabine women the episode is enacted

at 'ludi' (line 101) which take the form of entertainment in the theatre. The fact that 'ludi scaenici' were included in the Magni Ludi (i.e. the Ludi Romani) leads me to suspect that Ovid is presenting us with his own aition of these games. After Marcellus' death Augustus ordered that a golden statue of his nephew should be borne into the theatre during the celebration of the Ludi Romani. The building was finally completed in 13 B.C. and dedicated by Augustus to the memory of Marcellus, and so we can appreciate how Ovid may have regarded the institution as one which had received official approval. It follows then, that Ovid may be making light of the emperor's attempts at moral reform in so far as he is affording the same sort of opportunity for immoral conduct as his mythical counterpart which makes nonsense of his censorial stance towards standards of behaviour.

In Amores 3.4.41-2 (sup.cit.) Ovid expresses his awareness of a problem into which Propertius had delved more deeply in looking for the causes of immorality, namely the consequences of military as well as civilian involvement abroad. It is with Propertius' reflections on this subject to which I turn now, for they show more clearly how he thought the state was defeating its own programme of moral reform, and will further help to explain how the poet can with justification inveigh against corruption while leading a life which he knew was not entirely respectable. Paley, for instance, commenting on lines 27-36 of elegy 2.6 which I have just discussed comments "it is curious to remark the ideas of morality which could induce a Propertius so feelingly to bewail the depravity of the women, unconscious of his own delinquencies" (pp.64-5). If, as I am proposing, Propertius is exposing the

hypocrisy of others, the view that he is being curiously inconsistent can be debated; in 2.16 Propertius implies that the head of state is insincere in his profession of favouring the simple life (see above on lines 19-20). The influx of wealth to Rome fosters promiscuity for upon it thrive women who find it profitable to attach themselves to rich philanderers, and Propertius uses what I take to be a pointed example of a magistrate from the province of Illyricum who has been serving the Augustan state abroad. (12) Propertius' thoughts on the ills attendant on Roman influence abroad, more specifically with respect to Parthia and the East in general, are in keeping with his suggestion that moral decay is allied to the pernicious wealth derived from foreign quarters. In my third chapter we saw that this was the case in elegies 3.4 and 3.5 where the pursuit of wealth and the taste for luxury are regarded by the poet as being given an impetus by the prospect of increased involvement in the East which he believes to be a manifestation of and encouragement to the vice of avarice. (13) Now in elegy 3.13 the wealth derived from the oriental lands, considered by the poets contemporary with Propertius as areas of expansion to be encompassed by a Parthian campaign, (14) is said to be instrumental in promoting immorality:

'haec etiam clausas expugnant arma pudicas'
(line 9)

That he is thinking of Augustan policy in 3.13 as a major factor in moral deterioration is, I believe, made even more probable by the fact that in the previous elegy Propertius charges Postumus with greed (lines 5-6) for having enlisted as a soldier in the campaign of Augustus (named specifically in line 2) against the Parthians (also named in lines 3 and 11), and the theme of the morally corrosive effect of luxurious living is common to both:

'quid faciet nullo munita puella timore
cum sit luxuriae Roma magistra suae ?'

(3.12.17-18)

'certa quidem tantis causa et manifesta ruinis:
luxuriae nimium libera facta via est'

(3.13.3-4)

In lines 47-8 of elegy 3.13 Propertius observes that a further result of this extravagant living is that religious practices fall into disuse:

'at nunc desertis cessant sacraria lucis:
aurum omnes victa iam pietate colunt.'

In their comment on this couplet Butler and Barber refer us back to elegy 2.6.35-6 (sup.cit.) where, as we have seen, Propertius expresses a similar thought on the disregard which is shown toward the shrines of the gods and in returning to this thought the poet gives us an insight into his views on the themes of wealth, war, morality and religious piety. He apparently believes that there is a nexus of cause and effect between them,and when he saw the state initiating measures favoured by the emperor to raise moral standards and revive interest in religious customs,he was conscious of the hypocrisy underlying this programme of reform for it was to a large extent necessitated by a short-sighted and unenlightened social strategy which itself sowed the seeds of moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Paley thinks that Propertius is guilty of false piety in railing against immorality in 2.6 (see above) but the cause of immorality for the poet is surely the restrictive influence which luxury, generated by the workings of Augustus society, has upon the ability of the individual to achieve a relationship, which though not of a formal nature, is marked by the feelings of devotion and responsibility normally associated with the married state. Propertius does not condemn wealth as a factor in the process of moral decline

and at the same time argue on behalf of a behavioural norm of which the state would approve while conducting his own life quite differently,for this would be hypocritical. He argues for a free-love situation in his picture of the Golden Age in 3.13.25-37 where the important point to note is the fact that wealth is excluded as a determining factor in the choice of partners. To wealth he attributes the debasement of 'pietas' 'fides' and 'pudor' as well as the venality of 'iura' and 'leges' (lines 48-50) and perhaps most important of all,it destroys natural sexual selection (see below) which Propertius believes to be the cure for the troubles which the state is tackling in the wrong way. Against a background of legislation in the sphere of morals the mention of 'lex' in line 50 can be seen as an oblique reference to the ill conceived intervention of the state whose measures are doomed to be frustrated: 'aurum lex sequitur, mox sine lege pudor'. Propertius favours the 'lex Spartana' in the following elegy which permits sexual freedom such as he admired in the Golden Age of elegy 3.13. Here once more wealth affords no advantage in the choice of partners; male and female pursue their occupations side by side without the fear of punishment for contracting adulterous liaisons nor is there any need for chaperons - typical sources of trouble which beset the elegist (cf. 2.23.9.ff.). The thought that financial advantage can corrupt the natural processes of selection I can trace back to Lucretius whose comments on the Golden Age have conceivably influenced Propertius who is looking at the problem of morality rationally in order to recommend a cure which does not rely on legal coercion. In Lucretius 5.1113ff. the philosopher argues that whereas in the past good looks and fine physiques had determined success in life, now it is money which carries all before it:

'posterius res inventast aurumque repertum
quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem;
divitioris enim sectam plerumque sequuntur
quamlibet et fortes et pulchro corpore creti.'

(1113-6)

Propertius needed only to relate success in amatory matters to this concept in order to formulate his theory of moral disintegration and we find such an example of the way in which riches can pervert the natural process in lines 27-8 of the same elegy dealing with Spartan life:

'nec Tyriae vestes errantia lumina fallunt
est neque oderatae cura molesta comae.'

The use of the verb 'fallo' expresses the idea of how the instincts are deceived into an unnatural decision. Before I draw my conclusion from these statements of Propertius I wish to stress that in line 21 he remarks how Spartan society encourages the mingling of the sexes and the constant presence of lovers in each others company. This should immediately alert us as to the complaints of Arethusa and the poet's description of the trials of Galla. Both of these women suffer through being segregated from their husbands who are intent on seeking success in Augustus' Parthian campaign. In the case of Galla, her husband is lured away through the hope of enrichment as well as glory. (15) The threat which 'luxuria' represents to morality appears again in this elegy though Galla is as rare as Penelope in spurning the 'munera' of seducers (lines 17-19 and 38). Arethusa, (16) worried that separation will lead to her husband's infidelity puts forward a solution which favours what we may call the 'lex Spartana': wives ought to be allowed to accompany their husbands on campaigns abroad:

'Romanis utinam patuissent castra puellis'

(4.3.45-6)

Propertius had recognised that protracted military service could lead to infidelity as early as elegy 2.9 (see line 29) and I refer the reader to my discussion of the Tarpeia elegy in my second chapter which shows that as late as his fourth book he was concerned with the same problem of the segregation of the sexes; Tarpeia belongs to the Vestal order which severely restricted the degree to which its virgin servants could associate with the opposite sex and this, as I proposed, only served to increase her infatuation which had dire consequences for Rome. The evidence then, does not suggest that Propertius took a simplistic view of the reasons for moral decay. Horace for example observes the taste of contemporary society for luxury and as he equates this with immoderate and licentious behaviour is inclined to seek a remedy by inviting the intervention of an agency which will curb these tendencies by the power with which it is invested, an appeal which was largely answered by the laws dealing with sumptuary matters and marriage. His work contains criticism of the bad effect of wealth on morals but it is invariably the enterprising spirit which he censures as the origin of the bane and does not attribute a morally deleterious influence to the booty and wealth accruing from Augustus' military exploits abroad. An example of this attitude can be found in Odes 3.24 in which he calls for restraint to be imposed upon such licence by one who will be hailed as a saviour of the state; wealth is regarded as the prime factor in the problem but it is the ambition of the trader (mercator line 40) which he instances in connection with the ailment. It is, again, a travelling salesman (institor) and a captain of a merchant ship (navis Hispanae magister) who purchase the adulterous favours of the dissipated 'matrona' in Odes 3.6.29-32(cf. also Epodes 17.20). This is after all consonant with his emphasis on the heroic ideal

which he uses as a foil to softening of the character and decadence to which wealth panders, a somewhat Homeric outlook which despises as banausic the activity of the trafficker of merchandise.

Elegy and the Rural Ethic

As my next topic in this enquiry into aspects of amatory elegy which speak of non conformity with regard to the pattern of morality favoured by the state, I wish to focus attention on the way in which Ovid in particular expresses disdain for the sort of life which in the official ideology of the time was represented as enshrining the moral virtues desirable in the Augustan citizen. One of the problems which confronted the emperor was how to invigorate an ailing agrarian economy which had been damaged over a long period of time by foreign and civil war as well as by the proscriptions. It was, first of all, desirable to enhance the dignity of agricultural pursuits which had lost much of their traditional respectability as easier ways to financial reward were opened to the 'nobiles' who began to look down upon the virtues of frugality, piety, and moral rectitude which tended,nevertheless,to survive in the provinces where rural life helped to preserve them from the demoralising influence of city life. The very class whose political influence could have done much to restore respect for the honest toil of husbandry and whose enlightened enterprise might have served its interests well, considered the traditional virtues to be the mark of a man who was boorish, priggish and self righteous. (17) It made not only economic sense to promote the prosperity of agriculture; it was also a socially desirable aim for it is well known that the devastation caused by the war with Hannibal resulted in a dispossessed and destitute rural population whose discontent caused political upheavals and who were

easily led by those who promised them security, while these in turn might challenge the authority of the state.(18) For such reasons, to quote Syme, "The New State of Augustus glorified the strong and stubborn peasants of Italy, laboriously winning from the cultivation of cereals a meagre subsistence for himself and for a numerous virile offspring" (p.450). The prose history of Livy (to whom I shall refer later) and the poetry of Vergil and Horace is full of praise for this ideal type; in Book 2 of the Georgics for example, the poet's praise of the land leads to his extolling the virtues of the hardy Marsi, Sabini, Ligures and Volsci (lines 167-74) and likewise an idyll of the busy farmer's yearly round and the chaste life of his household developes into praise for the ancient Sabine stock in whom were ingrained the kind of virtues which had laid the foundations of Roman greatness (lines 513-40); in Book 4, the picture of the 'Corycius senex' who by toiling over a few acres had achieved self-sufficiency and contentment, is a lesson in the way in which agriculture teaches resourcefulness of character. Just as Vergil lamented that men no longer had respect for the plough (iam nullus aratro dignus honos. Georg. 1.506-7), so in Odes 2.15 Horace complains that work on the land is disdained and that soon there will be few arable acres left if private luxury buildings continue to be erected at the same rate; the remedy, as he sees it, depends upon a return to traditional customs such as prevailed during the reign of Romulus and were recommended by Cato the Censor,who more recently had spoken out against a growing tide of luxury and immorality which was corrupting the 'nobiles',and who affected a rustic pose in life as well as his writings,for he wrote an extensive guide to the methods of successful farming. In Odes 3.5 religious decay, moral decline and reversals in battle are attributed to a lack of the fibre which

sustained the Sabines through a laborious life on the land:

'sed rusticorum mascula militum
proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
versare glebas et severae
matris ad arbitrium recisos

portare fustes, sol ubi montium
mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
bobus fatigatis, amicum
tempus agens abeunte curru.'

(lines 37-44)

The rigours of such a life which produced little more than the means of survival had moulded Roman heroes such as Curius and Camillus:

'hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
cum lare fundus.'

(Odes 1.12. 41-4)

Since Roman annalistic poetry had praised heroes whose lives attested to the traditional virtues which had their roots in the way of life of a fundamentally agrarian society, we can appreciate why Catullus described the work of Volusius as rustic and unsophisticated: 'pleni ruris et inficetiarum / annales Volusi' (36. 19-20); here, by calling such work 'countrified' the poet is expressing disapprobation just as in elegy 4.1 Propertius compares, to his own advantage, his elegies with the work of Ennius: 'Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona: / mi folia ex hedera perrige, Bacche, tua....' (lines 61-2). Bearing in mind that in Odes 2.15 referred to above Cato is called 'intonsus' (line 11) and that in Odes 1.12 to which I have just drawn attention Curius is described as having 'incompti capilli' Propertius is almost certainly implying that the Annals of Ennius are rude in much the same way as Catullus considered the work of Volusius to be; in both cases the poets are evaluating the relative merits of different kinds of verse. In Ovid however,

we find that rustic epithets are used not only to imply that a certain type of verse is lacking in polish, sophistication and urbanity - an amusing instance of which is afforded in Amores 2.4 where an admirer of the poet claims that the work of Callimachus, the paragon of poets who aim for elegance and refinement in their verse, is rough and ready compared with the amatory elegies of Ovid: 'est, quae Callimachi prae nostris rustica dicat / carmina' (lines 19-20) - but that it is also the vehicle of a staid, boorish and unenlightened morality; in the Tristia 2.241ff. Ovid defends himself against the charge that the Ars Amatoria has had a morally erosive effect on its readers pointing out that the Annals of Ennius contain an immoral episode but that they are accepted reading. Of this epic work Ovid says 'nihil est hirsutius illis' (line 259) and the context makes it plain that the epithet possesses overtones which indicate that he is using it to describe the moral tenor of the poem. He is saying that even a classic which idealised traditional Roman virtues and morality lapsed into the portrayal of immorality but without the sort of criticism to which his own work has been subjected. In support of this view we need go no further than Amores 2.4, where as I have just mentioned, the epithet 'rusticus' is used in a literary sense in lines 19-20. Now in lines 10-18 Ovid lists five types of female in each of which he finds charms to which he is susceptible. The first two are contrasted, the modest girl on the one hand whose unaffected modesty (pudor) serves only to inflame his passions even more, and on the other, she who is forward with the favours (procax) and because she is not 'rustic' - 'quia rustica non est' (line 13) raises his hopes of conquest. Here the epithet is clearly used in the sense of chaste or virtuous. That it does not simply mean plain and unrefined is confirmed by Ovid's assigning

these qualities to another sort of girl of whom he says in line 18 'sive rudis, placita es simplicitate tua'. After he has told us of his reaction to the girl who is 'non rustica' he proceeds to give, in lines 15-16, his opinion of the girl who is quite the reverse. She turns out to be a modern counterpart of the ancient 'rigida Sabina', one of the breed praised by Vergil and Horace for resilience of character, industry and moral probity, the type described by Alfius as a 'pudica mulier..... Sabina qualis' (Hor. Epodes 2.39ff.), but Ovid maintains that she is guilty of deceit for he believes that hers is a fake modesty and that she would yield if she acted in accordance with her true feelings: 'velle, sed ex alto dissimulare puto' (line 16). As the 'lena had earlier observed in 1.8. 39-44, the unadorned Sabine women of king Tatius' day may have remained faithful to their menfolk, but in modern Rome immorality is the order of the day, and those who are chaste are simply those who have not been asked for their favours; here again she who is 'rustica' is really no more virtuous but rather only more inhibited:

> 'ludunt formosae; casta est, quam nemo rogavit -
> aut si rusticitas non vetat, ipsa rogat.'
> (lines 43-44)

As we saw in my discussion of 1.8 under the preceding heading, lines 41-2 cast an embarrassing light on the dubious morality of legendary figures with strong associations with the emperor. In the context of advice which constitutes an incitement to permissiveness the allusion is charged with irony, for throughout his reign Augustus was intent on improving morality to such an extent that he employed the force of law in a sphere which had previously been assigned to the care of censors,(19) and it is even more pointed for he himself affected a pose which was somewhat rustic, living simply and frugally as though to set an example to others.(20) That the immoral advice

is tendered not by Ovid directly but through the persona of a 'lena' is hardly a mitigating factor in the poet's favour bearing in mind that such advice is the very essence of the Ars Amatoria in which Ovid himself is the 'praeceptor amoris', and where he reiterates several instructions which she gives in this elegy.(21) Again in 3.4,where Ovid refers to the immoral circumstances of the birth of Romulus and Remus as I explained in the context of the earlier discussion of 1.8 referred to above, it is boldly stated that the man who takes offence when his wife is unfaithful to him is 'rusticus' and unversed in the ways of city life (lines 37-38). In both elegies there is a contrast between 'rusticitas', the attribute of the morally naive, and the permissiveness which is part of city life. If we were in any doubt that Ovid is expressing his own thoughts in the former,we are enlightened in the latter in which he tells the 'rusticus' that since beauty and chastity are never found in the same woman he should not expect the beautiful wife whom he has married to be chaste but he should rather be willing to surrender his exclusive rights to her and give her freedom to associate with other men (lines 41-5). The husband is also called 'rigidus' (line 44) a word with which Ovid describes the Sabines whom the deceitful prude is said to resemble in 2.4.15-16 (see above). Here again he is surely suggesting that what is often taken for moral rectitude is in fact an adherence to outmoded standards and narrow minded prudery. Ovid shares with Propertius the attitude that it is unrealistic to expect Roman women to live up to the moral standards of the rustic Sabine maids which the writers who sympathised with Augustus' campaign for moral rearmament held up as worthy of emulation. In elegy 2.32 Propertius resigns himself to the fact that Cynthia will be unfaithful to him on occasions; one may as well expect to be able

to dry up the sea or hold stars in the hand as to imagine that Roman women will act otherwise, hence he must have thought that official moves to restore the 'old-time' morality of the Roman's rustic ancestors were futile and unreasonable:

'qui quaerit Tatios veteres durosque Sabinos,
hic posuit nostra nuper in urbe pedem.
tu prius et fluctus poteris siccare marinos,
altaque mortali deligere astra manu,
quam facere, ut nostrae nolint peccare puellae.'
(lines 47-51)

In elegy 2.19, the 'vita rustica' affords one means whereby Propertius can keep Cynthia free from the attentions of rivals (3-4) for in the country the influence of Diana is stronger than that of Venus. Similarly in the Remedia Amoris Ovid advises those who wish to cure their passion to undertake country pursuits as one of several remedies (lines 169-212). Yet any element of praise for the rustic ideals admired by the Augustan state is lacking. Propertius would be just as happy were Cynthia boating on the Lucrine Lake or swimming in a lagoon, activities which would preserve her from the unwanted (from Propertius' point of view) glances of potential lovers which would be unavoidable in tourist spots (1.11.9-14).

As in Amores 2.4, so in 3.8 Ovid once more accuses those who affect a latter day 'Sabine morality' of being hypocritical. Moreover in the latter elegy they are also charged with being venal:

'at nunc, exaequet tetricas licet illa Sabinas,
imperat ut captae qui dare multa potest.'
(lines 61-2)

Yet Livy claimed that the harsh and austere discipline of the Sabine had rendered them the most incorruptible of people: 'disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit.' (1.18.4). 'Tetricus' is quite a rare adjective

in Augustan literature and in using it to describe the Sabines Ovid may be responding to its usage in conjunction with the same people in Livy, whose first book of Roman history was published earlier than 25 B.C.(22) and who in the preface to the work complained of the moral decline of the Romans which had reached such a pitch in his own day that they were unable to endure the remedies: 'labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est' (Praef. 9). As the preface was probably written between 30 and 23 B.C. it has with reason been proposed by many scholars that the author is referring to the moral legislation of 28 B.C. which miscarried in the face of opposition.(23) At the outset of the work Livy states that he is writing about the Roman past so that the present generation will, with hindsight, know what sort of conduct to emulate or avoid in order to achieve private and political well being (Praef. 10). We cannot be entirely sure of the historian's motive in undertaking the task which he sets himself but it would appear that in evoking the greatness of the Romans of old, their moral integrity and the dignity of their customs and institutions, he has in common with Vergil and Horace a desire to justify the Augustan state which in many ways was fostering a resurgence of the old Roman spirit partly, it must be admitted, to disguise the fact that the system under which it had originally thrived had had to be sacrificed in the interests of political stability. As to whether he wrote in response to the promptings of Augustus or Maecenas, who would recognise the potential of history as a form of propaganda, this too is uncertain, but with regard to the possibility of influence emanating from this quarter the words of Rose

(Handbook of Latin Literature) are a good gauge of the mood which pervades the work: "his own reiterated expressions of delight in the work and particularly in the pictures of ancient virtue which it involves make it clear that he needed little urging" (p.297). Livy takes refuge in the past - 'prisca' to use his own word - to divert his attention from the ills of the present (Praef. 5) but in the Ars Amatoria Ovid confirms what we may have suspected in reading the Amores - that he prefers the age in which he is living and expresses distaste for the life style and traditions of old - 'prisca' - for which Livy and others including the emperor [24] had an admiration:

> 'prisca iuvent alios: ego me nunc denique natum
> gratulor: haec aetas moribus apta meis.
> non quia nunc terrae lentum subducitur aurum,
> lectaque diverso litore concha venit:
> nec quia decrescunt effosso marmore montes,
> nec quia caeruleae mole fugantur aquae:
> sed quia cultus adest, nec nostros mansit in annos
> rusticitas, priscis illa superstes avis.'
>
> (Ars Amatoria 3.121-28)

In the final couplet of this quotation Ovid expresses relief that 'rusticitas', the primitive life and ways of the ancient Romans which had exerted an influence upon society until comparatively recently, has become virtually extinct and has been replaced by 'cultus'. In using this latter term we are to understand him as referring to refinement of manners, enlightened thinking and general sophistication; he makes it quite clear what he does not mean by it; it does not entail as a prerequisite the possession of material luxury - gold, pearls, marble effects and buildings on a grandiose scale. But why does he lay such emphasis on what it is not? This could I think be a bit at Horace whose strictures on these same manifestations of materialism led him to recommend a return to the ways and ideals of the Romans of old for which Ovid had little regard.

