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ELEMENTS OF ROMAN RELIGION IN
THE FOURTH BOOK OF PROPERTIUS

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

E. C. Marquis was born May 20, 1940, in Sarnia, Ontario. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in English and Latin from University College, The University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, in 1963 and the Master of Arts degree in Latin from The University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, in 1969.

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More immediately, the writer owes the greatest debt of gratitude to Prof. S. Kresic, Dipl. E.S. (Zagreb), of the Department of Classical Studies, University of Ottawa, under whose able supervision the dissertation was prepared. I am especially grateful to him because he had the great wisdom and that kind of humility most commonly found in truly exceptional men to allow me to write my thesis as I wanted to write it, never attempting to graft onto my consciousness ideas or deductions which were his own; by his immense scholarship and through the inspirational force of his humanitas he truly merits the title of Arbeitsvater. What began as the phototropic attraction of the scholarly researcher to those qualities of mind and soul so manifestly apparent in Prof Kresic has now widened and deepened into a lasting friendship. Hopefully, his inspirational force is

accurately reflected herein.

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A large part of any academic research is carried out in the library and if certain vital volumes are not

immediately to hand, one then has recourse to Inter-Library Loan. The dispatch with which one's requests are handled often means the difference of a week or two in the progress of one's studies. I should therefore like most sincerely to offer my heartfelt thanks to the girls in the Inter-Library Loan department of the University Library, whose competence, ability and great good humour made my researches both profitable and pleasant.

The physical attractiveness which this dissertation presents to the reader is due completely to the professional abilities of my typist, Mrs. J.G. Carrière, who managed to be both proficient and cheerful at all times. Always willing to delete a phrase or add a comma, her skill is evident on every page.

I come now to the mention of my final, and in many respects most profound, debt of gratitude, that owed to my wife. It was she who had to live with this work every bit as intimately as I, she who had to work to help support our family while I was engaged full-time in my researches and who, as I read her chapter after chapter, would often suggest a change of phrase or indeed a completely new line of reasoning. It is most literally true that without her unflagging support and encouragement this work would never have been written, so that in addition to everything else she has meant, she also served as my Muse: ὁ δ' ὀλβιος, ὅν τινα Μοῦσαι φίλωνται.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Important Abbreviations	ix
List of Figures	xi
 INTRODUCTION	 1
1.0 IN THE BEGINNING	8
1.1 Phrygian Aeneas	8
1.2 Tarpeius Pater	14
1.3 Quirites	17
1.4 'externos ... divos'	25
1.5 The <u>Parilia</u>	31
1.5.1 Elements of the <u>Parilia</u>	35
1.5.2 The <u>Parilia</u> and the Celtic <u>Bealtine</u>	37
1.6 The <u>Curtus Equus</u>	42
1.7 The <u>Vestalia</u>	54
1.8 The <u>Compitalia</u>	63
1.8.1 <u>Lustratio</u>	66
1.8.2 <u>Piaculum</u>	71
1.9 Venus <u>Erycina</u>	76
1.10 The Sibyl of Avernus	82
1.11 An Astrological Chart	87
1.11.1 The Horoscope	91
1.11.2 The Interpretation	96
1.12 The Gate of Cancer	103
 2.0 VERTUMNUS	 117
2.1 Introduction	119
2.2 Origin	121
2.3 Etymology	127
2.4 Veltune, God of Beginnings	134
 3.0 TARPEIA	 137
3.1 The Grove	146
3.2 Vesta	155
3.3 The Role of the <u>Parilia</u>	160

4.0	ACANTHIS	167
4.1	Magic and Religion	167
4.2	The Powers of the Witch	171
4.3	The Name: <u>Acanthis</u>	179
4.4	Other Magical Elements: Crow, Werewolf, Dove	186
4.5	The Magical Meaning of the <u>Caprificus</u>	191
5.0	APOLLO AND AUGUSTUS	198
5.1	The Mythology of the Principate	198
5.2	A Contemporary <u>Aition</u>	204
5.3	Apollo as a Civilizing God	206
5.4	Apollo and the Trojan Origins of Rome	211
5.5	Prophecies of a New <u>Saeculum</u> and Golden Age	214
5.6	<u>iam regnat Apollo!</u>	221
6.0	DREAMS AND THE SPIRIT WORLD	224
6.1	The Roman Conception of the <u>Manes</u>	225
6.2	The Affirmation: <u>sunt aliquid Manes</u>	235
6.3	The Term <u>Manes</u> in <u>Propertius</u>	239
6.4	The Importance of Dreams	243
6.5	The 'Pious Gates'	250
6.6	The <u>Manes</u> and Dreams	258
7.0	JUNO S.M.R. AND THE SNAKE-CULT OF LANUVIUM	263
7.1	The Oracular Snake	266
7.2	The Founding of Lanuvium	270
7.3	Juno S.M.R.	274
7.4	The Similarity of Juno of Lanuvium to Athena	281
7.5	DAUNOS/FAUNUS and Hercules	285
7.6	A Syncretic Cult?	287
8.0	HERCULES IN ITALY	294
8.1	Hercules Invictus: The Cacus Legend	296
8.2	Geryon/Garanus	303
8.3	<u>Bona Dea</u>	308
	8.3.1 Ancient Attempts at Identification .	310
	8.3.2 The Cult	314
	8.3.3 The Ban on Myrtle	322
	8.3.4 The Presence of Snakes	324
	8.3.5 Sacrifice of a <u>Porca</u>	325

	page
8.4 Rusticus	328
8.5 The Poplar Tree	330
8.6 The <u>ara Maxima</u>	334
8.7 Sancus	338
8.7.1 IITOSAN.QVOS	341
9.0 JUPPITER FERETRIUS AND THE SPOLIA OPIMA	348
9.1 The Cult	351
9.2 Etymology	353
9.3 The <u>Spolia Opima</u>	355
9.4 The Recipients	359
9.4.1 Romulus	359
9.4.2 A. Cornelius Cossus	361
9.4.3 M. Claudius Marcellus	363
9.5 An <u>Exemplum</u> of <u>Virtus</u>	366
10.0 THE LAUDATIO OF CORNELIA: <u>exemplum muliebre</u>	377
10.1 Cornelia	378
10.2 The <u>Laudatio</u>	380
10.3 The <u>Stream of Elysium</u>	399
10.4 The Scribonii Libones	401
10.5 The <u>Puteal Scribonianum</u>	404
10.6 Woman as Religious <u>Exemplum</u>	410
CONCLUSION	414
BIBLIOGRAPHY	422
APPENDIX 1: BOOK FOUR AND THE GENS FABIA	448
1. Fabius Lupercus	448
2. <u>Transvectio Equitum</u>	451
3. <u>Rome and the Quirinal</u>	452
4. Hercules and Fabula	454
5. The Epithet <u>licens</u>	458
6. Venus <u>Erycina</u>	459
7. Paullus Fabius Maximus	465
APPENDIX 2: ABSTRACT OF "ELEMENTS OF ROMAN RELIGION IN THE FOURTH BOOK OF PROPERTIUS".....	471

LIST OF IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS

- Altheim = ALTHEIM, Fr., Römische Religionsgeschichte (Samm. Götschen, 1035/1052), Berlin, 1956.
- Bayet = BAYET, J., Histoire politique et psychologique de la Religion Romaine², Paris, 1969.
- Bömer, Fasten 2 = BOEMER, Fr., P. Ovidius Naso. Die Fasten, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1957.
- CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum (Regiae) Borussicae editum, 16 vols., Leipzig/Berlin, 1862-1943.
- CLE = Carmina Latina Epigraphica, ed. F. Bücheler, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1895-97 (Suppl. vol. ed. E. Lommatzsch, Leipzig, 1926).
- Dumézil, RRA = DUMEZIL, G., La religion romaine archaïque, Paris, 1966.
- Grimal = GRIMAL, P., Dictionnaire de la Mythologie Grecque et Romaine³, Paris, 1963.
- Latte, RRG² = LATTE, K., Römische Religionsgeschichte² (Handb. d. Altertumswissensch. V. 4), Munich, 1967.
- Mannhardt, WuFk² = MANNHARDT, W., Wald- und Feldkulte²; vol. 1, Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme; vol. 2, Antike Wald- und Feldkulte aus Nordeuropäischer Ueberlieferung erläutert, Darmstadt, 1963 (Berlin, 1905).
- Myth. Lex. = ROSCHER, W.H., Ausführl. Lexicon d. griech. u. röm. Mythologie, Leipzig, 1884 ff.
- Radke = RADKE, G., Die Götter Altitaliens (Fontes et Comm., Schriftenreihe d. Inst. f. Epigraphik Univ. Münster, 3), Münster, 1965.