In Odes 2.15 we saw how Horace was distressed at the way in which extravagant private building developments threatened to swallow up the countryside, for this spelled doom for the rural way of life favoured by Cato and practised by the subjects of Romulus. Similarly in 2.18 the poet is at home, poor but honest, in his rural Sabine retreat which he contrasts with the mansions adorned with gold, ivory and marble of those whose greed induces them to expel from their plots the peasant tenantry; here once more we are meant to feel sympathy and respect for the ways of the country and the innocent morality which they foster. Odes 3.1 closes with a reaffirmation of his preference for a modest life in his 'valles Sabina' rather than one in which he would be surrounded by luxury and the cares which it brings, and 3.24, which is addressed to an audience at large, proclaims that the 'campestres Scythae' and the 'rigidi Getae', among whom family pride, chastity and respect for the marriage bond still survive, lead a life superior to that of the contemporary Roman who has been corrupted by the very wealth which he pursues relentlessly. Whereas the two poets would probably have shared a distaste for the ostentation of the materialistic society in which they lived, Ovid, unlike Horace, advocates no reactionary solution least of all a return to rustic ancestral ways. I find it interesting that in contrasting the 'simplicitas rudis' of the past with 'aurea Roma' of the present in the eight lines which lead directly into the Ovidian passage quoted above, the poet singles out lavish civic and religious buildings as symbols of the change which wealth, accruing from empire (cf. line 114) has effected. The buildings referred to are those to which the emperor had given his personal attention; the temple of Palatine Apollo dedicated in 28 B.C., the Curia Julia completed in 29 B.C. and the temples to Jupiter on the Capitol of which that of

the god in his aspect 'Feretrius' was dedicated in 19 B.C., in his aspect 'Tonans' in 22 B.C., and in his role of supreme god of the Roman state in 2 B.C. after its destruction by fire in 9 B.C.. In referring to the buildings he contrasts their modern impressive appearance with what must have been the unadorned rustic simplicity of their equivalents during the reign of Tatius; the area occupied by the new temple of Apollo was in this early period merely a grazing ground for cattle. Now Horace, in advocating a return of 'rustic' ideals, had denounced the misuse of wealth for the pursuit of luxury and satisfying of selfish ambitions and suggested instead that it be used to make resplendent the temples of the gods (cf. Odes 2.15. 17-20; 3.24.45-8; Sat. 2.2.103). Augustus himself undertook the restoration of the temples on a grand scale (Res Gestae 20; cf. Verg. Aen. 8.716) and of his own efforts in beautifying the city as a whole boasted that he had found a city of brick and left it a city of marble (Suet.Aug. 28). Now I suspect Ovid of rejecting both aspects of the Horatian plan for moral improvement for he may well be implying that the massive rebuilding programme is in itself a manifestation of the materialism of contemporary society and possibly just as much a case of personal aggrandisement - an oblique comment on the emperor's undertakings - as the private building developments of the rich which Horace was fond of criticising. Horace went to the extremes; let men live in comparative poverty and cultivate a primitive rustic morality while allowing no expense to be spared on housing the gods in surroundings consonant with their dignity. Ovid on the other hand may be questioning the desirability of pursuing these extremes. He dissociates himself from the camp of those who, while admiring 'prisca' (line 121), forget that such lavish public monuments, in particular those of the gods, were unknown in the

days when Tatius reigned. Rome, newly monumentalised may have taken on a gilt appearance (line 113) but the abundance of gold and marble affords no grounds for his being thankful for being born into the present age (lines 123-6). The grounds are, rather, that he is not living in the primitive age extolled by those whose inconsistent thinking leads them to lend support to an extravagant decorative building programme which would be alien to a truly primitive society. It is surely such scepticism towards the new spirit of religious and moral revival outwardly expressed by the erection and restoration of temples and shrines that allows Ovid to regard the portico of the most august temple of them all, that of the emperor's patron deity Apollo of the Palatine, as a convenient place to 'pickup' a girl (Amores 2.2.3-4).

In the De Medicamine Faciei we find Ovid referring scornfully once more to the ancient rustic Sabines, exemplars of good morality; here he speaks in his own right and the language, echoing as it does the words of the 'lena' in Amores 1.8, is a further indication that her cynical attitude towards the ancestors of the Romans was shared by the poet:

'forsitan antiquae Tatio sub rege Sabinae
maluerint, quam se, rura paterna coli.'
(De Med. Fac. lines 11-12)

'forsitan inmundae Tatio regnante Sabinae
noluerint habiles pluribus esse viris.'
(Amores 1.8.39-40)

The passage which I have quoted from the De Medicamine Faciei is followed by four lines which depict the typical occupations of the Sabine 'matrona', including wool-spinning. This, as I shall have occasion to discuss under a later heading, was an activity pursued in earnest by the elder ladies of the imperial household who made Augustus' house

clothes, though we can easily imagine how the younger females - the daughter and granddaughter of the emperor - found it an uncongenial task; they seem to have had more in common with the 'tenerae puellae' whom Ovid describes as unsuited to the old fashioned ways of their mothers (line 17ff.); Julia the Elder preferred oriental silks (Macr. Sat. 2.5.5.) which are beloved by the mistresses of the elegists (cf. Prop. 1.2.2; 2.3.15; Tib. 2.3.53-4) and she, like her daughter, preferred the 'new morality' which is mirrored in amatory elegy. In Vergil's Aeneid 8.407-13, woolspinning is equated with chastity just as it is in the texts of numerous inscriptions which record the virtues of deceased women,(25) hence I think it is more than likely that in describing it as an unsuitable occupation for the younger generation of women Ovid is intimating that chastity itself is an outmoded ideal. In line 12, where it is humorously stated that the Sabine dames of old preferred to cultivate their fields rather than themselves, we are inevitably reminded of the manual of Vergil which contains much advice on husbandry - 'cultus' of quite a different sort. Echoes of the Georgics have been detected in this poem as well as in the Amores and the Ars Amatoria (26) and this is a good indication that the moralistic antiquarianism of Vergil no less than of Horace is a butt of Ovid on the many occasions when he shows flippant disrespect towards this trend in Augustan life and letters.

Perhaps Ovid realised, in the words of Syme, that "the whole conception of the Roman past upon which he (sc. the princeps) sought to erect the moral and spiritual basis of the New State was in large measure imaginary or spurious, the creation conscious or unconscious of patriotic historians or publicists who adapted to Roman language Greek theories about primitive virtue and about the

social degeneration that comes from wealth and empire. The Italian peasant may have been valorous and frugal: he was also narrow and grasping, brutal and superstitious". (p.453).

What then are we to make of Tibullus' idealisation of the countryside and its ways? In Vergil and Horace descriptions of country life and the fortitude of the ordinary folk who lead it often constitute a homily on Augustan morality and ideals, but is Tibullus similarly responding to this tendency to regard the 'vita rustica' as embodying virtues worthy of emulation by the Augustan citizen? What, moreover, can we reasonably surmise to have been Ovid's attitude to country themes in Tibullus' elegies when, as we have just seen, he revealed himself as an opponent of 'rusticitas'? First of all I think we should take into consideration Amores 3.9, the elegiac epicedium on the death of Tibullus a poem which in itself demonstrates that Ovid had a good deal of respect for his predecessor with whom he had shared a common respect for Messalla as a patron of poets.(27) Here he describes the deceased poet as 'cultus' just as he does in an earlier elegy (1.15.28). I have just examined a significant passage in which Ovid rejoices that he is living in an age when the enjoyment of 'cultus' is possible and 'rusticitas', that is a life style similar to that which existed among the rustic Sabines during the reign of Tatius, is virtually extinct. Now 'rusticus' as an adjective applied to poetry is, as I pointed out with reference to Amores 2.4, just as uncomplimentary a term as it is when it is used to describe a person who is boorishly narrow-minded. If Ovid has thought that Tibullan elegy manifested the same sort of 'rusticitas' as he personally found distasteful,then it is unlikely that he would have chosen such a word as 'cultus' to describe Tibullus' poetic artistry,

style, or subject matter if only to avoid the charge of applying a double standard and striking a note of insincerity in what is a serious poem. I believe that the 'rusticitas' which Ovid found disagreeable was that exhibited by those of an old fashioned and narrow minded outlook on life, particularly with regard to questions of morality, as well as that appearing in literature which is overtly favourable to Augustan ideology and which recommends, for the cause of moral improvement, the simple and supposedly honest ways which the country folk were claimed to practise. In my opinion Tibullus is not making political capital out of his descriptions of country life; as he appears in the elegies he is far removed from being an exemplar of Augustan manly and rustic virtues but rather, to put it frankly, a drop-out. Of course Horace extolled the leisurely pace of life at his retreat in the Sabine countryside but this gift came to him after six years of friendship with Maecenas, during which time his patron must have gauged the directions in which his poetic talent would be applied,and realised that he could be trusted to lend support in his own way to the aims of the new order; in fulfilling these expectations Horace can be regarded as having earned the advantages which he enjoyed, and similarly Vergil and Varius Rufus earned rewards at a time when it was thought that "the man of letters can serve his country as well as the soldier and statesman". (28) The Tibullan vision of the countryside has much in common with that of Horace when in relaxed mood he can expatiate on the charm of life in the Sabine countryside,but on the other hand, Horace will just as often, in a political context, speak of the rigours of country life which breed self-reliance and here he differs from Tibullus. For the elegist the 'vita rustica' represents above all a haven from the travails and pressures of a Roman career and a

place where the values esteemed in such a career do not operate. Unlike Horace, he dreams of a permanent retreat to the country. Horace gives his view on those who contemplate exchanging a regular occupation in the city for life in the country on a permanent basis in Epodes 2 which mocks the mutability of Alfius. The poet may be giving a new twist to a stock theme of the oratorical schools, that in which the cares of the world are contrasted with the tranquil life of the country,(29) but according to Fränkel "Perhaps Horace also drew on contemporary poems which extolled that way of life" (Horace. P.61). The Epodes were published in 30 B.C. and on internal grounds Fränkel (ibid.) believes that the second in the collection is one of the later poems. Now as it is generally accepted that Tibullus' literary career began in earnest c.31 B.C.,(30) and though 26 B.C. is a likely date for the publication of the first book of elegies, it is possible that he had announced his poetic programme at a 'recitatio' by delivering an elegy in which the theme of retreat to the country was already present. In any case, with the Alfius Epode in mind, we can appreciate that one of the reasons why Horace refers somewhat ironically to the elegist (in the way explained in earlier parts of this work) may be attributable to his dislike of such extreme plans for evading the pressures of life. In elegy 1.10, Tibullus contrasts the military life with country life, and the heroic aspect of the former is compared unfavourably with the peaceful ways of the latter which knows no strife other than the 'Veneris bella' (line 53). In Horace however, the countryside is often considered the cradle of heroic ideals which are of service to the state (eg. Odes 1.12.41-4, 3.6.33-44) whereas the rural theme in the Tibullan elegies is never politicised in this way. Likewise in the Georgics of Vergil political motifs pervade the basic theme of the dignity of

labour on the land, for the qualities possessed by the ancestors of the Romans who held such toil in respect are considered as a major factor in determining Rome's rise to greatness and the guarantee against internal disorder which the advent of Octavian further serves to validate. (31) Tibullus dreams of an essentially pastoral world in which he can successfully ignore the wider issues of the Augustan state; if "serious political commitment is the leading characteristic of Augustan poetry" (32) then we may rightly conclude that the spirit of political Augustanism of this sort was a rare visitant in the elegies of Tibullus. As I argued in the previous chapter, such political echoes and overtones that can be detected have the effect of detracting from the glory of Augustus; nor is the picture of primitive rural life in elegy 2.5 - which as we saw, contains a strong vein of irony and 'levitas' - necessarily an unequivocal and sincere effort on the poet's part in the direction of patriotic antiquarianism introduced in connection with the Aeneas legend. Putnam in his introduction to the most recent edition of Tibullus writes on 2.5: "There was once an ideal, rural Rome, a Rome of Panpipes and amorous shepherds, before Romulus built walls and killed Remus. Once prior to Rome's assumption of universal rule, cattle cropped her grassy seven hills, a moment in civilisation halted only by Aeneas battling with Turnus and Ilia deserting Vesta for Mars. Tibullus feels no need to eulogize the Rome of Augustus...." (p.8). To the pastorality of the Tibullan elegies Ovid had little reason to take exception for the pastoral was a type of verse with roots in the Alexandrian literary tradition admired by neoterics and elegists alike. Scholars, arguing from Servius' notice on Eclogues 10.46 are generally agreed that pastoral motifs were to be found in the elegies of Gallus, and Skutsch has shown how many passages in Tibullus' first

book resemble lines 42-5 of the same Eclogue. (33) That Gallus, the acknowledged and respected pioneer of amatory elegy, adopted a pastoral theme or was sympathetic to it in the verse of another, and that Messalla had written pastoral in Greek on Theocritean lines, (Catalepton 9.13-20) are additional factors which may have recommended such a theme to the Ovid of later years. It is with the idealisation of 'rustic' virtues for ideological reasons that Ovid takes issue and it is surely for this reason that he loves to mock the Georgics of Vergil rather than his Eclogues (see note 26). We should not forget that Tibullus in common with the other elegists is in search of sexual freedom - the opportunity to determine his own 'mores' in this sphere. He believes that the gods and the race of men in the Golden Age possessed such freedom:

'felices olim, Veneri cum fertur aperte
servire aeternos non puduisse deos'
(2.3. 29-30)

'o valeant fruges, ne sint modo rure puellae:
glans alat, et prisco more bibantur aquae.
glans aluit veteres, et passim semper amarunt:
quid nocuit sulcos non habuisse satos ?
tunc quibus aspirabat Amor praebebat aperte
mitis in umbrosa gaudia valle Venus.
nullus erat custos, nulla exclusura dolentes
ianua: si fas est, mos precor ille redi.'
(ibid. lines 67-74)

Tibullus favours a return to the 'mos priscus' for reasons entirely opposed to those for which it was advocated in officially inspired literature. Whereas, as I have already remarked, the ways of old were advocated as a corrective for the declining moral standards in contemporary society by those who appear to have given support to the emperor's programme of moral reform, on Tibullus' reckoning the opportunities for sexual freedom were even greater in primitive society than in his own day. Here the elegist is taking a Lucretian

view of the state of early society,for the philosopher had taught (5.925-65) that primitive man feeding on simple fare such as acorns (cf.Tib.lines 68-9 sup.cit.) was promiscuous in his sexual behaviour at a time when there was no concept of private property (cf.Tib.1.3. 43-4). Again in elegy 1.10 Tibullus describes how the 'rusticus' falls victim to 'lascivus Amor' and wages 'Veneris bella' and is censured only because he becomes violent showing himself no better than the soldier whose way of life the poem as a whole deplores. The rural theme in Tibullus is not taken up in order to preach moral puritanism and hence Ovid may well have looked favourably upon it, for Tibullan 'rusticitas' does not entail a prudish reserve in sexual matters. For Tibullus the countryside represents above all the possibilities for peace against those of war. Introducing elegy 1.10 Putnam writes: "True there is amatory violence even in rustic life but, as part of his wish for an apolitical and peaceful existence, Tibullus shows such activity as symptomatic of fertility and not the deadly divisiveness of war against which this poem offers a striking homily" (p.146). The commentator rightly speaks of an "apolitical existence" for the praise of 'pax' in this elegy is not in my opinion necessarily a praise of the 'pax Augusta' which put an end to civil strife but the 'pax' which one can hope to enjoy by opting out of the campaigns undertaken in the interests of the Augustan state. Tibullus' complaints about military life refer to contemporary society and embrace even the campaigns in which Messalla acted as a lieutenant of the emperor, and with which Tibullus as far as we can gauge had to some extent been involved.(34) In this way the Tibullan 'pax' can be regarded as an expression of aversion to a major aspect of Augustan policy - the military commitment necessary to maintain empire. Rooted, as this thought is, in the vision of a tranquil

life in the countryside where the peaceful amatory instincts play an important part - Cupido, indeed, is said to have been born in the country (2.1.67-8) - we can see how different the Tibullan 'rusticitas' is from that which features in the work of certain other Augustan writers where the primitive country life is admired for fashioning sturdy yeomen warriors and is conducive to a stricter morality. The country theme in Tibullus is the vehicle of sentiments which are common in the work of his fellow elegists and ought not to be presumed to be an expression of patriotic pride in the Italian countryside as it so often is in the Georgics of Vergil. Tibullus, after all, may well be suggesting by numerous echoes of this Vergilian work (35) that one can indulge in 'laudes ruris' which are not sung with political intonations.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the fact that the thought of a country existence as opposed to an urban life is apparently 'molestum' for Sulpicia (3.14.1). What can be more desirable than the city - 'dulcius urbe quid est?' (ibid. line 3). She doubts whether a country home and cold streams in the Arretine fields can be fit for a girl - 'an villa sit apta puellae/atque Arretino frigidus amnis agro?' (ibid. lines 3-4). She would obviously fall far short of the Sabine ideal of womanhood held by Horace in patriotic mood. Sulpicia says that she feels as she does because she is separated from Cerinthus who is not by her side in the country. In fact in another elegy she admits that her views on country life depend on the absence or presence of Cerinthus:

> 'tunc mihi, tunc placeant silvae, si, lux mea, tecum
> arguar ante ipsas concubuisse plagas.'
>
> (3.9.15-16)

She is, then, fairly indifferent towards the subject, and one is led

to doubt whether Tibullus even, would have been so enthusiastic about the 'vita rustica' and not found it similarly 'molestum' in the absence of his desired companion.

'Orbitas' versus 'Ubertas'

No elegy has provoked so much debate as to the question of the status of a female elegiac character than 2.7 in the Propertian corpus,but one point of certainty which does emerge is that the poet voices his refusal to produce children:

'unde mihi patriis natos praebere triumphis ?
nullus de nostro sanguine miles erit.
....
tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus:
hic erit et patrio nomine pluris amor.'

(lines 13-14 and 19-20)

Propertius must have realised that one of the main motives which dictated the legislation, the repeal of which gave him a feeling of relief, was the need to encourage a rise in the birth rate so that the strength of the army and the efficiency of civil administration might be maintained. Such is the import of Augustus' speech reported by Dio (56.1ff) which even contained the frank observation that it was necessary for offspring to fill the ranks of the slain. According to Suetonius the 'equites' demonstrated their opposition to the legislation whereupon Augustus summoned the children of his granddaughter Agrippina and displayed them in the presence of their father Germanicus,on whose knee some were seated,while the remainder sat on that of the emperor (Aug.34). By this token he made the aims of his regulations clear to all, an aim which Propertius obviously was unwilling to back personally. The occasion of the speech reported by Dio was a celebration of triumphal games,and it was the

emperor's response to a public demand by the 'equites' for a repeal of the laws on celibacy and childnessness. This is probably the same incident narrated by Suetonius who tells us that it occurred during a public show (publicum spectaculum. loc.cit.) and it can be reasonably assigned to the year of Augustus' sixth consulship held in 28 B.C. when according to Tacitus 'potentiae securus, quae triumviratu iusserat abolevit deditque iura quis pace et principe uteremur'. (Annals 3.28). These new arrangements which he initiated to replace those of the triumvural period clearly included some dealing with morality for the historic cites this revision as an attempt by the 'princeps' to control the immorality and lawlessness which had escalated during the previous two decades, and then proceeds to mention the stricter way of life which it imposed. The year 28-7 B.C. would be an ideal date for the composition of elegy 2.7 which is in effect a political document as well as a poem for it presents Propertius as reacting with his class to state interference. He may have attended the entertainment which turned into a demonstration and have heard the emperor address the crowd,in which case I surmise that perhaps we ought to interpret line 13 (sup.cit.) not simply as a rhetorical question,but very likely a real question posed to the assembled 'equites' which would be in keeping with the tenor of the speech as found in Dio,which probably contains the gist of the emperor's words even if we do not accept it as accurate in every particular. The elegy is in its own way symptomatic of a disinclination felt by many under the Republic towards marital and parental commitment. To cope with this the censors had been empowered to impose financial penalties on celibate men; Valerius Maximus (2.9) refers to a censorial decree which forbade men to remain single and this agrees with Cicero's statement that the censor's task is to prevent celibacy

(De Leg. 3). The speech of the censor for 131 B.C. (see below for its relevance to the emperor's social plan) is a measure of the extent of the problem being an appeal for men to marry and so increase the birth rate (Livy Per. 59, Gellius N.A.1.6). The vehemence of Propertius' poetical protest, coming as it does at a politically inopportune moment, suggests that here the voice of conscience is audible and that we are not just dealing with a cry of horror that the foundations of an elegiac convention which rules out domesticity and family life are under threat.

Also to be appreciated in the context of Augustus' strategy for stimulating the birth-rate are a pair of elegies written by Ovid (2.13 and 14). the subject of which is unique not only in Roman verse, but in the poetry of any dher age,(36) and one calculated to rouse the wrath of the emperor perhaps even more than Propertius' emphatic refusal to assume the responsibilities of parenthood. We have just seen Augustus showing off the children of Germanicus to impress upon his opponents the main purpose behind his legislation. Further indications of his solicitude in this respect are to be found in his recommending to the populace through an edict the speech of Metellus Macedonicus, censor in 131 B.C., entitled 'On Increasing the Population' in which the author had advocated compulsory marriage (Suet.Aug.89., Livy Per. 69); when he made his tours of the provinces of Italy he would give cash rewards of one thousand sesterces for each son or daughter whom a citizen could display before him (Suet.ibid.46) and Gellius tells how he raised a monument to a woman who at one birth had produced five children (ibid. 10.2). The 'ius trium liberorum', a privilege which facilated more rapid promotion in the magistracies for fathers of more than two children, was designed with the same end in view. That Ovid should have gone ahead with their publication

after 18 B.C. when Augustus' moral reforms received the support of the full weight of the law, reforms which were later strengthened by the lex Papia Poppaea of 9 A.D. which shows that his zeal in this quarter had not abated, is quite remarkable. Even if they were first published in the second edition their appearance falls within this period of a tightening of control over moral standards.

I am of the opinion that the elegies reveal Ovid as a master of that 'nequitia' with which he delighted in shocking those of a puritanical outlook. This however is not the view of everyone. An article by Watts (A.C.16 1973 pp. 89-101) argues that Ovid, in remonstrating with Corinna for what she has done, is assuming an attitude of revulsion with which his contemporaries would have sympathised; they are "documents of popular attitudes" (p.92) which regarded abortion as 1. "dangerous", 2. "unnatural" and 3. "a social evil". Yet in conclusion he states that the "real centre of interest" in these documents is "neither God and salvation, nor society and its interests, nor the child and his rights" (p.101) and in the penultimate footnote he writes "Later, in the Ars Amatoria, even in Book 3 directed to the ladies, Ovid never discusses abortion..... Perhaps our two poems in the Amores had proven generally unacceptable." (note 69 p.101). Documents which reflect popular attitudes but which are generally unacceptable are indeed strange. I think Ovid abandoned the theme because they were officially unacceptable and I will attempt to show how this is so. Ovid's attitude to Corinna's deed is ambivalent. Though he expresses anger it is diminished through fear for her safety (ira digna mea; sed cadit ira metu. 2.13.4). He prays to Isis to intercede and spare her life and also entreats Ilithyia to be merciful towards her for she is worthy of such aid:

'lenis ades precibusque meis fave, Ilithyia!
digna est, quam iubeas muneris esse tui.'
(2.13.21-2)

In Augustan verse the only other reference I can trace outside Ovid's work [37] to 'Ilithyia' is to be found in the Carmen Saeculare of Horace where she is invoked to prosper the birth of children following the enactment of the legislation of 18 B.C. concerning marriage:

'rite maturos aperire partus
lenus, Ilithyia, tuere matres
sive tu Lucina probas vocari
seu Genitalis.

diva, producas subolem patrumque
prosperes decreta super iugandis
feminis prolisque novae feraci
lege marita.'
(lines 13-20)

In Ovid, the help of the goddess is sought not to ease childbirth but to spare the life of one who, while she has committed no criminal offence, has acted in a way totally out of keeping with the spirit if not the letter of the new legislation. Watts is probably right when he points out that "Augustus' legislation favouring fecundity naturally was aimed indirectly against abortion". (p.91). From a Horatian point of view - and in the Carmen Saeculare he is speaking in the strongest official tones - Ovid is asking the goddess to perform a singularly inappropriate task. Strictly speaking, Ilithyia is the Roman equivalent of the Greek Artemis - Eileithyia whose assistance was sought by women at childbirth. Horace gives this title to Juno Lucina who could similarly ease childbirth though Odes 3.22.1-4 suggests that he realised that she was in fact Artemis [38] for he describes Diana as -

'Montium custos nemorumque, Virgo
quae laborantes utero puellas
ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
diva triformis.'

I propose that in naming Ilithyia, Ovid intended us to think of the role of the goddess in the Carmen Saeculare. I notice a similar wording between the passage quoted above in which Horace describes the functions of Diana - Artemis - Eileithyia and Ovid's prayer to Ilithyia:

'tuque <u>laborantes utero</u> miserata <u>puellas</u>
quarum tarda latens corpora tendit onus'
(2.13.19-20)

Allowing for the possibility that both authors are drawing upon a common liturgical formula, Ovid must have known that his audience would draw a comparison between Horace's approach to the goddess and his own which was surrounded by circumstances startlingly different.

Again, Ovid's appeal to Isis and her associate deities Osiris, Anubis and Apis is out of harmony with the policy of maligning oriental cults instigated by Octavian in his propaganda campaign against Antony and his Egyptian queen. The latter three are zoomorphic gods represented by a white ox (Onuphis harbouring the soul of Osiris), a jackal and a bull respectively, types of divinity which Vergil abominates in the Aeneid where they are ranged against the traditional gods of the Roman pantheon in the conflict between Octavian and Antony at Actium, the victorious outcome of which is portrayed not only as a martial success but also as the vindication of Roman civilisation against the threat of a barbarous foe:

'omnigenum deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent.'
(8.678-80)

Suetonius tells how Augustus respected all ancient cults including those of foreign origin which had been long established, but his disregard for the more recently imported Egyptian religions is evident from the way in which he refused to honour Apis the bull

while on tour in Egypt: 'Peregrinarum caeremoniarum sicut veteres ac praeceptas reverentissime coluit, ita ceteras contemptui habuit ..... at contra non modo in peragranda Aegypto paulo deflectere ad visendum Apin supersedit...' (Aug. 93); Suetonius adds that he praised Gaius for refusing to honour Jehovah at Jerusalem on a journey through Judaea which strongly suggests that in steering clear of Apis in Egypt he was motivated by religious scruples. Propertius provides us with a similar reflection of this policy of denigration in elegy 3.11, though as I explained in my previous chapter, he identifies himself with the opposition in a way which suggests that lines 29-49 are largely an exposé of typical propaganda (39) against which he counterpoises his own thoughts:

'scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi
una Philippeo sanguine adusta nota
ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim
et Tiberim Nili cogere ferre minas,
Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro.'
(lines 39-43)

In his prayer, Ovid reminds Isis of her beloved Canopus and river Nile which in the specimen of Augustan propaganda referred to above are denounced, Canopus being described as 'incestus' by virtue of the fact that several of the Ptolemies from whom Cleopatra was descended had married their sisters and the Nile is said to have menaced the Tiber. Moreover, Ovid beseeches her 'by thy sistrums' (per tua sistra precor. line 11), an oriental instrument which Vergil contemptuously depicts Cleopatra as using to rouse her forces at Actium:

'regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro'
(Aen. 8.696)

In the Propertian account the 'sistrum' is similarly opposed to the Roman 'tuba' (3.11.43 sup.cit.). The establishment had always viewed

the Egyptian gods with suspicion. In the decade between 58-48 B.C. for instance, their temples in Rome were torn down four times. In 43 B.C. the triumvirs, no doubt thinking that it would be safer to Romanise an alien cult which was growing in popularity, resolved to raise a temple to the goddess but this decision was not implemented. Augustus banned the worship of Egyptian deities within the pomoerium of the city in 28 B.C. and in 21 B.C. this ban was reinforced by Agrippa who extended the restricted area to a mile beyond the pomoerium. (40) In his discussion of religious developments under the empire, Nock mentions Ovid's prayer to Isis and emphasises that it is exceptional for its day, the general unpopularity of the Egyptian cults among the educated classes being also mirrored in the art of the Augustan age which has a very low instance of subjects from these cults: "In the Campana reliefs, belonging to this period, and in the stuccos of the Casa Farnesina there are numerous representations of scenes relating to the old-established Dionysiac and Eleusinian rites, but only very rare representations of Egyptian priestly figures, and they need not mean more than the commoner scenes of Nile life, which had then something of the interest which China possessed for Europeans of the eighteenth century. Again, Egyptian subjects are not common on the popular Arretine pottery". (41) Tiberius inherited his predecessors dislike of the cult going so far as to have the image of Isis thrown into the Tiber, her temple destroyed, her priests crucified and many of her worshippers exiled. It was only with Caligula that the cult gained official approval. The goddess who often appears in the elegies of Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid and who plays a large part in their lives, albeit obstructive at times, was branded with the Augustan seal of disapproval. In order to

compound his 'nequitia' in addressing an imposing prayer to rivals of Rome's traditional deities I believe that he applies to Osiris, the consort of Isis, the epithet 'pius' (line 12) with which Vergil had described his hero Aeneas who embodies those Roman virtues prized by promoters of the Augustan renaissance. Aeneas appears in the Carmen Saeculare (line 42) on which as I have just proposed Ovid had his eye in composing these elegies but Horace apparently had a low opinion of Osiris mentioning his name only once in an oath which he attributes to an imposter (Epp. 1.17.6). In addition I suggest that Ovid, noticing that Horace referred in the Carmen Saeculare to the 'turmae' of Aeneas (line 38) who accompanied him from Troy, decided to give 'pius Osiris' and his consort a 'turma' (line 18), followers in the religious sense. The Galli are of course priests of Cybele, but Ovid uses the phrase 'Gallica turma' of the priests of Isis and Osiris, and here I detect an example of Ovidian wit for 'Gallicus' can also mean Trojan, after the river Gallus in Phrygia which in itself explains the title of the officiants of the rites of the Phrygian mother goddess.(42) An interesting sidelight is thrown on this view in the Cambridge Ancient History where in discussing the conservatism of Claudius, Nock observes that the respect shown towards the cult of Attis by the elevation of the 'archigallus' to a dignified priesthood in the reign of this emperor is less remarkable owing to the fact that "In the reign of Augustus the emphasis laid on the Trojan origins in general and the Julian family in particular led to an emphasis on Cybele, and among the temples which Augustus restored was that of the Magna Mater on the Palatine". (Vol. 10 p.449). Thus I propose Ovid describes the unofficial cult of Isis in terms which remind us that the 'Trojan cult' favoured by the imperial house is in reality an oriental import. That he does so while ignoring traditional and

more recently sanctioned cults with the exception of one (i.e. Ilithyia) which is introduced in a paradoxical way, suggests to me that he is flaunting religious orthodoxy.

With regard to lines 15-18 of 2.14 I doubt very much whether they constitute a "flattering touch" directed at the emperor as Watts imagines them to be (art. cit. p.97):

'Ilia si tumido geminos in ventre necasset
casurus dominae conditor Urbis erat;
si Venus Aenean gravida temerasset in alvo,
Caesaribus tellus orba futura fuit.'

Ovid points out that if Rhea Silvia and Venus had acted in the same way as Corinna then neither Romulus nor the Caesars would have seen the light of day. Surely Ovid knew that the flattery, even if genuinely intended, would be regarded by the recipient as misplaced in a poem of dubious morality and would have omitted this touch. The circumstances surrounding the birth of Romulus to the Vestal virgin Rhea Silvia, were as we saw earlier, not beyond reproach. She escaped the fate of latter-day members of her order, which would have terminated her life as well as her pregnancy, and could not complain on technical grounds when Romulus and his brother were ordered to suffer death by exposure, this being after all the prescription of Augustus for dealing with the offspring of Julia the Younger and her illicit lover (Suet. Aug.65), (43) and a practice to which by virtue of his 'patria potestas', a father could resort if he did not wish to maintain the legitimate or illegitimate children of his wife (Girard, Droit Romain Vol. 1 pp. 131-4).

I have given grounds for dating elegy 2.13 to 17 B.C. in view of the way in which Ovid seems to echo the Carmen Saeculare of Horace and it is reasonable to suppose that its counterpart 2.14 was

composed at roughly the same time and if we remember that Marcellus the nephew and destined successor of Augustus had met a tragic and much lamented death only a few years earlier in 25 B.C., it is easy to see how the thought of a world without Caesars could not have flattered the emperor; Ovid is being undiplomatic to say the least.

I think it possible that an intended topical allusion may underlie Ovid's picture of a world bereft of Caesars. I refer to the emperor's decision after Actium to execute Caesarion the illegitimate son of Julius Caesar and Cleopatra while sparing her issue by Antony, for the simple reason, as Tarn puts it, that "the world must not hold two Caesars".(44) In addition Suetonius, enumerating the omens of the emperor's future greatness in the days before he came to power, relates how a prodigy announced the imminent birth of one destined to become king of Rome in the year of Augustus' birth (63 B.C.) whereupon the Senate resolved that no male child born in that year should be reared. A few senators however, whose wives were already pregnant, prevented the registration of the decree at the Treasury for they harboured the secret hope that they might have become the father of this child (ibid.94). The historian acknowledges his source for the tale as Julius Marathus a freedman of the 'princeps' (ibid. 79), and a pro-Augustan pamphleteer,one of several who counter-acted the propaganda of the emperor's enemies and who added a miraculous component to their vindication of his cause in order to represent him as a forechosen ruler.(45) This war of words would naturally rely upon reaching a wide audience for its effectiveness and for that reason we can imagine how Ovid may have learned of this somewhat fantastic claim of Marathus. The irony of this fiction would readily suggest itself to the poet in the context of these

elegies,for the emperor's advent was in effect the signal for the government to contemplate the implementation of measures which were the opposite in aim to those which Augustus promoted, and which would have resulted in the loss to the world of a Caesar. In treating the subject of these elegies Ovid may have been motivated to redress the balance of a poem like the Carmen Saeculare which was weighted entirely in favour of reforms designed to proliferate the number of Roman citizens, and to show that he at least was sceptical about the way in which the state was enroaching upon citizens' private lives.

Freedom and Repression

Propertius, as I have just explained, was adamantly opposed to the idea of his having to assume the responsibilities of parenthood,and Ovid affords a surprising description of a practice which is symptomatic of a similar reluctance in the case of Corinna and other Augustan mothers (the 'puellae' of 2.14.37.cf.Nux, line 24: raraque in hoc aevo est quae velit esse parens). Propertius does not wish to attach himself to a woman who will bear his children and perform the traditional duties of a 'matrona' from which we can presume that any partner of his would willingly forego the prospect of motherhood. Such women were the product of a social revolution which had been fermenting before the advent of the imperial order. During the later Republic women had become increasingly free to determine their own lifestyle,and marriage 'sine manu' became correspondingly more popular, this arrangement allowing them to retain their own property rights and so preserve an independence from their husbands which marriage 'in manum' was less likely to afford. This obviously suited the sort of woman who did not contemplate a life-long commital to the

same husband for it permitted easy divorce which, incidentally, renders less remarkable the fact that Sulla and Pompey were married five times and Ovid thrice. It is, moreover, understandable that it would appeal to society women who did not wish to spend their time looking after children and draining their resources for their maintenance. Polybius had noted a similar trend among the Greeks to secure wealth by avoiding the expense of parenthood (36.17) and Tacitus refers to the attractions of childlessness which frustrated the designs of the Lex Papia Poppaea of 9 A.D. (Ann.3.25). Juvenal's scathing remarks about rich women who avoid pregnancy or resort to abortion (Sat. 6.597-601) probably attest in their own way to the same strategy, and Pliny the Elder certainly does when discussing the effects caused by the pursuit of wealth (N.H. 14.5). The turning point in the story of female emancipation at Rome seems to have occurred after the conclusion of the war with Hannibal. Social unrest and a relaxation in moral standards following national crises have been a feature of the modern era, and a similar phenomenon would appear to have followed upon the greatest upheaval which affected the Republic. In 195 B.C. the women of Rome demonstrated en masse calling for the repeal of the Lex Oppia which had restricted the amount of ornaments which they might possess as well as their use of conveyances during wartime. Livy has left us a vivid account of their protest (34.1-8). Their husbands were unable to keep them within doors and they beset the approaches to the Forum, their numbers swelled by an influx of sympathisers from the provincial towns. L. Valerius, a tribune, supported their claims, but a war of words ensued between himself and M. Porcius Cato, who wished the law to stand for it was, he said, in keeping with the traditional attitude shown towards women by their ancestors who debarred them from business and

political life, placing them under the surveillance of their husbands guardians and male relatives. In reply, Valerius emphasised that the circumstances which had made it necessary to impose sanctions no longer prevailed. His speech bears witness to the inferior status of women whom he says live in subservience so long as they have kinsmen; this inferior status, he claims, they find preferable to the relative freedom which widowhood and bereavement affords and calls upon husbands and fathers to exercise authority over the women in their care rather than keep them in slavery. While Livy's account may not be based upon a contemporary record of the debate it accords with the inscriptional evidence which confirms the circumscribed sphere of female influence depicted therein.(46) It may be informed by attitudes prevalent in the historian's own day which the emperor's own outlook on the subject would have helped to reinforce - a point to which I will return shortly - and against which we should base our appreciation of amatory elegy, especially the theme of the 'servitium amoris' which instates the women in a position of dominance over the man. I will be defending the thesis that the elegiac life style mirrors the growing independence of women which had been gaining momentum under the Republic, a trend which in essence was symptomatic of mens' inability or unwillingness to assert their authority, a passivity out of tune with the spirit of the Augustan moral reforms which uphold the concept of 'patria potestas'. The repeal of the Lex Oppia was a victory for women but an attempt was made by the enactment of the Lex Voconia of 169 B.C. to stem their growing independence founded to a large extent on the peculiar property rights to which marriage 'sine manu' entitled them. This measure, supported by the reactionary Cato, set out to prevent women from inheriting legacies of more than 100,000 asses, thus striking at

the financial basis of their independence. Gellius relates how Cato's speech drew a picture of women giving loans to their husbands, and then in fits of anger hounding them with debt collectors! (N.A. 17.6). The law does not seem to have had much effect; a father could easily bequeath his estate to a 'heres fiduciarius' whom he could trust to donate the estate to his daughter as a gift.(47) A woman could even retrieve her dowry from her husband or his heirs, a development highlighted by the case of Licinia who had been married to Gaius Gracchus and which illustrates the diminishing rights of the male partner in marriage.(48) The stage was set for some women to come to the fore in society and though they may not take a direct part in politics, to satisfy their ambitions through backing the careers of men. Of these some of the most famous are Cornelia mother of the Gracchi, Praecia the lover of Cethegus,(49) Porcia the wife of Brutus the tyrannicide, Fausta the wife of C. Memmius, Servilia the mistress of Julius Caesar, Clodia the wife of L. Metellus Celer and Fulvia wife of Antony, who played an active part in the proscriptions during the second triumvirate and through her own energies recruited two legions in a bid to relieve Perusia besieged by Octavian who was retaliating against the manoeuvres of Antony's brother whom she was supporting.(50) There was also Cytheris-Volumnia, a Greek freed-woman who became successively the mistress of M. Junius Brutus, Antony and then of Gallus whose elegies immortalised his affair with her before she left him for another. The career of Cytheris is worthy of more attention; she was a freedwoman of Volumnius Eutrapelus (Cic. Ad. Fam. 19.26) who had been a hetaira, one of many such Greek women who had made their appearance in Rome during the first and second centuries B.C. and who were talented dancers, actresses, musicians and well versed in Greek and Latin literature.(51) Such

women must have enjoyed a freedom which was the envy of the Roman 'matrona' who was more often than not the victim of a marriage arranged in her early 'teens and whose place was by tradition in the home. As Luck says "They were much sought after by the fashionable set of young men. No wonder that the more sensitive and passionate among the native Roman ladies were envious of the glitter and excitements of a different way of life and resented the tedious routine of their households". (Latin Love Elegy p.23). Sallust (Cat.25) presents us with a portrait of the Roman 'matrona' Sempronia, wife of D. Junius Brutus,who had obviously taken advantage to the full of the opportunity for greater independence open to women of well to do backgrounds as I have explained above. What is remarkable about the description of this lady is the fact that she appears to have modelled her behaviour on the liberated hetairai:

'haec mulier genere atque forma, praeterea viro liberis satis fortunata fuit; litteris Graecis Latinis docta; psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae; multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit.....verum ingenium eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci: prorsus multae facetiae multos lepos inerat.' Now Propertius attributes similar abilities to Cynthia in the following passages:

'uni si qua placet, culta puella sat est;
cum tibi praesertim Phoebus sua carmina donet
Aoniamque libens Calliopea lyram,
unica nec desit iucundis gratia verbis,
omnia quaeque Venus, quaeque Minerva probat.
his tu semper eris nostrae gratissima vitae,
taedia dum miserae sint tibi luxuriae.'

(1.2.26-32)

'nam modo purpureo fallebam stamine somnum
rursus et Orpheae carmine, fessa, lyrae.'

(1.3.41-2)

'haec sed forma mei pars est extrema furoris;
sunt maiora, quibus, Basse, perire iuvat:
ingenuus color et multis decus artibus, et quae
gaudia sub tacita ducere veste libet.'

(1.4.11-14)

'sive lyrae carmen digitis percussit eburnis,
miramur, faciles ut premat arte manus.'

(2.1.9-10)

'nec me tam facies, quamvis sit candida, cepit
....
quantum quod posito formose saltat Iaccho,
egit ut euhantes dux Ariadna choros
et quantum, Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro
par Aganippaeae ludere docta lyrae
et sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae
carmina, quae quivis, non putat aequa suis.'

(2.3.9 and 17-22)

'nam mea cum recitat, dicit se odisse beatos:
carmina tam sancte nulla puella colit.'

(2.26.25-6)

'est tibi forma potens, sunt castae Palladis artes'

(3.20.7)

The problem which immediately arises from such a comparison of female sophistication is whether the description of Cynthia suggests that she is representative of the class to which Cytheris belongs or whether she has more in common with Sempronia. The same difficulty would have arisen in the case of Lesbia if we had not known that she was in fact an aristocrat, the sister of P. Clodius Pulcher,(52) for as Lilja(53) remarks the life-styles of Lesbia and Lycoris, that is Cytheris(54) were surprisingly alike. Without going into the intricacies of the evidence for the status of the females to whom the elegists addressed their work, it is clear that Propertius sets high store by these arts which the liberated Roman women such as Sempronia had cultivated and which men began to favour in preference to the more domestic charms of the conventional Roman 'matrona'. The new found freedom of the 'matrona' did little,

however, to recommend married life. The unfortunate marriage of Cicero's brother to the tedious Pomponia, sister of Atticus, is probably not an isolated instance of the inevitable outcome of these social developments which as Syme notes, had their reaction upon men "who, instead of a partner from their own class, preferred alliance with a freedwoman, or non at all". (p.445). They could of course also pursue an affair with an unmarried freeborn woman or 'matrona' who emulated the ways of the freedwoman. It is surely freedwomen or freeborn women who dominate the work of the elegists; the dramatic tension in elegy depends upon the path to love being a difficult one and this rules out on the one hand the poet serenading the charms of a wife and on the other, of a common prostitute (meretrix).

It is most unlikely that Cytheris with whom Cicero dined (Ad. Fam. 9.26.2) was a common 'meretrix' registered with the 'aediles' to ply her trade (cf.Tac.Ann.2.85). Recourse to such women by single or married men was not forbidden by Roman law and the legislation of Augustus did not alter this situation, and Propertius could have continued paying visits to Cynthia with impunity if she had belonged to this class of woman. While a Roman could never marry a woman 'quae palam corpore quaestum fecit', he could even after the Augustan reforms marry a freedwoman (though not if he were a senator) for this was better than no marriage at all.(55) The tension in elegy 2.7 of Propertius, assuming that Cynthia is unmarried, depends on a situation in which both parties are eligible for marriage for if she were ineligible to marry by virtue of being a common prostitute, the enforced separation to which he refers in lines 1 -4 would be meaningless if the law permitted him to continue meeting her even after he had married elsewhere. It is most likely that

Cynthia, enjoying the freedom of which women had become possessed had no desire to marry but that Propertius as an 'eques' would have felt the pressure upon him to marry elsewhere and then he would be in a dangerous position as a married man pursuing an affair with her when she herself was eligible for marriage. In a later section of this chapter I shall raise once more the question of the status of Cynthia, Delia and Corinna,a subject which is complicated by the fact that the freeborn Roman lady had begun to assume the airs of the freedwoman as I have mentioned. It is on account of this phenomenon that campaigners for moral rearmament could criticise elegy, for it is woven around a code of behaviour emanating from this latter class which is essentially alien to the concept of marital stability which by now was being officially endorsed as the basis for the procreation of a new generation destined to sustain empire. As well as reflecting the wayward conduct of the sophisticated courtesan and its influence on her fashionable freeborn rival it is easy to see how the genre could be considered to recommend it; I would agree with Lilja when she claims that "from a social point of view the women of the Ars Amatoria do not differ considerably from the mistresses of the elegists, so that the material taken from that work can legitimately be compared with that derived from the elegies proper." (56) With reference to this later work she makes the valid point that the purpose of the manual can hardly be to teach the reader to win over and secure the affections of a prostitute and that the poet's warning at the outset of the work advising 'matronae' not to heed his countenances is no doubt a measure of self-protection necessitated by the enforcement of the moral legislation which pre-dated its publication. Earlier, in the introduction to this chapter where I examined Ovid's retrospective view of this work in exile,I

suggested that his quotation of this disclaimer in connection with an imagined objection that 'matronae' might practise the arts which he taught, indicates that he was indeed conscious at the outset that he might run into trouble.

Social historians as well as critics of elegy have apparently overlooked what may not simply be a comment by Horace on a growing incidence of adultery and moral disintegration but a side-light on the freeborn Roman woman's imitation of the Greek hetairai and freedwomen that is, his own views on the accomplishments of the elegiac woman which so bewitched Propertius:

'motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
matura virgo et fingitur artibus;
iam nunc et incestos amores
de tenero meditatur ungui;

mox iuniores quaerit adulteros
inter mariti vina, neque eligit
cui donet impermissa raptim
gaudia luminibus remotis.'

(Odes 3.6. 21-28)

In this Ode, Horace fulminates against the abandoned behaviour of the Roman girl who, even before her marriage, is well practised in the art of dancing, which in the words of Page "was an accomplishment rarely practised except by slave girls who exhibited their skill for hire at banquets and the like." (Horace, Odes p.330).(57) It is, however, an art in which the emancipated Sempronia and Propertius' Cynthia were proficient ('saltare elegantius quam probae necesse est'. Sallust. Cat. 25 and 'quantum quod posito formose saltat Iacchо, / egit ut euhantes dux Ariadna choros' Prop. 2.3.17-18; see above on both these passages). Horace pictures a libertine indulging in shameless conduct at a wine party (inter vina. line 26) and it is interesting that Cynthia is described as performing when the wine is poured out (posito Iacchо. line 17). Moreover, Horace closely allies

the image of the girl practising 'artes' (line 22) with the adulterous 'gaudia' which she will later afford a lover (line 28); in the Propertian passage from elegy 1.4 quoted above to illustrate Cynthia's talents, the elegist had likewise spoken, in the same couplet, of the 'artes' and 'gaudia' with which she had captivated him (lines 13-14). In this Ode, Horace contrasts the present generation with the sturdy 'iuventus' (line 33) who warded off Rome's great enemies and in this way criticises the effeteness of contemporary youth as he does in Odes 3.24.51-8. Now in elegy 2.3 which enumerates Cynthia's artistic abilities and beauty, Propertius tells us that they have kindled the passions of Rome's youth - 'nostra iuventus' (line 33), and after comparing her to Helen says that now he can understand the wisdom with which Paris acted in seducing Helen (lines 35-8), an episode which the lyric poet had earlier branded as shameful, speaking with scorn of this adulterer's serenading admiring girls on the lyre (Odes 1.15.9-20). Horace may not be obliquely censuring Propertius in particular but he is certainly castigating women who seek to attain those graces which are esteemed highly by Propertius. The verb 'docere' (Odes 3.6.21 sup.cit.) is after all one which suggests the 'puella docta' of elegy.(58) In Amores 2.4 for example, in which Ovid acknowledges his faulty morals (mendosos mores. line 1) he tells of his susceptibility to this feminine type:

'sive ea docta, places raras dotata per artes;
....
haec quia dulce canit flectitque facillima vocem,
oscula cantanti rapta dedisse velim;
haec querulas habili percurrit pollice chordas -
tam doctas quis non possit amare manus ?
illa placet gestu numerosaque bracchia ducit
et tenerum molli torquet ab arte latus.'

(lines 17 and 25-30)

The picture is much the same as that which Propertius draws of his ideal woman,(59) and here also dancing is an accomplishment which is

gratifying.

The dim view which Horace takes of the 'artes' cultivated by women seems to be paralleled by the attitude which Augustus adopted towards the upbringing of his daughter Julia and his granddaughters. Here, in Suetonius' biography he stands revealed as one who sought to inculcate a discipline and domesticity which would not have been out of place in an early Republican household. Wool-spinning was encouraged and it was strictly forbidden to say or do anything which would not make a decent story in the imperial journal: 'Filiam et neptis ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assuefaceret vetaretque loqui et agere quicquam nisi propalam et quod in diurnos commentarios referetur.' (Aug. 64). The house clothes which he wore were woven and sewn by Livia, Octavia, and again by Julia and the granddaughters: 'veste non temere alia quam domestica usus est, ab sorore et uxore et filia neptibusque confecta' (id.ibid.73). Wool-spinning was an occupation which the staid 'matrona' had from the earlier days of the Republic taken sufficiently seriously as to wish a record of her proficiency therein to appear on her gravestone; Claudia, a 'matrona' of the second century B.C. is described on her epitaph as having served her family and spun wool: 'domum servavit, lanam fecit (I.L.S. 8403). The epitaph of a certain Murdia tells us that she was the equal of any woman in the following virtues, last but not least of which is the ability to spin wool: 'probitate, pudicitia, obsequio, lanificio.' (quoted by Orelli on Horace, Odes 3.12.5). Livy attributes this old Roman virtue to the legendary Lucretia when he describes her as 'lanae dedita' (1.57). This activity, encouraged in Augustus' household, epitomises a world which stands at the antipode of that which finds expression in elegy and I would direct attention to Horace Odes 3.15 which I regard as drawing a contrast

between the two; Chloris is advised to put an end to her 'nequitia' (profligacy to which Propertius yields in 1.6.26 and of which Ovid boasts e.g. Amores 2.1.2) and 'famosi labores' (lines 2-3) which are due to efforts unbecoming for her age, to emulate her daughter Pholoe who Bacchante-like invades young mens' homes and is head over heels in love with Nothus. As an 'uxor' of middle-age, Horace recommends that she forget about playing the lyre and busy herself with spinning wool instead: 'te lanae prope nobilem / tonsae Luceriam, non citharae decent' (lines 13-14). Of course Horace writes here in a humorous vein exploiting the "interaction of the two cultures, Greek and Roman."(60) The characters all have Greek names; as Williams observes, Nothus, the Greek for bastard, is a name which would suit the son of a slave woman and a free man.(61) I very much doubt whether Horace would have been able to maintain a light hearted approach to the subject if the characters were not foreign but of true Roman stock. As early as Satires 2.2 the rustic self-taught philosopher Ofellus whose home-spun wit is presided over by the patron goddess of spinning and weaving Minerva (abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva. line 3) - the idea of native intelligence and spinning are here combined (62) - and who is the vehicle of Horace's discourse (line 2), drew an unfavourable comparison between virile Roman field sports and the effeminate Greek games of ball and quoit (lines 9-13) (63) in a way which foreshadows the poet's condemnation of the 'ingenuus puer' who cannot ride a horse, fears to join the hunt and is more at home playing with a hoop Greek-style (Odes 3.24.54-7). Juvenal was to be even more reactionary in his tirades against the pervading influence on Roman society of the Greeks and orientals who had filled the city with flute players, harpists and girls who loiter around the Circus Maximus for immoral purposes (Sat. 3.58-125) and against Roman women who ape their ways,

particularly those - and here we are reminded of Horace's Chloris - whose advanced years render such conduct even more unseemly (Sat.6. 185-99).

Why then do Tibullus in 1.3.85-92 and Propertius in 3.6. 9-14 describe Delia and Cynthia as spinning and weaving if these occupations are more in keeping with the staid domesticity of a 'matrona' than with the relative sophistication of the elegiac mistress? These passages merit consideration at the end of this chapter where it will be seen that they constitute a logical extension of the process whereby, for reasons which I will enter into, the free-love relationship is represented in terms of marriage or at least in terms of a more regular relationship in which the elegiac convention of the 'servitium amoris' is temporarily suspended. Overall, these activities are the exception and not the rule for the elegiac 'domina' whose accomplishments are somewhat more exotic than skill in 'lanificium', an outmoded chore which Ovid associates with the uncultivated ways of the 'antiquae Sabinae' with whom the modern 'tenerae puellae' have little in common (De Med. Fac. lines 11-20). Pragmatic Roman conservatism had always eyed with suspicion activities and habits of thought especially those of peregrine origin which were essentially purposeless from a social point of view; Cato spoke out against growing interest in Greek philosophy and culture and Scipio Africanus expressed shock on seeing boys and girls of noble Roman birth taking lessons in a dancing school, one of whom was the son of a candidate for office and who, as Scipio remarked, performed in a way unbecoming even for an insolent slave (Macrob. Sat.3.14). The consul of 60 B.C., L. Afranius, was reproached with being more accomplished in dancing than in statesmanship (Seneca De Tranq. An.17),

and Cicero claimed that no one except a mad man dances when he is sober (Pro Mur. 13).

Of course Horace publicises the dancing ability of Terentia (64) wife of Maecenas in Odes 2.12, but critics from Bentley onwards have observed that her performance is connected with a religious ritual associated with the goddess Diana and that the poet is not attributing to her a talent common among freedwomen; as Williams notes (J.R.S. 52 1962), commentators have since called attention to the "delicacy with which Horace avoids suggesting she might dance in private." (p.37). While Williams does not take the view that Horace avoids causing embarrassment to Maecenas by placing this accomplishment in a religious context, he does agree that he is diplomatic in the way in which her dancing is placed within the frame-work of a Greek poetic convention and is led to doubt whether in real life she did show such a talent: "Horace following early Greek and Hellenistic models, displays his talent as an erotic poet by describing an imaginary (Greek) girl who excites his admiration, but the poem is to Maecenas and, to honour his patron, he makes the description (slightly adapted to emphasize constancy and Diana) the vehicle of his admiration for Terentia. But Terentia is not being described: she need never have danced, joked, sung, played coy. The girl who does all these things is the conventional Greek object of endless Greek poems.....Roman reality is not to be found in this description." (p.38). In conclusion, the writer suggests that Horace realised that the airs of the hetairai were not entirely acceptable to the Roman with a traditional outlook on life, making the interest-ing observation that "it is significant that when Horace writes (or appears to write) most seriously.....he speaks of the pleasure of

the country scenery and good wine, but without mentioning hetairai." (p.42). With this we should compare his assessment of the invitation Odes which not infrequently hold forward the promise of licentious parties: "it is very significant that where the invitation has an element of reality, the details are Roman and sober." (p.41). Propertius, as Williams reminds us, presents his relationship with Cynthia as a real one (p.43) and argues that the elegist is more successful than either Horace or Vergil in creating a coherent world of ideas, for the latter two cast those of their poems which deal with dubious morality in an unmistakably Greek mould.(65) Williams' thoughts are clearly relevant to the point I wish to make about the women who are depicted in elegy as captivating the poets with their charms, for they move in a real, Roman world, and there is no suggestion on the poets' part that the life style which these women have adopted, and which has much in common with that of the hetairai, belongs to a different time and place or that in serious mood they would prefer an alternative kind of female companionship. This is also true of Ovid whose Corinna is probably a fictional character but who nevertheless is portrayed in terms of a Roman 'puella' on the lines of the subjects of the elegies of his precursors. Doubtless like Horace they knew that such women and their ways lacked respectability, but unlike him they made no attempt to prevent their being personally associated with mistresses who emulated these ways; indeed the very realism with which they present their relationships encourages their being identified even more strongly with a type of woman who was morally suspect.

The emperor, as already mentioned under my previous heading in connection with Amores 2.13 of Ovid, was very much a

traditionalist in religious matters. His conservatism is also evident in his desire to see the racial purity of the Romans preserved (cf.Suet. Aug. 40) and his attempt to revive the wearing of the toga which was now going out of fashion as casual clothing, quoting Vergil to lend weight to his pronouncement on the subject. (id.ibid.40). It is seen in his moral attitude which could be ultra-conservative, if by a conservative we understand a republican of the old school, for whereas under the republic women were allowed to attend 'munera', that is public games staged at personal expense by the aediles , and watch men perform in all manner of contests, Augustus excluded them as spectators at athletic performances, and on one occasion contrived to prevent them witnessing a boxing match, no doubt unwilling that they should see men in the nude.(66)

It was probably on account of Augustus favouring such a conservative approach to life - probably because he felt that if he were to preach morality on a public level he must set an example in his own household - that the graces which are possessed by the 'culta - docta puella' of elegy do not appear to have played a part in the upbringing of the girls of the imperial household. Neither would the domestic regime favoured by Livia who "encouraged austerity as well as traditional Roman decorum in the household over which she presided"(67) have been conducive to the cultivation of those arts which were the hallmark of the emancipated woman. The repressive atmosphere must have bordered on something like the oriental system of purdah; the emperor prevented the girls from forming friendships without his permission - a policy which led to an incident recorded by Suetonius, when after paying a visit to Julia at Baiae, L. Vinicius was reproved by Augustus in a letter which accused him of being bad-mannered in

having arrived without an invitation: 'extraneorum quidem coetu adeo prohibuit, ut L. Vinicio, claro decoroque iuveni, scripserit quondam "parum modeste fecisse eum, quod filiam suam Baias salutatum venisset."' (Aug. 64). Propertius, as we saw earlier, regarded the problem of immorality as being exacerbated by the way in which the sexes were segregated in social life. The over-protective concern of parents for their daughters, such as I have just pointed to in the family life of the emperor, is singled out for criticism by the poet:

> 'at nostra ingenti vadit circumdata turba,
> nec digitum angusta est inseruisse via;
> nec quae sint facies nec quae sint verba rogandi
> invenias: caecum versat amator iter.'
>
> (3.14.29-32)

In an ironic way, Propertius' diagnosis of the causes of immorality was largely borne out by the case of Julia who eventually broke all the bonds of moral restraint. In so doing we can appreciate how she may have been reacting against the somewhat confined existence which she had experienced during her formative years. Horace describes the Augustan household in religious terms in an Ode which congratulates the emperor on the education which he has given Drusus and Tiberius,(68) and the high sounding tones are most probably consonant to a fair degree with reality and applicable to what from Julia's point of view must have seemed a repressive and codified domestic existence. Propertius, as I explained in my second chapter, presents us with a classic example in the story of Tarpeia of the dangerous effect which an artificial isolation from members of the opposite sex can have upon the behaviour of the person subjected to it. Tarpeia went emotionally overboard as we can imagine Julia did when she had become sufficiently mature after her arranged marriage at

the age of fourteen to Marcellus the seventeen year old son of Octavia which eventually came to an abrupt end with his untimely death in his twentieth year in 23 B.C.; natural affection had probably played little part in this dynastic match designed to solve the question of the imperial succession and her feelings may have been straying elsewhere even during her marriage to the emperor's nephew just as they did while she was married to her second husband (see below). The second marriage was likewise arranged for her, this time to a man twice her age - Agrippa, general, statesman, and right-hand man of Augustus who according to Pliny (N.H. 35-4) was a somewhat rustic and inelegant character whose 'gravitas' doubtless served to remind her of her father's overbearing personality. In my second chapter the discussion also turned upon the figure of the 'nupta relicta' Arethusa whose husband left her behind in Rome to take part in one of Augustus' campaigns, and who fears for his fidelity during their separation (4.3.2; 25-6; 69). Galla is in a similar position in elegy 3.12 and Propertius suggests that she is as exceptional as Penelope in resisting the temptations which confront a woman in this situation (lines 17-19 and 37-8). The point I wish to make with regard to Julia is that during her marriage to Agrippa she would have been under a strain of this sort. Her husband was extremely active in the service of Augustus and this involved his being away from Rome on numerous occasions; for example in 19 B.C. he was in Spain fighting the Cantabri, in 16-13 B.C. on a mission to the East, and in 13 B.C. his services were required in Pannonia where revolt threatened to break out. We have evidence of what may be such a strain in Suetonius (Tib. 7) who relates that while she still owed marital fidelity to Agrippa she already had adulterous designs on Tiberius

which she managed to disguise from no one. This marriage was no less a diplomatic arrangement according to Dio, who states that Maecenas had counselled it arguing that Augustus had made Agrippa so powerful that he would either have to become his father-in-law or else put him to death (54.6). After Agrippa's death a diplomatic marriage was once again forced upon her. Now she was expected to marry Augustus' stepson Tiberius who had to divorce a wife who was carrying his child and whom he dearly loved.

Ovid recognised that compulsion brought to bear on what are essentially affairs of the heart was no formula for a successful match; after stating that the dowry of a wife is quarelling (dos est uxoria lites. Ars Amatoria 2.155) he says that such altercation should have no place in a free-love relationship for it was embarked on voluntarily:

> 'non legis iussu lectum venistis in unum:
> fungitur in vobis munere legis amor'
>
> (ibid. lines 157-8)

While legal constraints are uppermost in Ovid's mind in this couplet, indeed he may be referring to the coercive moral legislation of 18 B.C., we can hardly doubt that the effects of an arranged marriage, of the sort that seem to have been the rule in the household of Augustus, would have been any less immune from the trouble of which he speaks. His first marriage when still almost a child (paene mihi puero. Trist. 4.10.69) is likely to have been a match into which his parents led him, and his second marraige which ended in failure may also have been dictated by the wishes of his parents. It is within the context of a society in which natural affection was often thwarted by a union contrived as a domestic expedient dictated by the desire to secure or maintain status and wealth or as a political device invoked for dynastic or diplomatic reasons,(69) that the impact of the appeal

in elegy for a free rein to be given to the emotions can be said to reside. It reflects and romanticises the ways of women who preferred to preserve personal autonomy, ways which had found growing favour among women of the later days of the Republic who emulated the airs of the freedwoman whose social life was in many ways freer and richer. In this way amatory elegy is in harmony with the social developments which had gained momentum before the establishing of the principate but out of tune with the political climate after Actium when Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid went ahead with the composition of their amatory poetry. The genre is built, as I have suggested, around the world of the freedwoman and the freeborn woman who emulated her. This was a world in which the concept of marriage was becoming a meaningless one; some freeborn women who assimilated the ways of freedwomen must have come to be virtually indistinguishable from them in many respects, especially if they remained unmarried. Those who combined their duties as a 'matrona'with the insouciance and comparative licence of the freedwoman would inevitably become more tedious to their husbands of whom they had become more independent as a result of changes in the form of marriage and in the law of inheritance as I have already explained. This phenomenon is mirrored in elegy which depicts an alternative to marriage in a quasi monogamous free-love relationship untroubled by the commitments of family life. Liberation from the responsibilities of the married state was however an elegiac and not an Augustan ideal. The picture of marriage however which the emperor conjured up by reading the speech of the censor Metellus Macedonius is such an unattractive one that in an ironic way it can be seen as an advertisement for the elegiac ideal: "Si sine uxore pati possemus, Quirites, omnes ea molestia careremus; sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est." (Gell. N.A. 1.6, cf. Suet. Aug. 89).

Role Inversion and 'Servitium'

In promoting the ideal of marriage, the state was also indirectly advocating a return to the traditional Roman view of the man as the dominant partner in the relationship involved in the wider world of business while the woman confined herself to domestic affairs and sought after his comfort. From the earliest times Roman society had been fundamentally male-orientated; the law governing property rights discriminated in favour of men and the fact that a wife had to bring a dowry to her husband 'ad ferenda onera matrimonii' is an indication that she was not thought his equal and needed to make good her acceptance into his 'domus'. The marriage laws also favoured the male party. In his speech 'De dote' Cato says that a man can put his wife to death for committing adultery, but that she has no redress against him if he acts likewise or behaves indecently: 'In adulterio uxorem tuam si prehendisses, sine iudicio impune necares; illa te, sive adulterares sive tu adulterarere, digito non auderet contingere, neque ius est.' (Gell. N.A. 10.23). Similarly a man might divorce his wife but she had no means of divorcing her husband (cf. Plut. Rom. 22). The grounds for divorce could be relatively trivial for the husband was able to cast off his wife for wine drinking or unbecoming behaviour (Vell. Pat. 29). The male bias is again evident in the law which forbade a 'lena' to marry a freeborn Roman but permitted a 'leno' to become a Roman citizen (cf. Juv. Sat.6.216). It would appear that Augustus himself subscribed to the ideal of male dominance in marriage. When the Senate pressed him to deal with the problem of immorality the emperor replied that they ought to make a start themselves by giving orders and instructions to their wives concerning their dress and behaviour in private and in public (Dio 54.16).

Again, in an Ode which eloquently defends Augustus' programme of moral reform,Horace cites as one of the manifestations of 'licentia' the wife who domineers her husband:

'nec dotata regit virum
coniunx nec nitido fidit adultero'

(3.24. 19-20)

Horace uses the words 'vir' and 'coniunx' in the usual sense of husband and wife, but as we shall see in the final section of the chapter,the words are marked features in the elegists' description of free-love relationships. I refer at this point to the phenomenon for it is also in elegy that we find the woman attributed with an exceptionally powerful influence over the man. It was in itself a potential cause of annoyance that the currency of words relating to marital status was debased by the elegists in this way when in official quarters hard and fast distinctions were now the rule with regard to relations between the sexes, but an added source of offence would be generated by the way in which a freeborn Roman attributed to his female partner an exceptionally powerful influence over himself in a way which suggested that he was a type of slave to her. This association,which forms the core of the concept of the 'servitium amoris',is all the more striking first of all because it is by and large peculiar to elegy; according to Lilja (Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women p.88) in Greek erotic verse there are only two instances of a lover addressing a mistress with a word roughly equivalent to the Latin 'domina' and the dating of both is a matter of speculation, and in Roman comedy 'domina' refers without exception to the mistress of a slave and never a beloved. Not that the power of love was unknown in Greek literature or even in Plautus or Terence but she makes the valid point that "the concentration of Roman elegy upon the lover's humble abasement and servile attitude was a new feature..... the

slavish punishments of torch, steel and lash, to emphasise the atmosphere of servility, were not used by writers earlier than the Roman elegists." (70) Secondly,it derives an arresting significance within a social context, for the elegists had a station in life far above that of slaves, a point which Lilja raises: ".... the identification of a free Roman citizen with a slave testifies in itself to an amazing abasement..... It is amazing that freeborn Roman men, and men of equestrian rank at that, should have been ready to adopt an attitude to the beloved similar to that of a slave to his mistress" (op.cit. pp. 88-9). It would I think have been less surprising if the elegists had been writing at a time when their order was free from a direct pressure to face new responsibilities which required them to take the lead in administrative and military occupations, and indeed, to face the responsibilities of married life; a hostile demonstration reflects the reluctance of their order to assume the domestic commitments of marriage (Suet. Aug. 34, Dio 56.1) and elegy is in tune with this social climate in singing the praises of free-love, and with regard to civic responsibilities the evidence supports the view that the elegists shared the disinclination of their peers for serving the Augustan state. Here again,perhaps the elegist was conscious that in demoting himself to servile status by means of the apparatus of the 'servitium amoris', he could be credited with giving a slanted statement backing up his disavowal of the state's expectations of the order to which he truly belonged, a point which I shall take up again later in the light of some evidence of the emperor's policy towards slaves.

Correlative with this process of attributing a female counterpart with a domineering assertiveness, we find that the male

assumes a more feminine and passive role, hence the male describes his experience in terms which belong to that of the female. In elegy 1.11.23 Propertius speaks of Cynthia as his 'domus' and 'parentes'. On this line Luck (p.129) points out that the elegist is illustrating his feelings by reworking the address of Andromache to Hector in the Iliad (6.429) in which she calls her husband her father, mother, and brother, and that here we have a case of the "odd inversion of the relationship between man and woman" (ibid). Hallett (Arethusa 6 1973) also draws our notice to the similar words of Tecmessa in Sophocles' Ajax (lines 518f.) concluding that Propertius "is assuming the dependent, helpless role of these defenseless women and not the protective one of their spouses. Instead of seeking in Cynthia an equal with whom he can carry on an adult relationship of mutual respect, he looks to her for nurturance and protection, roots and direction" (p.123, note 37). Luck also maintains that this trend is manifested in elegy 2.27.13-16 where Propertius likens his position in Hades to that of Eurydice whose part he will play to Cynthia's Orpheus in making the journey back towards the land of the living (p.128). Hallett also refers to the boast of Propertius in 2.13.36 where the poet imagines his tombstone as bearing an inscription which claims that he was 'unius servus amoris', a virtue normally associated with women and recorded on numerous gravestones which record that they remained 'univira' (ibid. p.111). Propertius extends the scope of this virtue as it applies to himself in 1.19.11-12:

'illic quidquid ero, semper tua dicar imago:
traicit et fati litera magnus amor.'

and in 2.15.36:

'huius ero vivus, mortuus huius ero'

Luck regards this as a variation on the theme of the power exerted by the 'domina' over her lover,in that her influence remains sufficiently great over him that he will still be considered her devoted servant when he has quit mortal life. Nevertheless,I think it may also be an extension of the elegiac male virtue corresponding to the female virtue of remaining 'univira'. Whereas women proclaim through their epitaphs that they preserved this virtue during their lifetime,(71) Propertius is declaring that even in the next world he will practise the male equivalent of the virtue as though to emphasise the fact that he is conforming to a traditionally feminine moral ideal. In remaining 'univira' a woman was exhibiting to an extreme degree her 'fides marita' even when her husband's death had removed the grounds on which she was expected to owe such obedience. This 'fides', as Lilja reminds us "was required solely of the wife, and the husband was morally free to live as he liked, except that he had to respect the chastity of a virgin and of another man's wife" (op.cit. p.176). The same author explains that this code of conduct harmonised with the interests of the state in producing citizens for it was the offspring of her marriage, and not any issue which her husband might have from an alien woman or slave, which was entitled to the status of citizenship (ibid.), and so by indulging in this type of role inversion we can see that the values of a society favouring males and the state are also implicitly turned upside down.

This particular type of inversion,like others, can be regarded as a way of revaluing the traditional behaviour of men and women, but while the elegist may go to the extreme and cast himself in a feminine role and his partner in a more masculine one, he may be doing so not to give superior rights to her,but to redress an

unjust balance as found in society so as to recommend an equalising of the rights of men and women. Hallett (art.cit. pp.113-14) has come to a similar conclusion with regard to the concept of the 'servitium amoris' in general, arguing that the reason why the word 'domina' begins to lose its original connotations of powerful and absolute rule in the later books of Propertius and Ovid can be attributed not only to the enervation of the metaphor as its novelty wore off, but also to the fact that overstatement was no longer necessary as it became widely known that the elegiac 'domina' possessed a powerful influence; in the Amores (1.10.29-36) as well as the Ars Amatoria (2.682, 727-28) Ovid proposes that lovers should derive equal pleasure from their relationship (a view which leads him to reject homosexuality in Ars Amatoria 2.683-84) and the writer of the article believes that he may be seeking to restore a fairer balance in the attitudes of Propertius and Tibullus without any direct criticism of his predecessors in elegy, recognising that they had gone to one extreme in order to make a point: "after the battle had been waged and won, Ovid could tone down amatory elegy's polemic excesses and rethink its assumptions" (p.114).

With regard to this view, I think it relevant that in Amores 1.7, where Ovid tells us that he had raised his hand against his 'domina', he makes the plea that he may be shackled (lines 1 and 28) and wishes that he may have cast himself before her as a suppliant (line 61); here he emphasises the fact that if he had treated even the lwest Roman citizen in similar fashion he would have merited punishment automatically:

> 'an si pulsassem minimum de plebe Quiritem,
> plecterer - in dominam ius mihi maius erit?
> (lines 29-30)

The appellation 'Quiris' directs our thoughts even more effectively to the question of the rights of a citizen: "Der Name.... ist gewählt, weil so der Römer hiess, der im Vollbesitz der staatsbürgerlichen Rechte war, während Romanus politischer und militärischer Ausdruck ist" (Brandt. ad loc.). On this couplet Barsby comments "If it was a breach of the 'ius Quiritum' for a Roman citizen to strike another, it was an even more heinous crime for a slave to strike his owner, which is what Ovid has in effect done" (p.84). But the point, as I see it, that Ovid is making, is that he has taken advantage of a 'ius maius' (line 30). In this elegy the 'domina' does not appear as the haughty character she often is, having been subjected to behaviour from Ovid which is more in keeping with the way a slave-master might treat his slaves or, and I think this more plausible, the way in which a husband could treat his wife. Dionysus of Halicarnassus for instance reminds us that from the earliest times a wife could not take her husband to court for ill-treatment (A.R.2.25) and as I mentioned earlier the husband had considerably wider rights which even gave him the power of life and death over her. Barsby claims that Ovid has "humorously taken the stock terminology of love-poetry (servitium, domina) at its face value" (ibid.). But if he is taking the 'servitium amoris' at face value and thinking of himself as a slave then he would have no rights, which makes nonsense of his asking whether he should be any more immune from punishment for having harmed his 'domina' rather than a citizen. Ovid does not envisage punishment being inflicted by his 'domina' but asks one of his friends (si quis amicus ades. line 2) to administer it. Elegiac relationships are often described in terms of monogamous ones for reasons which will be entered into under final heading. In such officially recognised and encouraged relationships the male party possessed superior rights

as he did in social life in general and Ovid may be affording another example of his egalitarian thinking on the subject of the actual disparity between the rights enjoyed by male and female. Ovid's agile mind, in my opinion, is using "stock terminology" to argue the case for at least a degree of 'servitium' to be imposed on males to curb the greater licence which it was their privilege to enjoy.

In elegy 1.5 of Tibullus, the extreme passivity of the poet with its corresponding inversion deserves attention. Here he describes the emotional effects upon himself of his breaking off relations with Delia and pictures himself as being driven like a top into a state of confusion (lines 3-4). Emotional distraction of this sort is more commonly a state of mind found among female characters in the verse of Vergil and Horace; Dido falls victim to a helpless passion and becomes affected by a Bacchante-like 'furor' (Aen. 4.298-303) while Aeneas obeys the promptings of his head rather than his heart (ibid. 395-6) and Mercury tendering cynical man to man advice reminds him that women are a fickle and temperamental sort (varium et mutabile semper / femina. ibid. lines 569-70). Again, when Vergil uses the image of the spinning top it illustrates the mental derangement of a woman who takes leave of her senses on hearing that her plans for her daughter's marriage have been frustrated and who proceeds to lead a women's revolt (Aen. 7.378ff.). In elegy 1.2.25 Tibullus seems to be identifying himself more clearly with Vergil's Dido, Putnam (p.65) having noticed how the phrase 'tota vager...urbe' parallels Vergil's description of the lovesick condition of the queen: 'totaque vagatur/urbe furens' (Aen. 4.68-69). It is not surprising that in the Georgics it is a female of the species that is subject to the greatest 'furor' for we are informed that

the passions of mares exceed those of bulls or stallions (ante omnis furor est insignis equarum. 3.266); so strong are they that - mirabile dictu - even the wind can cause them to conceive! (ibid.) and in Odes 1.25 it is to a woman that Horace attributes, albeit in the future, this unhuman 'furor'; Lydia will be subject to it even when past an age which renders her attractive to men: cum tibi flagrans amor et libido, / quae solet matres furiare equorum, / saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum (lines 13-15). In Odes 3.15.8-12, love drives Pholoe to lay siege to the homes of young men like a raving Bacchante and in 3.27 Europa is so overwhelmed by passion that she neglects filial duties and the peculiarly Roman virtue of 'pietas' (lines 34-6). As for Sybaris in Odes 1.8 who is distracted by his love for Lydia to neglect his manly pursuits, a Horatian scholar believes that the poet regards him as the victim of "a feminine weakness, a suggestion confirmed by the concluding image of Achilles dressed in the robes of a woman" (Commager, The Odes of Horace, p.143). Horace occasionally represents himself as reduced to despair by the anguish which passion has wrought upon himself, but the very extremity of his feelings has led the same scholar to suspect that he may well be parodying the sufferings of the elegiac poets (see pp.150-54). Elsewhere the poet is quick to point out to other males that such an all absorbing passion is undesirable.(72)

Not only does Tibullus give a graphic illustration of his emotional despair and consent to undergo slavish punishment to atone for his outspokenness, but in the same elegy he affords another example of passivity for in his pipe-dream of life in the country he imagines how Delia would take over the reins of responsibility while he would be content to be a mere cipher:

'illa regat cunctos, illi sint omnia curae:
at iuvet in tota me nihil esse domo.'
(lines 29-30)

While from early days the 'domina' of a household was entrusted with a large share of responsibility for its management, Columella (Praef. 12) tells us that discord was prevented because neither party insisted on particular rights in this sphere, it being a working partnership. Moreover, in the previous couplet Tibullus had contemplated charging Delia with the performance of religious rites. In the words of Putnam (Tibullus, p.103) "Delia will become a central figure in bringing the blessing of divinity upon the vines, crops, and flocks over which she already presides." She is part worshipper and part divinity (see Putnam on lines 33-4) and the same commentator makes the interesting observation that the description of Delia's influence in line 29 reflects that which Damoetas, in Vergil Eclogues 3.60-1, gives of the power of Jupiter. I believe that the intention of Tibullus in this respect may here also be related to the phenomenon of inversion associated with the idea of the 'servitium amoris' which, as stated above, sought to equalise the status of the sexes, in so far as he may be crediting Delia with a numinous aspect which by tradition only the male possessed through supernatural relationship with his own Genius as Warde Fowler has observed.(73) It was natural that the male, with his closer relationship with the divine, should lead the family in their devotions; when Cato, the staunch advocate of traditional ways, deals with the question of a woman's role on a homestead (Agr.143) he recommends that the wife of the 'vilicus' who, incidentally, is told to put her in awe of himself (ea te metuat facito) should not engage in 'res divina' for the master of the household attends to the religious observances: 'Scito dominum pro tota familia rem divinam facere' and he describes the 'paterfamilias' paying his respects to the 'Lar familiaris' on returning to his homestead from the city (ibid.2.1). In Propertius 4.3, religious

observances centuring around the 'Lares' of Arethusa's household almost come to a halt since the master of the household has long been absent from home (lines 53-4).

Under the final heading, concerned with the way in which elegiac relationships are presented as though they were monogamous ones, I shall look at further examples of how the former are defined in a way which attributes to the female partner a quasi male status by drawing upon vocabulary hitherto reserved mainly for designating the ties between male parties on a social and political level. The remarks of Hallett (art.cit.) summarise the essential import of the phenomenon of inversion of which I have given a few examples and they also have a bearing on this further manifestation of inversion in the elegists: "Their redefinition of female and male roles.... nicely exemplifies their arch contrariness and wistful inventiveness in all matters; the attractive way in which they depict their relationships with women helps recommend their 'vitae novae' to others" (p.109). It is, I believe, this persuasive element which contributes largely to the effectiveness of elegy in openly calling into question the basis of Augustan values by means of subjecting them to the process of inversion.

With regard to Lilja's remarks referred to earlier on the surprising self-debasement of the elegist who renounces his status and assumes the 'persona' of a slave who endures the torments involved in serving a 'domina', I wish to draw attention to the information which Suetonius (Aug. 40) gives us about the emperor's views on the questions of citizenship and slavery; we are told that he was anxious that the dignity of citizenship should not be cheapened through an indiscriminate increase in the numbers of the citizen body; he even

refused the requests of Livia and Tiberius that their favourites be awarded the 'civitas Romana'. With the same end in view he took steps to see that it should be difficult for a slave to obtain his 'libertas' and become a freedman and he expressly ordered that even if a slave obtained his 'libertas' through manumission, 'civitas' should be denied him if he had ever given cause to be put in irons or tortured (ne vinctus unquam tortusve quis ulle libertatis genere civitatem adipisceretur). Whereas Augustus set out to enhance the value of 'libertas', the elegists are ready to bid farewell to this commodity (see below) which was an essential qualification for 'civitas' and in addition to this they preclude their ever being allowed to attain the latter by suffering the punishments which under the emperor's ruling represented grounds for rendering a candidate ineligible for such status. I do not think that it is unrealistic to suppose that the development of the concept of the 'servitium amoris' may have been accelerated in part by the new demands placed upon the 'ordo equester' to which the elegists register an unwillingness to respond, by which I am suggesting that in assuming the 'persona' of a slave the elegists were conscious that this would constitute a symbolic abrogation not only of citizen status but of the very equestrian status which made them eligible for service in the employ of the state; in other words the concept affords a novel means of reminding the reader that the poet is maintaining a detached attitude with respect to the new society in which he finds himself - a concept which was given an impetus to its elaboration by a social and political awareness. I say an impetus for I am not arguing that this is the only reason, but I shall now refer to a few passages which tend to support the view that political considerations may have determined, in part, its usage.

Tibullus certainly imparts to his acceptance of slavery to a 'domina' a political connotation in elegy 2.4 when he bids farewell to the freedom which he had inherited:

'Hic mihi servitium video dominamque paratam:
iam mihi, libertas illa paterna, vale.'

(lines 1-2)

To Putnam, Tibullus is stressing "the challenge between a citizen's inherited political freedom and an elegist's amatory slavery" (p.176). However, by calling attention to the hereditary nature of such freedom the poet could easily be describing the threat which such 'servitium' poses to the position in society accorded him by virtue of his descent and the property which has devolved upon him; Syme attributes such a political sense to the word 'libertas' when he says that to a noble Roman it signified "the rule of a class and the perpetuation of privilege" (p.155). Lines 53-4 in which he contemplates selling off his ancestral seat (sedes avitas) and auctioning his household goods, suggest that in contemplating a submission to 'servitium' he is indeed thinking in terms not only of an abrogation of the 'libertas' enjoyed by every freeborn Roman but also of his equestrian status by allowing the property qualification, the guarantee of this status, to expire. By presenting the prospect of a metaphorical 'servitium' in such a realistic way the social import of the action envisaged claims our attention. In picturing himself trading in his 'libertas', Tibullus shows little respect for the emperor's programme for the revitalisation of the 'ordo equester' which had become a matter of urgency due to its depletion during the proscriptions and the need for effective management of imperial affairs. Here we should remember that Tibullus' family was probably the victim of the proscriptions [74] and an attitude of cynicism originating from this experience would leave him less solicitous to avoid treating certain

aspects of his work in a topical and undiplomatic way. Propertius (1.1.28, 2.23.23) also describes the loss of 'libertas' attendant upon the same sort of 'servitium' which Tibullus suffers at the hand of his 'domina'. 'Libertas' and 'dominatio' were of course political catchwords.(75) Augustus preferred to invoke the former and was very sensitive to any suggestion that his rule was based on the latter - witness his anxiety after the audience rose to their feet at a public performance when a line containing the word 'dominus', spoken by an actor in a mime, was taken as referring to himself; the edict which forbade this form of address to himself by members of the public, and even his own family, was surely dictated not so much by a personal abhorrence of obsequiousness as by annoyance at any implication that his governance was a form of 'dominatio'.(76) The language of the 'servitium amoris' assumes political overtones in elegy 3.11 where Propertius describes the enslaving power of love; in the previous elegy he expressed a wish that Cynthia retain her dominion over him: 'inque meum semper stent tua regna caput' (line 18). In 3.11 he describes himself as 'addictum sub sua iura' (line 2) an emotional slavery which he contrasts with the political slavery to which Cleopatra threatened to subject the Roman senate : 'addictos in sua regna Patres' (line 32). Here he is excusing his own emotional subservience by pointing out that a woman was able to threaten the state with political subordination; unlike the state, Propertius has been unable to free himself of the 'regna' and 'iura' of a woman. In Amores 1.3 in which Ovid calls himself the prey and slave of a 'puella' (praeda, line 1. tibi qui deservit, line 5) it is noteworthy that he refers to his equestrian status (nostri sanguinis auctor eques. line 8) and uses the word 'fides' thrice (lines 6,13,16); while he is ostensibly pledging his loyalty to the

'puella', certain critics are of the opinion that such insistence on the word betrays a political undercurrent of thought for reasons which I entered into in the foregoing chapter.(77)

While I believe that the concept of the 'servitium amoris' is more sensational in the way in which it characterises a dramatic shift in the status of the elegist and an inversion of traditional male predominance,we must not forget that some of the terminology which it employs had contemporaneously been used in a war of words relating to the political supremacy of the 'princeps'. One critic has gone so far as to propose that the emphasis on the servility of male to female in a figurative amatory sense came more naturally to the freeborn Roman who had become accustomed to the idea of the emperor as 'dominus'.(78) While this must remain a hypothetical view,it would be less contentious and perhaps more plausible to suggest that the elegists developed a concept which relied on a terminology which embraced words whose current political application could not be lost upon them,and that they elaborated upon them regardless. The elegists' manipulation of the terminology of the 'vates' concept, the way in which they assimilate military diction to formulate the concept of the 'militia amantis',demonstrates that the motive for borrowing and remoulding words and phrases was not always an innocent one. Political overtones such as there are would serve to impress on those sensitive to them that the degree to which the elegists remained detached and unenthusiastic about Augustan affairs is matched by that to which they are committed to the object of their affection,as though they were showing to whom they truly owed their allegiance.

I have had cause on several occasions to mention the high

status enjoyed during the principate by the god Apollo due to his elevation in the Roman pantheon as Augustus' patron deity. When in elegy 2.3 Tibullus draws upon a mythological 'exemplum' to explain the effect which the 'servitium amoris' has upon those who are subjected to it,he treats the story of how Apollo served as a neatherd of Admetus' cattle, and in so doing he is partly demonstrating how the artistic temperament,typified in the person of the god,can be reconciled with the idea of banausic 'labor' undertaken in the service of 'amor'; but as in elegy 2.5, in which Apollo is a major character, we saw how Tibullus allowed amatory themes to intrude upon and undercut the serious aspect of the poem,concluding with a humorous prayer that Phoebus' locks remain unshorn and Diana preserve her virginity,and in return prosper his amatory verse, so in the earlier elegy to an even greater extent,he exercises his wit in imagining the god in a most unlikely situation. While Apollo is the patron deity of herds, this was an aspect of the god which Vergil was content to allow the Italian divinity Pales to fulfil (eg. Ecl. 5.45, Geor. 3.1) having given the Olympian god a somewhat more august rating as early as the fourth Eclogue. In elegy 2.3 Apollo is demoted even lower than his station as tutelary deity of flocks to become a mere herdsman. In the Eclogues, Corydon anticipates any misgivings which Alexis may have if he were to join him in his 'vita rustica' by arguing that Paris of Trojan legend had at one stage in his life led such an existence (2.61) and speaks of gods in general who did likewise ('di quoque.' ibid.60), and in the tenth Eclogue the poet similarly allays any regrets which Gallus may have in similar circumstances by citing the case of Adonis who had once been a shepherd (line 18); nowhere does Vergil relate or make specific allusion to the story of Apollo's service as a shepherd. Apollo had

been accepted by the Romans as early as the third century B.C. as the deity presiding over the Ludi Apollinares, and even if Vergil was not motivated by any reverential feeling towards a god of the Roman state to omit him specifically in this context, he was to honour him as the god who gave the emperor victory at Actium (Aen. 8.704-8) and in whose temple the emperor sat to receive tokens of submission from the conquered nations (ibid. 720-2). It is appropriately Apollo and his sister Diana who usher in the new age in the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, the same god who in Odes 3.4 had routed the 'Titanic' opposition to the emperor.(79) Tibullus, however, treats the divine pair with a flippant air in elegy 2.5, and in 2.3 we cannot but contemplate with amusement the picture of Apollo's sister blushing with shame at her brother's condition (line 22). Putnam is certainly right in calling it a "comic tale" (p.169) and bearing in mind the fact that Apollo had by now strong affinities with the 'princeps', we can feel sure that he would not appreciate such levity in the literary treatment of his divine patron (cf. Suet. Aug. 89: componi tamen aliquid de se nisi et serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur.).

Political overtones are to be found in Amores 1.2 which I discussed in the third chapter when dealing with the military metaphor.(80) Here Ovid presents himself as a captive in the triumph of 'Amor' who has imposed 'servitium' upon him to which he realises that it is expedient to submit (line 18), and pleads for 'venia' and 'pax', and subjects himself to the 'iura' of the god. The elegy as a whole gives flippant treatment to the triumph theme which had been approached seriously from a political angle by the eulogists of the emperor, and I refer to it at this stage to illustrate the point that the vocabulary which is employed in connection with key ideas in elegy

often has the inevitable effect of directing our thoughts to issues unrelated to amatory affairs. Our thinking along current political lines in Amores 1.2 for instance, is warranted and shown to have been an approach recommended by the poet, by the direct reference to the emperor and his policy towards those whom he has conquered in the concluding couplet. Similarly we must not allow familiarity with the idea of the 'servitium amoris' to blind us to the novelty which it must have held for Augustan readers, not only on account of the surprising way in which traditional male and female roles are reversed at a juncture in which the state began to foster time-honoured practices and uphold conventional attitudes towards the behaviour of its citizens, not least in the sphere of morality, but also due to the fact that many of the words which are utilised in defining the relationship which such 'servitium' involves, possess political and social connotations of which they were surely more keenly aware than ourselves.

The Use of Marital and Related Terminology and Its Implications

In Satires 3 Juvenal pours scorn on the gaiety girls from Syria:

> 'iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes
> et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
> obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum
> vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas'
> (lines 62-5)

An historical event in the first half of the second century B.C. accounts for the arrival of these girls in Rome - the conquest of Antiochus of Syria by the Romans. Suetonius describes them as dancers, musicians and prostitutes (Nero 27) and Propertius speaks of them in elegy 2.23:

'et quas Euphrates et quas mihi misit Orontes,
me iuverint: nolim furta pudica tori;'
(lines 21-2)

In this elegy Propertius tells us that "the pursuit of affairs is too frustrating and announces that he now finds pleasure in common prostitutes". (Camps. p.158). As Camps observes (ibid.) this elegy has affinities with Satires 1.2 of Horace, there being detailed motifs which are shared by both poems. Regarding the correspondences Camps writes: "whereas what is deprecated in Horace's satire is adultery, what is deprecated here is emotional involvement in a love affair.... It is not to be assumed that the 'vir' of line 20 is a husband in the proper sense of the word....." (ibid.). I believe that the elegy represents a reworking of the traditional theme (81) which reflected on the troubles which beset the man who pursues adulterous affairs, and compared them with the unhampered and risk free relations which could be had by resort to a common 'meretrix'. Here - and we should remember that in this elegy Propertius contemplates abandoning a relationship with a 'domina' which had been customary for him, in exchange for more wide ranging and promiscuous relations with women in general (cf. lines 1-2; 13-15) - Propertius portrays the free-love relationship which he has been pursuing with a mistress (possibly Cynthia) as if it had been a monogamous one. It is due to the fact that Propertius in common with the other elegists often describes his affair with a woman (we cannot be certain that the 'domina' is always Cynthia) in monogamous terms that in this elegy he can cast his thoughts on the complications which he faces in this relationship within such a traditional thematic framework. The frequency with which terminology appropriate to descriptions of marital relationships is used by the elegists with reference to the bonds of affection between themselves and their mistresses has

resulted in a certain amount of confusion over the meaning of such words as 'vir' and 'coniunx'; when the elegists apply these terms to third parties are we to understand that they intend us to imagine the husband of the 'domina' of whom the elegist is enamoured, or are the words used in a wider sense just as words pertaining to marriage are applied loosely to elegiac relationships,and is the 'vir' possibly a rival for the favours of the mistress or the one who presently enjoys them? In the elegy under discussion Propertius describes one of the major difficulties of life with his mistress as being the frustration caused by the imminent return of the 'vir' who, it would appear, has a prior claim to her affection:

> 'nec dicet 'Timeo, propera iam surgere quaeso:
> infelix, hodie <u>vir mihi rure venit</u>.''
>
> (lines 19-20)

Now in the satire,Horace expresses a preference for 'parabilis Venus facilisque' (line 119) such as the common 'meretrix' affords for payment (lines 47-8, 83-4, cf. 101-3), the chief advantage of this arrangement residing in the fact that he has no need to fear the return of a 'vir' (<u>vir rure</u> recurrat. line 127) and face an embarrassing and violent scene. Horace clearly means a husband in using the word 'vir',for the main subject of the poem, summed up in lines 78-9 (desine matronas sectarier....),is that adulterous affairs are fraught with danger,and the prospect of the woman losing part of her dowry (line 131) after being discovered with another man by the 'vir' leaves us in no doubt as to his status. Taking the elegy in isolation the reader might well deduce that Propertius had been pursuing an adulterous affair and that he is now expressing a common-place view on the advantages of liaisons with 'meretrices'; the hesitancy and the material demands upon her lover of the wife who

deceives her husband are noted in line 120 of Horace's poem and similarly the remoteness, hesitancy and greed of the woman who has been frustrating Propertius' designs are mentioned in lines 3-4 and 16-17 of the elegy, factors which might lead to a deduction along these lines. Williams (Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry) takes this view and argues that the female in this elegy was a married woman with whom Propertius had been conducting an adulterous affair (pp.529-30) and that Cynthia herself and also Tibullus' mistress Delia are 'matronae' (pp. 533 and 538). Williams notes that Horace deals with the theme that it is better to go with prostitutes than fall into adultery to support the point that the status of the two types of woman in this elegy fall into the same category as those who are contrasted in the satire (pp.529-30), and that Propertius, like Horace, is comparing the advantages of relations with a 'meretrix' rather than an affair with a 'matrona'. It is important to bear in mind the fact that the publication of the first book of Horace's Satires predates that of the second book of Propertius' elegies by about four years, a point which I emphasise because just as we have seen how echoes of Horace's Odes occur in Propertius' work in which the elegist seems to be making rival claims for the status of elegy as a genre, it is possible that in this elegy Propertius is responding to the similar theme of Satires 1.2. Williams may have missed what is an instance of Propertian originality in adapting a traditional theme, an oversight which may be attributable to his taking the words 'vir' and 'furta pudica tori' (lines 20 and 22) at face value, which accounts in part for his view that the woman whom Propertius contemplates renouncing possesses marital status. The originality lies, I believe, in the way in which Propertius suggests that an affair with an unmarried woman who is already the mistress of another

can be just as unnerving as an adulterous affair. Since Propertius in elegy 2.6 calls Cynthia his 'uxor' (line 42) and elsewhere implies, as I shall demonstrate later, that his relationship with her approximates to a marital one, I propose that it is logical for the poet to regard a rival instated in the favour of his mistress as having a similar sort of right to regard her as an 'uxor', and this would cover likewise the use of the word 'vir' in the elegies of Tibullus and Ovid which may signify no more than a rival; this interpretation of the word is one that is widely accepted, and such are the logical grounds on which I suggest it can in part be defended. The most striking effect of the elegy, however, and one which has a strong bearing on the overall subject of this enquiry, is that the impression is conveyed of the poet's having had adulterous relations with a married woman and since adultery was soon to become a criminal offence punishable by 'relegatio' of the guilty parties 'in diversas insulas' with added financial penalties(82) and reforms concerning marriage were already being mooted - and, it would appear, temporarily implemented (see below) - we can appreciate how the treatment of the subject of the elegy is provocative against a background of moral reform. In exile Ovid became painfully aware too late that even verse which contained a disclaimer to the effect that it was not addressed to married women (Ars Amatoria 1.31-4) could be regarded nevertheless as not without interest for this very class of woman:

> ' "at matrona potest alienis artibus uti,
> quodque trahat, quamvis non doceatur, habet." '
> (Tristia 2.253-54)

This rhetorical objection sounds like the voice of official censure just as I suggested the rhetorical question had an official tone in Propertius 2.7.13 in an elegy in which the poet assumes an anti-establishment stance.(83) In Tristia 2.447-64 Ovid defends himself

by explaining that Tibullus had given advice not dissimilar to the sort of teaching found in the Ars Amatoria, paraphrasing sections of elegies 1.5 and 1.6 of Tibullus (cf. 1.2.15-24) in which the poet finds that his advice to Delia on how to practise deceit is now being used by her against himself. He maintains that his predecessor instructed married women in the ways of deceiving their husbands:

'multaque dat furti talis praecepta docetque
qua nuptae possint fallere ab arte viros.'
(Tristia 2.461-62)

It is the use by Tibullus of words such as 'vir' and 'coniunx' which permit Ovid to imply that the affair with Delia was adulterous; Tibullus shares Delia with a 'vir' who is also described as the 'fallacis coniunx....puellae' (1.6.8 and 15), yet in the same elegy Tibullus suggests that she is not married:

'sit modo casta, doce, quamvis non vitta ligatos
impediat crines nec stola longa pedes'
(1.6.67-8)

Similarly in elegy 1.2, Tibullus is intent on deceiving the 'coniunx' of Delia (line 41). Ovid is desperately seeking to mitigate the hostile official reaction to the 'carmen' - that is the Ars Amatoria which was partly responsible for his undoing (Tristia 2.207) [84] - and it is in his own interest to imply that the affair with Delia was such an illicit relationship if only to make his own poetry appear less exceptional from a moral standpoint. The charge brought against the Ars Amatoria was in fact that it taught adultery:

'arguor obsceni doctor adulterii.' (Tristia 2.212). That Ovid can construe Tibullus' poetry as well as that of Propertius in this way (Tristia 2.465), is good reason for supposing that the general reader was aware that much of the elegists' poetry has adulterous overtones; Ovid is referring to well known works and for this reason cannot be too far fetched in his argument. The frequent use of the words

'vir' and 'coniunx' which appear in what I believe are descriptions of free love relationships between single partners, an arrangement less serious than an affair in which the woman was already married, has nevertheless the serious consequence of giving the impression, in those passages for example where advice is tendered to the woman on how to deceive her 'vir', that the woman in being incited to commit adultery when in fact it is a less serious form of immorality that is being counselled. The reader would doubtless have remembered that in one of his elegies Catullus tells us that he had deceived Lesbia's 'vir': 'sed furtiva dedit mira munuscula nocte, / ipsius ex ipso dempta viri gremio'. (68.145-46) (85) and that in another a triangular relationship is described in which the 'vir' of Lesbia figures once more (83.1). If Lesbia is Clodia, and there is good evidence to support this identification,(86) then the mention of a 'vir' would be taken as a reference to her husband Q. Metellus Celer. It is significant that Ovid uses the word 'maritus' which is less ambiguous than the words 'vir' and 'coniunx' which Tibullus and Propertius prefer. In Amores 2.19 for example the meaning of the word is too specific to prevent our crediting Ovid with carrying on an adulterous affair with Corinna (line 9):

'quid mihi cum facili, quid cum lenone marito'
(line 57)

In this elegy the 'maritus' (cf. line 51) is so careless of his wife's behaviour that the poet regards him as an abetter of his wife's affair with himself. He is guilty of an indifference towards her conduct similar to that which Horace had stigmatised in speaking out against contemporary permissiveness: 'sed iussa coram non sine conscio surgit marito' (Odes 3.6.29-30). Again, in Amores 3.4.25-30, Ovid's desires are excited further by the careful watch which the 'maritus'

(line 27) keeps over his partner whose very protectiveness generates the adulterous interest of others (adultera cura. line 29) and the prospect of 'inconcessa voluptas' which the poet finds even more attractive because of its illicit nature. In Amores 3.8 Ovid complains that while the woman is free with her favours to those who can afford to pay for them, he on the otherhand, who has no material bargaining power, is rejected by her with the excuse that she fears her 'maritus':

> 'imperat ut captae qui dare multa potest;
> me prohibet custos, in me timet illa maritum.
> si dederim, tota cedet uterque domo!'
>
> (lines 62-4)

Incidentally, the situation is once more akin to that in Odes 3.6 of Horace for in both cases the woman who belongs to the 'maritus' makes a profit out of her infidelities (see Odes 3.6.30-2). One of the provisions of the Lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis would, I suggest, have strengthened the suspicion of the reader that the 'maritus' in Amores 2.19 and 3.8 is a husband and that Ovid's interest is adulterous for a husband could now be convicted for condoning his wife's adultery or making profit out of her adventure. (see Last C.A.H. vol.10 p.446). The rights of a husband over his wife are evoked in Amores 1.4 where Ovid describes the 'puella' as being subject to a 'ius' exercised by her 'vir': 'quod mihi das furtim, iure coacta dabis' (line 64).(87) Ovid is surely being more daring than either Tibullus or Propertius in representing his own amours as adulterous in nature. The latter two poets use marital terminology to enhance the status of their free-love affairs in which, as in marriage, fidelity is an important virtue,but this serves only to make marriage in the true sense an unnecessary undertaking with respect to themselves (see below). The 'coniunx' or 'vir' who

appears to have a prior claim to the respective women for whom Tibullus and Propertius compete can be regarded as moving in this same elegiac world and hence given these apellations because he also has the right to expect a quasi marital 'fides' of his partner. He is different again from the 'dives amator', commonly a professional soldier enriched by campaigns, the 'coniunx' being so named to emphasise the fact that the bond with his partner is based ultimately on mutual affection and not purchasing power, and we can easily understand how Propertius and Tibullus would regard themselves as the 'coniunx' or 'vir' of Cynthia and Delia respectively. The exact status of the 'vir' who represents an obstacle to the elegist remains an ambiguous one, and fortunately so, for this would have provided the poet with a convenient reply to anyone who might have charged him with playing the adulterer in his poetry. I cannot prove that they deliberately used the words in a provocative way but if modern scholars sometimes regard the elegists' mistresses as married women and believe that they were portraying their own adulterous affairs, then the Augustan reader was probably no less aware of this alternative way of looking at the affairs and the elegists themselves could not have failed to have realised that such an interpretation was possible. They preferred to allow the ambiguity to stand, and from their contemporaries' point of view this poetic licence (in both senses of the word) could not fail to lead to a reflection upon the disparity between the ways of the elegiac world and the moral ideals of the model Augustan world, and the Ovidian use of the word 'maritus' serves to make this disparity even more acute since it strikes a note of realism which encourages a literal reading and renders the morality of this aspect of his elegies even more questionable. In the case of Ovid I am led to suspect that he is flouting the moral

ideals which,before the publication of the first edition of the Amores soon after 16 B.C., had been endorsed officially by the Leges Juliae 'de maritandis ordinibus' and 'de adulteriis coercendis' of 18 B.C. A similar intrusion by the Augustan state into the sphere of morality had, it would appear, been made a decade earlier during the sixth consulship of the emperor[88] and elegy 2.7 of Propertius which refers to the repeal of a law dealing with marriage belongs to this earlier period and so also do the elegies comprising Tibullus' first book. I mention this fact in order to emphasise that these examples of the work of Tibullus and Propertius, which as I have just explained exploit vocabulary in a way suggestive of immorality, are also to be appraised within the context of a tightening of moral standards in the very area to which that vocabulary pertains; I believe that the Augustan reader would have attached a greater significance than the modern reader to such words and others which I intend to discuss, by virtue of the social climate prevailing at the time when they were employed.

Writing on the state of marriage during the last years of the Republic, Last states that "in an age when the distinction between wedlock and mere cohabitation was fine, and when it could be seriously argued that bigamy was impossible because a second marriage was by itself a valid dissolution of the first, the stability of the family was endangered by the threat that marriage would be made to serve the pleasure of the parties rather than the needs of the community as a whole". (C.A.H. Vol.10 p.440). This was a social ailment which the emperor attempted to cure and the writer gives a detailed explanation of the scope and career of the legislation designed to effect it (pp. 441-56). It is my contention that this

fine distinction is reflected in amatory elegy which can be said to have advertised a social problem of particular official concern and by giving extended treatment during a crucial reformatory period to a description of relationships which in many ways represented the problem, to have patently disregarded the official signal for its resolution. Disregard turns into dissent in an elegy (2.7) immediately following upon one in which the elegiac custom of blurring the distinction between free-love and monogamy is adopted by Propertius in referring to his affair with Cynthia (semper amica mihi, semper et uxor eris. 2.6.42); here once more the poet stresses the exclusive nature of the claims which they have upon one another, and which remind one of the undivided allegiance expected of one another by married partners (tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus. 2.7.19). Indeed the couplet in 2.7 which contains what I suggest are monogamous overtones rounds off the elegy just as in 2.6 the couplet which concludes the elegy contains the clear suggestion that his ties with Cynthia are similar to those which exist between married partners. These similarly located couplets convey the same sort of sentiment. In the case of 2.7,however,the final couplet tells us that Propertius has no wish to become a father (hic erit et patrio nomine pluris amor. line 20, cf. line 14). We can see how Propertius' way of looking at his free-love relationship in terms of a quasi-marital one can suddenly be exploited to register disinterest and antagonism towards a true marital relationship (cf. 2.6.41; 2.7.9) and the obligations of parenthood, both of which the state was anxious to promote. It has been suggested that the final couplet of 2.6 follows rather abruptly on the previous lines and Scaliger favoured its transposition to follow the final couplet of 2.7. Were this the original position of the couplet then the force of the

poet's own suggestion that his relationship approximated to one of marriage would be strengthened and render his rejection of the institution proper even more remarkable. The overall purpose of the process of transferring words connected with marital situations to describe elegiac ones is twofold. I have already discussed at length the way in which the triumph motif and the military metaphor are used in descriptions of the effects of 'amor' on the elegists and how by using the vocabulary of martialism in this way the elegists reinforce their hostility to military ideals. Moreover I explained how by applying the 'vates' concept to their own verse which is decidedly unsympathetic toward the heroic ideals and the official tenor in which true vatic verse treated them, the elegists dissociate themselves from the tendency towards political panegyric found in official verse. Likewise, by describing elegiac relationships in terms of marriage (further examples of which are investigated below) the elegists intimate that for themselves marriage in the strict sense, with all its obligations, is a redundant institution. The other aspect of the motivation behind this process of transference derives, I believe, from the elegists' desire to establish the elegiac partnership on a plane of equal if not superior importance to that on which the state placed marriage in the conventional sense. The elegists' reconditioning of the august 'vates' concept had, as I argued, a similar end in view; in both cases an attempt is made to secure public recognition, in the former for a life-style and in the latter for a poetic genre, and a credibility denied them in official quarters.

Of the elegists' attitude to marriage, Williams (J.R.S. 48 1958) claims that they were wont to despise it while at the same time using Roman marriage ideals to express their optative relation-

ships with their mistresses referring in particular (note 43) to Propertius 2.7; but I think the view that they looked down upon this institution requires qualification. In the case of Propertius it was only when he personally felt compulsion to marry and produce children in the interests of the state that his adverse thoughts on the subject were elicited. Elegiac ideals and Roman marriage ideals have much in common; we saw under the heading dealing with Roman inversion how Propertius applied the concept of 'univiria', a marriage ideal, to himself and there are many other instances where the poet suggests that elegiac and marriage ties have much in common. I have already pointed out that Propertius regards himself as a sort of husband to Cynthia. Moreover in elegy 2.5 he makes an appeal to her through Juno the goddess of marriage (per dominae Iunonis duleia iura. line 17) and Cynthia eventually appears in Elysium along with Andromeda and Hypermnestra 'sine fraude maritae' (4.7.63). Alphesiboea, Evadne, Alcestis and Penelope, all married women whose love for their husbands was exceptionally strong, win Propertius' admiration (1.15.15ff., 2.6.23) and in 3.12 he chides Postumus for neglecting his marriage in the pursuit of military glory and commends the chastity of his wife likening her to Penelope (line 38). In 3.13 the wifely devotion which inspires the oriental woman to sacrifice her life in the act of suttee on the funeral pyre of her husband, puts to shame the unfaithful 'puellae' and 'nuptae' (line 23) of Rome. In elegy 4.3 which treats the same theme as 3.12, the plight of the married woman wins our sympathy once more though not without a condemnation of the circumstances which cause the distress.(89) Lilja (p.230ff.) as well as other scholars, has noticed how Propertius describes marriage in 4.3 in terms of elegiac free love; Arethusa complains about her 'noctes amaras',fears that her husbands' weapons

will hurt his 'teneros lacertos' and 'imbellis manus', regards his pale and thin appearance as evidence of his love for her and is ready to endure the hardships which she would face in accompanying her husband on his campaigns (lines 23-48). It is surely in so far as marriage reflects the ideals of elegiac love that Propertius is in sympathy with it. In 4.3 and its counterpart 3.11 there is no mention of children and it was probably the prospect of parenthood - which the marriage legislation referred to in 2.7 must have sought to make a civic duty - which Propertius found disconcerting, as well as the domestic responsibilities which are not consonant with love of a romantic nature. Williams (art.cit.) has listed numerous instances of the appearance on epitaphs of the word 'solus' and 'unus' with which the ideal of marriage to one husband is expressed (p.23) and also refers to inscriptional evidence to show how the idea of the eternity of the bond was a marriage ideal (pp.23-5). With this evidence he compares those passages in which Propertius uses the words 'solus' and 'unus' to describe his relationship with Cynthia which is clearly being represented in terms of marriage ideals. Even the idea of the eternal bond is used to describe his elegiac relationship (eg. 2.6.42; 15.31ff.; 20.15ff.). Lilja (pp.172-73) refers to passages in Tibullus' elegies where the poet makes similar use of the thought of a love that will last until death in the case of Delia and recognises this is a monogamous tendency. Such monogamous ideas are to be found in Catullus who regrets that Lesbia does not show an undivided love for him (etsi nec est contenta Catullo. 68.135) while in another elegy she is said to have professed eternal love for him (amorem.....perpetuum. 109.1-2) - the monogamous overtone of which can be appreciated in the light of a tombstone on which a wife is referred to as 'coniunx perpetua'.(90) In words which

are famous Catullus called his love for Lesbia 'hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae' (109.6) using a term which is used elsewhere to describe a marriage proper - that of Peleus and Thetis: 'nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes' (64.335); 'accipiat coniunx felici foedere divam' (ibid.373). Now in elegy 3.20 Propertius describes a pact of fidelity with a woman, whose identity is uncertain, in the following wise:

'foedera sunt ponenda prius signandaque iura
et scribenda mihi lex in amore novo.'
(lines 15-16)

Goddard (C.R. 37 1923) held that "This almost certainly means a legal arrangement" (p.155) and that it involved the poet's legalising his status by living with the woman in question (whom he takes to be Cynthia) in 'concubinatus', in order that he might bind her to him and feel more confident that she would remain faithful to him since he would have a legal claim against her if she were unfaithful. The evidence for believing that Augustus legalised the state of 'concubinatus' - based mainly on Ulpian and Marcian - is, as Last observes, controversial (C.A.H. 10 p.445). Indeed Butler and Barber, referring to this article which interprets in a legalistic vein the career of Propertius' dealings with Cynthia after the negotiation of the troubles described in elegy 2.7, state that "Goddard's view of their subsequent proceedings rests on the most precarious interpretations of Roman law and cannot be seriously considered." (p.202). Yet putting aside the legalistic speculation - I am not convinced by this approach - Goddard makes an interesting comment on the poetic spirit of elegy 3.20, suggesting that Propertius made one more effort "to rouse his enthusiasm for her by a mystical ceremony which would impress the imagination." (p.155-6) and in the sentence preceding my first quotation from the article states that

"There is a whole ceremony described, a sort of poetic marriage..." Propertius is not in my opinion embarking in reality upon an arrangement recognised by law. The prospect of a new or renewed relationship with the promise of mutual fidelity stirs his imagination into using the powerful image of a concrete contractual relationship. The poet who had already regarded Cynthia as his 'uxor' (2.6.42) and spoken of the 'iura' which women in free love relationships possessed over men (cf. 1.9.3; 3.11.2) as well as the 'foedus' which was broken when his mistress left him for another (3.9.35), would understandably be inclined to use legal terms in celebrating a new alliance. When Cynthia dictates her 'formula legis' in elegy 4.8.74-80 the amatory conditions which she lays down suggest that it is hardly legal redress which she is seeking for the infringement of the 'foedus' to which she refers in line 21; the pledge was 'taeitum' - based on understanding - and this is surely the essence of what has been called the 'foedus amterium'. If we reflect on how Propertius uses strong religious imagery and sets a high hieratic tone in describing his métier as a poet in elegies 3.1 and 3.3 it becomes easier to comprehend how he could conceive of a free love relationship in such formal terms. Nor should we rule out the possibility that a legal education accounts to a certain extent for the use of such terms; after surveying their occurrence in the elegists, Lilja (p.71) concludes "Ovid is the most interested in juridical imagery. Propertius coming next to him, because they had probably received a more profound legal education than Tibullus, who had concentrated upon military affairs." I would add that Propertius and Ovid in particular are using the jargon derived from a training which was a preliminary for a career in the service of the state to which the emperor was anxious to attract members of their order, and

perhaps they realised that its use in this new context would remind the reader of their failure to respond in this direction; commenting upon the appearance of juridical imagery in all the elegists - Tibullus for instance used the word 'lex' in 1.6.69 and 2.4.52 in an amatory sense and Ovid gives perhaps the most striking example in Amores 2.17.23-4 (in quaslibet accipe leges; / te deceat medio iura dedisse foro.)(91) - Hallett (Arethusa 6 1973) writes: "We find the Augustan elegists all defending their love life as a respectable replacement for rank and wealth: Tibullus at 1.1.5ff., Propertius in 1.8a and at 2.34.55-58, Ovid petulantly in Amores 3.8." (p.115). There is, then, good reason for doubting a literal interpretation of lines 15-16 of elegy 3.20 of Propertius (sup.cit.) which would imply that the poet had decided to fall in with an arrangement given the backing of law by the emperor in an effort to curb immorality: Augustus' new measures concerning 'concubinatus', if indeed he did give it a new legal definition, are said to have made it an offence for a man to live in this state with a woman if he already had a wife and he was apparently aiming at restraining the fickleness of women in giving men the right of legal action against partners who behaved promiscuously.(92) If Propertius is using in a transferred sense the vocabulary of 'concubinatus' rather than of marriage,he can still be regarded as intimating, by applying it to a free-love situation, that this officially encouraged alternative to marriage is no less undesirable from his own point of view than marriage proper.

Ross, (Style and Tradition in Catullus) has argued that such words as 'fides' 'amicitia' and 'foedus', used by Catullus to describe his ties with Lesbia, are an adaptation of the vocabulary of political alliance. But Catullus in 64.335 and 373 (sup.cit.) used the word 'foedus' to denote the marriage contract and it

certainly has amatory connotations in Propertius 4.8.21 (tacitum foedus. see above) and refers specifically to marriage in Propertius 4.3.69 where Arethusa asks her husband to abide by the 'foedera lecti.' Likewise Ovid uses the word 'foedus' in referring to his own wife: 'socialis amor foedusque maritum.' (Pont. 3.1.73), 'perpetuoque mihi sociatam foedere lecti.' (Ibis 15). Ross maintains that the 'foedus' and 'fides' between the lovers in elegy does not possess the political significance which Catullus attached to the words in describing his affair with Lesbia - that "in elegy they have been intentionally disassociated from their older technical usage, perhaps due to the more general sense in which the words were coming to be used, perhaps because the technical Roman sense of the terms was basically unpoetic." (p.94). The more general use of these words in elegy might be due,however,to a change in political circumstances, for the republic had shot its last bolt at Philippi and the vocabulary which had pertained to an order which had been overthrown would lose its relevance(93) in a system in which alliance was not sought between equals so much as between one who was superior and those who were unequal. 'Fides' and 'foedus' possess a predominantly amatory significance in elegy, one which was also found in Catullus (cf. coniugis an fido conseler memet amore. 64.182) and apart from being conscious of the fact that the elegists were using such terms to delineate free-love relationships which they preferred to the officially promoted institutions to which the terms are more strictly applicable, the reader would have been attuned to the political sense of the words and reminded no doubt of the passing of the old order to which they also applied. On the Catullan 'sanctae foedus amicitiae' Ross maintains that it cannot refer to a metaphorical marriage since 'amicitia' is never normally even

associated with the idea of marriage even if 'foedus' does sometimes mean marriage; the words "must indicate a sphere of meaning common to each noun" (p.82) and the sphere from which he believes Catullus is drawing his ideas is that of politics. I have already referred however, under the fourth heading of this chapter, to the way in which marriage was exploited for political ends. Dynastic matches were made to solve the question of the imperial succession in particular, and the use of marriage for such ends had been especially prevalent during the republic and here I quote Syme: "The 'nobiles' were dynasts, their daughters princesses. Marriage with a well connected heiress therefore became an act of policy and an alliance of powers, more important than a magistracy, more binding than any compact of oath or interest." (p.12). Propertius, I believe, expresses an awareness of the political advantages of the marital 'foedus' in elegy 4.4.60 where Tarpeia offers to reconcile Sabine and Roman through marriage to king Tatius: 'vos medium palla foedus inite mea.' I propose that Catullus, contrary to the opinion of Ross, is referring to marriage as much as any other political expedient, and that the 'foedus' between the elegists and their mistresses is similar to the poetic marriage envisaged by Catullus with Lesbia - a 'foedus amatorium', being a free-love relationship to which Catullus attached an importance equalling that which his contemporaries attached to political alliances and dynastic marriages; in the case of the elegists however, the importance which they place upon their own 'foedera amatoria' is matched by that which the state placed upon the institution of marriage as a civic duty and a moral corrective. When the elegists were writing, the political value of marriage as a means to power would of course have been greatly reduced due to the nature of the new power structure which limited mens'

ambitions in this direction, and this I suspect of having been an additional reason for the disregard for the institution which the state found such a problem.

A further instance of the portrayal of free-love in terms of marriage occurs in Tibullus 1.3.83-88:

'at tu casta precor maneas, sanctique pudoris
adsideat custos sedula semper anus.
haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna
deducat plena stamina longa colo.
at circa gravibus pensis adfixa puella
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.'

Here in the words of Putnam, Tibullus imagines "Delia as Penelope become Roman 'matrona' with all the trappings of enduring fidelity." (p.74). Spinning and weaving are of course used by the poet to symbolise the chastity of Delia. They were, however, occupations which Ovid attributed to prudes in his criticism of 'rusticitas' in life and manners but I gave my own explanation why Ovid would not have regarded the rural theme in Tibullus as a manifestation of a narrow mindedness or inhibition in the elegist or his mistress. (94) In elegy 1.5 for example the affair with Delia who has taken another lover is described as 'furtivi foedera lecti' (line 8), a union which has overtones of marriage (as a 'foedus amatorium') and adultery (hence the adjective 'furtivus') since a 'coniunx' already has possession of her (1.2.41; 1.6.8 and 15); Delia's behaviour is not above suspicion and in dreaming about a scene in which she is occupied in spinning wool, Tibullus is probably trying to reassure himself that she will remain faithful to him during his absence. Likewise in elegy 1.5 the poet depicts her as a country wife (lines 21-30) at a moment when she is neglecting him for a 'dives amator' (line 47, cf. line 60) and threatens to dash his dream of life with her in a rural retreat. Lilja remarks that in these passages (viz. 1.3.85-92 (sup.

cit.) and 1.5.21-34) the idea of the 'servitium amoris' does not intrude upon his visions: "In these passages Delia is not called a 'domina', the poet's attitude to her being that of a real husband." (p.82). (95) Incidentally it is noteworthy that Tibullus never imagines himself as being a father in these passages where his relationship approximates to one of marriage, nor elsewhere in the elegies. As a substitute for marriage it excludes a major - from the state's point of view the most important - objective of the institution proper, undertaken traditionally 'liberorum quaerendorum causa.'

The word 'domina', as we saw in my discussion of the 'servitium amoris', was a word used in republican literature by a slave in referring to his mistress, and never by a husband in referring to his wife. The elegists, casting themselves in the role of a slave, use it to describe the imperiousness of their mistresses in an amatory sense, hence it is natural that in stressing the monogamous aspect of their relationship that they should momentarily abandon the idea of love as 'servitium' and the terms connected with it. The same author (pp. 83-4) notices that the convention is not apparent in elegy 3.6 of Propertius where Cynthia is depicted as spinning and weaving in the company of maidservants (lines 9-14, cf.Tib. 1.3.83-8 sup.cit.). The ideas of the elegiac slavery of love and marriage overlap when the elegists use the words 'vincula' and 'iugum' denoting the chains and yoke of love which bind them to their mistresses. 'Vincula' is used to describe the marital bond proper in Tibullus 2.2.18 (cf. Verg. Aen 4.59: Iuneni cui vincla iugalia curae) but is used to denote his attachment to Delia in 1.1.55, and in 2.4.1-6 he is bound through chains to Nemesis in an elegiac 'servitium amoris'. In 1.3 he imagines another falling victim to

love and submitting to 'vincula' (line 90) and in 3.11.13-14 Sulpicia prays to Venus requesting that she and Cerinthus may both be bound in her service or else that she be freed of her 'vincula'; her monogamous way of thinking is evident in her further wish that she and her partner may be bound together for ever (lines 15-16), marriage also being a 'coniunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae' (Modest. Dig. 23.2.1). Similarly in Propertius 2.15.25-8 the poet hopes that a life-time bond will exist between himself and his mistress the like of which he illustrates with a picture of doves, themselves symbolic of marriage,(96) bound in close embrace (exemplo iunctae tibi sint in amore columbae / masculus et totum femina coniugium. lines 27-28). In 3.11.4 he is criticised for not being able to break the 'vincla' and 'iugum' which tie him to his mistress, while earlier in 2.5 it appears that he had threatened to free himself from the yoke imposed on him by Cynthia in revenge for her loose living, but makes a last appeal to her through Juno goddess of marriage (lines 14-18). In 3.25.8 he complains that Cynthia is making the yoke an uncomfortable one to bear. Ovid too employs diction suggestive of marriage. For example, in Amores 3.11 after rejoicing that he has fled his fetters (line 3) his feelings change and he pleads with Corinna to spare him 'per lecti socialia iura' (line 45), words which recall the description of his own marriage in Ex Ponto 3.173 as 'socialis amor' and the phrase 'sociatam foedere lecti', again referring to the bond between himself and his wife (Ibis 15).

Williams (Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry pp. 525-46) has attributed the tendency among scholars to place a metaphorical interpretation upon the marital terminology used by the elegists in connection with their 'puellae' to the mistaken view of

some scholars that these women were 'meretrices' or freedwomen courtesans for whom normal marriage was not possible, and argues that the 'vir' in elegy is a husband in the strict sense of the word citing the case of Lesbia whose 'vir' falls into this category, since the evidence suggests that she was married to Q. Metellus Celer. I agree with Williams that the 'puellae' of the elegists are not 'meretrices' or high class courtesans; elegy 2.16, for example, which accuses Cynthia of weighing her lovers' purses does not necessarily imply that she was a meretrix; here the poet may be adapting the theme of the mercenary mistress common in comedy, while elegy 4.7, in which Cynthia reminds Propertius how she used to climb out of the window to make love to him at the crossroads, affords no grounds for assuming that her status was lower than that of Lesbia who behaved in a similar fashion (see Cat. 58). In elegy 2.13.9-12 Propertius tells us that he is not just an admirer of a pretty figure or of a woman who boasts illustrious ancestors (illustris avos) but of a 'docta puella'. Moreover, in elegy 3.20.8 he tells us that his mistress is distinguished for her ancestry and that one of her forebears was 'doctus'. Taken in conjunction with the statement in Apuleius (Apol. 10) that Cynthia's true name was Hostia, it is reasonable to suppose that she was a respectable descendant of the epic poet Hostius who wrote during the latter half of the second century B.C. As to the question arising from elegy 2.7 why Propertius could not marry Cynthia, it is often assumed that it was her status as a 'meretrix' which made marriage with her impossible, for in marrying a 'meretrix' one incurred the charge of 'infamia' and this was no less the case after the reforms made by Augustus; the separation from Cynthia is put down to the fact that Propertius, being under compulsion from the new legislation to marry, would have to seek a wife elsewhere.

Williams on the other hand believes that the separation which the two parties fear is explicable on the grounds that Cynthia was already married and that Propertius was pursuing an adulterous affair with her, and that separation was necessary if they were to avoid the serious punishment meted out under the new marriage laws (op.cit. p. 533f.). The status of Delia and Corinna is, Williams maintains, the same as that of Cynthia. Each is (like Lesbia) "a married woman who is engaging in an adulterous affair" (op.cit. p.540). I accept the views of Williams on the social status of the elegists' mistresses (i.e. that they are freeborn) but I am dubious about the claim that Cynthia and Delia were married, even though this approach would considerably strengthen my argument that the elegists were openly flouting the spirit, if not the letter (though see below) of the new legislation. I incline to the view of Goddard (art.sup.cit.) who states that "Cynthia was not 'infamis' and the question at issue was not that she could not marry, but that she would not. To marry his muse and to breed two or three little soldiers for the Parthian wars - well, he escaped that fate and was glad of it." (p.155). Cynthia and Delia were more likely in my opinion to have been free-born, and eligible for marriage, and as such their elegiac lovers were still portraying in their verse the pursuit of an affair which was punishable under the Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis; greater responsibilities were placed upon men in general and it was forbidden to have an affair with a free woman not registered as a 'meretrix' with the aedile.(97)

The elegists could not have been ignorant of the effect which they would create by using marital terminology to delineate their relationships with their 'puellae'. Two millenia later they are still liable to be regarded as having immortalised adulterous

affairs and the reader of amatory elegy in Augustan Rome, unless he knew the biographical circumstances of the poems, was probably no less likely to come to the same conclusion. Lacking such information in the case of a fictitious affair such as that between Ovid and Corinna appears to have been, a conclusion along these lines could not be corrected so easily by reference to real life and so Ovid, who as I have shown is more specific in his use of marital terminology than Propertius and Tibullus, would render himself doubly liable in this respect. The offending 'carmen' was of course the Ars Amatoria but offence enough could easily have been found in the Amores. Had Tibullus and Propertius been writing the works for which they are famed in 8 A.D., perhaps Ovid would not have been without erudite company among the barbarous Getae.

Note References for Chapter Four

1. See Carmen Saeculare lines 17-20 and 45-48.

2. See my discussion of these and related elegies under the heading Propertius and the Parthian Question in Chapter Three.

3. See M. Rothstein, Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius, Vol. 1. p. 319 (on 2.16.19-20).

4. The evidence suggests that Augustus wished to be thought of as a second Romulus: "His wish to be recognised as Rome's second founder was no secret; indeed, it was practically coeval with his entry into politics. In 43 B.C., when taking the auspices for his first consulate, he re-enacted the famous augury of Romulus, even managing to produce twelve vultures" ..... "Suet. Aug. 95; Appian, B.C. 3.94. Livy (1.7) and Ovid (F 4.817ff.), in describing Romulus' augury seem to have Augustus' imitation of it in mind. The temple of Quirinus, which had Romulus' augury portrayed on the pediment, may have been restored by Augustus, thus keeping the analogy between the two leaders before the peoples eyes." (S. Commager, The Odes of Horace, p. 212 and note 98). See also R. Syme The Roman Revolution p. 313.

5. "Hoc distichon, (sc. lines 35-6) praesertim hoc loco positum intellegi nullo modo potest" - Lachmann, quoted by Paley (on 2.6.35-6, emphasis mine).

6. For 'domus' as the abode of divinities see Verg. Aen. 10.101, and Ovid Met 4.736; 6.269. In Verg. Aen. 6.27 the word refers

6. (contn'd) to the Labyrinth and in 6.81 to a sacred grotto. For 'paries' referring to a religious edifice cf. Cic. Verr. 2.4.55 'interiores templi parietes'. For 'tecta' as part of a 'porticus' see Cic. Att. 4.3.2. In Verg. Aen. 6.29 it refers to the Labyrinth, while in Aen. 6.211 the 'tecta Sibyllae' is of course the grotto of the Cumaean Sybil.

7. See C.A.H., Vol. of plates IV 176c.

8. See Brunt and Moore, Res Gestae Divi Augusti p. 61 and Suet. Aug. 31.

9. Res Gestae 21 and 29, Suet. Aug. 21, Dio 55.10.2.

10. The 'gens Iulia' claimed as an ancestor Proculus Iulius to whom the dead Romulus appeared in a dream revealing that he had become a god known by the name of Quirinus (see J.P.V.D. Balsdon, Julius Caesar and Rome p.1), and Julius Caesar erected a statue of himself in the temple of Quirinus; see R. Syme, op.cit. pp. 306 and 464, and M. Grant, Cleopatra p. 161, and especially L. R. Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor pp. 65-66.

11. See R. Syme, op.cit., pp. 472-73.

12. See W. A. Camps on 2.16.1: "the term 'praetor' could conceivably refer to a provincial office holder of some kind, but the mention of 'fasces' in line 11 below suggests that a Roman magistrate is indeed meant."

13. See Chapter Three under the heading Propertius and the Parthian Question where I make this point with reference to elegy 3.4.1-3. For the material motive for Roman involvement in the

13. (contn'd) East see the historical works cited under note 42 of Chapter Three.

14. See for instance Horace Odes 1.12.53-56, Vergil Aeneid 7.603-6 and Camps' note on Prop. 3.4.1.

15. As I explained when I discussed elegy 3.12 under the heading referred to in note 13 above.

16. The plight of Arethusa was discussed at length in Chapter Two under the heading Tarpeia and Arethusa where I argued that Propertius sympathised with the condition of the heroine as a victim of Augustan foreign policy. As the wish expressed in 4.3.45-6 would solve the trouble caused by the segregation of the sexes to which Propertius often draws attention, it is most likely that he would also have sympathised with her on this point.

17. Here I am drawing upon Syme, op.cit., p. 453.

18. Cf. Verg. Georg. 1.489-508 where the poet associates with civil strife the dishonour into which agriculture has fallen. L.P. Wilkinson in G.R. 19 1950 pp. 19-28, deals with the themes of war and life on the land in the Georgics - see especially p. 22: "the one insistent political motif in the Georgics is that swords should be beaten into ploughshares". Syme, op.cit. pp. 253-54, makes some pertinent remarks on the effect of war on agriculture.

19. For details see G. W. Williams, J.R.S. 52 1962 p. 28, who emphasises that the emperor's action represented a new departure from the traditional approach to restraining immorality.

20. Cf. Suet. Aug 73.

21. The advice on false oaths (in lines 83-6) reappears in A.A. 1.631-36 and 659-62; that on the tell-tale signs of a rival, (in lines 95-8) in A.A. 3.593-94, and that on gifts, (in lines 101-2) in A.A. 1.433-34. The birthday dodge for obtaining gifts (in lines 93-4) is also found in A.A. 1.429-30.

22. Earlier than 25 B.C., for at 1.19.3, Livy refers to the closing of the gates of the temple of Janus after Actium, stating that they have been closed only once since the reign of Numa, that is in 27 B.C., by Augustus after Actium. They were, however, closed again in 25 B.C. after a successful campaign in Spain and the crushing of the rebellion of the Salassi by Murena in 25 B.C. (see C.A.H. 10, pp. 122 and 135).

23. So G. W. Williams, in J.R.S. 52 1962 p. 34.

24. For the emperor's antiquarian interests see for instance Suetonius Aug 72: 'sua (sc. praetoria) vero quamvis modica non tam statuarum tabularumque pictarum ornatu quam xystis et nemoribus excoluit rebusque vetustate ac raritate notabilibus, qualia sunt Capreis immanium beluarum ferarumque membra praegrandia, quae dicuntur gigantum ossa et arma heroum'. The old fashioned conservatism of Augustus is discussed below under the heading Freedom and Repression.

25. A typical inscription of this sort can be found in Carmina Epigraphica 63.4: 'gravitatem officio et lanificio praestitei.'

26. See for example E. J. Kenney in Ovidiana pp. 202-09, who lists several examples of the influence of the Georgics on

26. (contn'd) Ovid's amatory verse including the De Medicamine, and T. F. Higham C.R. 48 1934 p. 113 who compares Georgics 1.80 with the De Medicamine 69f.

27. Cf. Ovid Pont 1.7.27ff.; 2.21; 2.3.73-4 and Tristia 4.4.27-30.

28. For poetry in the service of the state see W. A. Camps, Vergil's Aeneid p. 19 and note 12, also J.P.V.D. Balsdon, Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome pp. 136 and 138. On the rewards received by Vergil and Varius Rufus see (my) Chapter One, note 78.

29. So L. P. Wilkinson, in G.R. 19 1950 p. 26.

30. See for instance J. W. Duff, A Literary History of Rome (from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age) p. 404.

31. Cf. Georg. 1.489ff. and 2.459ff. For the political elements in the Georgics see L. P. Wilkinson in G.R. 19 1950 pp. 19-28.

32. G. W. Williams, The Third Book of Horace's Odes p. 9.

33. Aus Vergils Frühzeit, pp. 12-18; see D. O. Ross, Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry, p. 85.

34. For the extent of his involvement see my comments in Chapter Three under the heading Gallus, Tibullus and Poetic Capitalisation, and for the contemporary aspect of his complaints about campaigning see elegies 1.10.29-34 and 1.3.81-82. In elegy 1.10 which begins with a condemnation of the spirit of conquest and militarism in general, we are made directly aware of the persona of the poet in lines 29-32 who represents himself as

34. (contn'd) listening unsympathetically to the boasts of a hero, and here the work as a whole begins to assume the dimension of a personal protest which is reinforced in the final couplet with an emphatic 'at nobis', which leaves us in no doubt that the poet's personal preference is for peace as opposed to war. The strength of this protest against the heroic ethic should perhaps be compared with the strong tones in which Propertius, in elegy 2.7, flatly throws out the idea of making a contribution to maintaining the strength of the Augustan military machine (see lines 5-6 and 13-14).

35. One of the great merits of Putnam's commentary on Tibullus is that it notes many instances of Vergilian echoes in the work of the elegist.

36. Their uniqueness is matched only by their neglect; they do not for instance receive attention in G. W. Williams' Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry.

37. Ovid uses it on one other occasion, in Met 9.283 where, interestingly, the goddess is said by Alcmene to have prevented the birth of her child.

38. See T. E. Page, Horace, Odes p. 368.

39. See the concluding remarks under the heading The Propertian View of Actium in Chapter Three.

40. Dio 53.2; 54.6. See also A. H. M. Jones, Augustus, p. 148.

41. A. D. Nock, in C.A.H. Vol. 10 p. 540, and lit.cit..

42. Hence the priests of the Phrygian mother goddess are called Galli; see M. Rothstein, op.cit. Vol. 1, p. 301 (on Prop. 2.13. 48).

43. The father of the child so exposed being D. Junius Silanus; see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Roman Women, p. 88.

44. W. W. Tarn, C.A.H. Vol. 10 p. 109, see also p. 80.

45. See the appendix on the literary authorities for Roman history 44 B.C. - A. D. 70 in C.A.H. Vol. 10, p. 869.

46. 'Domum servavit, lanam fecit' (I.L.S. 8403), an inscription of the latter half of the 2nd century B.C., illustrates the point succinctly; see the opening remarks of Hallett, in Arethusa 6 1973 p. 103, who begins her discussion of the role of women in elegy with an assessment of what the Romans had long regarded as their place in the family and society, one which, by all accounts, appears to have been . generally restricted.

47. See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome pp. 127-28.

48. See C.A.H. Vol. 10 p. 439.

49. See Plutarch, Lucullus 7, who tells us that she used her social gifts to enter into political intrigues and Syme op.cit. pp. 384-85 on this woman and others similar to her.

50. See Syme, op.cit., pp. 191 and 208-12 and C.A.H. Vol. 10, pp. 28-29.

51. See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Roman Women pp. 224-34.

52. The evidence for identifying Lesbia with Clodia is discussed by C. J. Fordyce, Catullus p. xivff.

53. The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women, p. 37.

54. For the low regard in which women of Cytheris' status were held, see for example H. J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature p. 150 note 113; in this case her profession as an actress (mima) would have been looked down upon, an attitude discussed by J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome, p. 279ff.: "An actress was classed with prostitutes; she was 'humilis abiectaque persona'" (p. 280 quoting Dig 23.2.44).

55. Syme, op.cit., p. 449.

56. The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women, p. 42. For an example of thematic material common to both works, see note 21 above.

57. See also the comments of Balsdon in Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome, p. 152, on dancing and the disrespect in which it was held.

58. Cf. Propertius 1.7.11; 2.3.21, 11.7, 13.11. (Tibullus) 3.12.2, Ovid Amores 2.4.17; cf. 2.11.31; 3.1.27, 8.5-7.

59. Cf. for instance Amores 2.11.31-2 where Ovid tells Corinna that it would have been safer for her to stay at home, read a book, and play the lyre, than to have embarked on a dangerous journey by sea.

60. G. W. Williams, The Third Book of Horace's Odes, p. 97.

61. Id.op.cit.ibid.

62. See the explanatory note on Satires 2.2.3 in A. Palmer's Horace, Satires p. 255.

63. 'leporem sectatus equove / lassus ab indomito vel, si Romana fatigat / militia adsuetum Graecari, seu pila velox, / molliter austerum studio fallente laborem, / seu te discus agit, pete cedente aera disco.' See Palmer, op.cit. pp. 256-57 on these lines.

64. The reasons for identifying the Licymnia of Odes 12 with Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, are given by Page in Horace, Odes p. 262 (on Odes 2.2.13); the Greek sounding pseudonym is a metrical equivalent for the name Terentia who must be a Roman woman on account of her being described as taking part in the festival of Diana. See also (my) note 44 for Chapter One.

65. Williams deals in particular with Vergil's second Eclogue and Horace's Liguriuus Ode (4.10) to demonstrate his point.

66. On this incident see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome pp. 258-59.

67. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Roman Women pp. 91-92.

68. Odes 4.4; see the note of T. E. Page (Horace, Odes p. 413) on lines 25-8 where he points out that the words 'rite' 'faustis' and 'penetralibus' have religious associations - "religious words designedly used to suggest the almost godlike qualities of Augustus".

69. Syme, op.cit., discusses such dynastic marriages in pp. 421ff. and 491ff.

70. S. Lilja, The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women, p. 88. The remarks about the uniqueness in elegy of the slavish punishments are largely a restatement of Copley's observations in T.A.P.A. 78 1947, p. 299 which the author acknowledges as a source.

71. Cf. Propertius, 4.11.36; 'in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar'.

72. See The Odes of Horace pp. 239-42 where Commager demonstrates that Horace uses the nature metaphor to convey his view that it is futile and illogical to wallow in such painful emotion.

73. Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero, pp. 238-40. See also H. J. Rose in C.Q. 17 1923 pp. 57-60 who argues that the life force of the 'gens' is represented by the Genius which is sheltered by the 'pater familias' during his life-time and thereafter passes to his successor (cf. Horace Epp 2.2.187-89).

74. See for instance Chapter Three under the heading A Political Echo in Tibullus 1.1 and M. C. J. Putnam, Tibullus, a Commentary, p. 3.

75. See R. Syme, op.cit., pp. 154-61, 515-19.

76. The incident is recorded by Suetonius Aug. 53.

77. Chapter Three under the heading Ovid and Social Recalcitrance.

78. T. Birt, Kritik und Hermeneutik p. 54ff. and also L. Alfonsi, Poetae Novi p. 54, referred to by S. Lilja, The Roman Elegists' Attitude to Women p. 88.

79. I refer the reader to my discussion of Tibullus 2.5 in Chapter Three under the heading Irony and 'Levitas' in Tibullus 2.5.

80. See L. P. Wilkinson, Horace and His Lyric Poetry pp. 70-71.

81. Discussed by Fränkel, Horace pp. 78-79; "The warning desine matronas sectarier had, of course, long been a commonplace; it seems to have played a part also in one of the early satires of Lucilius. Horace himself says 'among the pieces of moral advice that I was given by my father there was this ne sequerer moechas'".

82. For the details see C.A.H. Vol. 10, p. 443ff.

83. See my discussion of Propertius 2.7 under the heading 'Orbitas' versus 'Ubertas'.

84. For the circumstances surrounding Ovid's exile see for example the work of my supervisor The Tristia: Poetry in Exile in Ovid (ed. Binns) pp. 154-90.

85. The reason for taking the woman referred to in these lines to be Lesbia, is given by C. J. Fordyce, (Catullus) as being that "beneath all the studied artifice and formal embellishment there is intense personal feeling - of friendship for Allius, of sorrow for his brother, of love for someone who can only be Lesbia". (p. 344).

86. See note 52.

87. See J. Barsby, Ovid: Amores Book 1: "The use of the word 'iure' (64) seems to imply a husband with legally established rights

87. (contn'd) rather than just a reigning lover, and the weakness of Ovid's position is emphasised by the contrast with 39-40, where he was himself threatening, bravely but uselessly, to assert his claim to the kisses" (p. 65).

88. See Butler and Barber, The Elegies of Propertius, p. 202 and the comments upon the evidence of Tacitus, Ann 3.28 and Suetonius, Aug. 34.

89. See my discussion of elegy 4.3 in Chapter Two under the heading Tarpeia and Arethusa.

90. See G. W. Williams, J.R.S. 48 1958 p. 25, who refers to this inscription (Carmina Epigraphica 1571.3).

91. Cf. the advice given by the 'lena' to Corinna: 'captos legibus ure tuis!'. (Amores 1.8.70).

92. So E. H. Goddard, in C.R. 37 1923, p. 154; cf. C.A.H. Vol. 10, p. 445.

93. Cf. J. P. Hallett, art.cit. p. 111.

94. See under the heading Elegy and the Rural Ethic in this chapter.

95. Lilja points out that in 1.5.26 Delia "is said to be the 'domina' of a 'verna', although 'amantis' (25) adds a personal touch". Here, 'domina' has its usual meaning of the mistress of a slave.

96. Cf. Catullus, 68.126, Pliny N.H. 10, 104.

97. See C.A.H. Vol. 10, p. 447.

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