- RE = PAULY-WISSOWA-KROLL, et al., Realenzyklopädie d. klass. Altertumswissensch., Stuttgart, 1894 ff.
- Schulze, ZGLE = SCHULZE, W., Zur Geschichte d. lat. Eigennamen (abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wissensch. z. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl. N.F.V. 2), Berlin, 1904.
- ThLL = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, editus iussu Academiae Societatibusque diversarum nationum electi, Leipzig, 1900 ff.
- Tränkle, Sprachkunst. d. Prop. = TRAENKEL, H., Die Sprachkunst des Properz und die Tradition der lat. Dichtersprache (HERMES Einzelschr. 15), Wiesbaden, 1960.
- Wissowa, RuK² = WISSOWA, G., Religion und Kultus der Römer² (repr. of 2nd ed. of Handb. d. Altertumswissensch. V. 4, 1912), Munich, 1971.

(NOTE: The abbreviations of all periodicals, together with the names of classical authors and their works, follow the abbreviational system of L'Année Philologique.)

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	An astrological chart for Propertius	97
2.	The Gates of Cancer and Capricorn	112
3.	The god Veltune	133
4.	(a) and (b): Coins showing the death of Tarpeia	163
5.	A Sanskrit illustration of the Gate of Cancer	254
6.	The Cycle of Death and Rebirth	257
7.	(a) Juno Seispes. (b) and (c) Juno and Hercle	267
8.	Juno Regina	279
9.	Hera Basileia	280
10.	(a) and (b): Coins showing Juno S.M.R. and the snake of Lanuvium	288
11.	Athena Aigina	292
12.	Demeter, Core and Hercules	325
13.	(a) and (b): Coins illustrating Marcellus dedicating the <u>spolia opima</u>	365
14.	Coin illustrating the Roman <u>Virtus</u>	373
15.	The <u>Elogium Murdiae</u>	397
16.	Coin showing the <u>puteal Libonis</u>	405
17.	A <u>Stemma</u> of the family of Cornelia	413

INTRODUCTION

An exclusive study of the many and varied elements of Roman religion treated by Propertius in Book 4 is long overdue. Various scholars have in the course of larger works or in learned articles presented their opinions as to the form and function of Book 4, but so far no one has concentrated on providing a detailed study of the religious ideas contained in the Book. P. Grimal argues in a monograph published in 1953¹ that the religious ideas expressed in Book 4 are there to further the ideological (i.e. politico-religious) basis of the Principate. J.-P. Boucher² too speaks at some length about Book 4, but only within the context of a much larger work treating of the entire Propertian corpus; neither of these men deals exclusively with the religious question on its own merits, analysing it with reference to the terminology employed, the themes and cults

¹P. Grimal, Les Intentions de Properce et la composition du Livre IV des "Elégies" (Coll. LATOMUS 12), Brussels, 1953.

²Etudes sur Properce. Problèmes d'Inspiration et d'Art, Paris, 1965. Further, Dumézil made extensive reference to 4,1,9-32 in his discussion of the three functions of Indoeuropean society (RRA, 169 f.; Quirinus 4, Paris, 1948, 113-171) and G. Williams (Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford, 1968, 653 ff.) referred to all of 4,6 in comparison with Vergil's description of the Battle of Actium in the 6th Aeneid.

celebrated by the poet, and setting it within its historical context. The present work is an attempt to remedy this hiatus.

The texts upon which I have chiefly relied for the preparation of this work are three in number and represent, to my mind, the best and most characteristic features in the long tradition of Propertian scholarship. These are:

(a) Propertius Sextus Elegien,³ ed. by M. Rothstein, Vol. 2 (Bks. 3 & 4), Zürich, 1966 (Berlin, 1898); (b) The Elegies of Propertius,² ed. with intro., notes and comm. by H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber, Hildesheim, 1964 (Oxford, 1933); and (c) Propertius Elegies, Book IV, ed. by W.A. Camps, Cambridge, 1965. There are certainly many other editions; these three, however, seemed to me for many reasons to be most reliable and unique and are consequently the ones principally consulted.

While Propertius was a demonstrably able antiquary and no mean scholar of his country's religious development, the fact must not be lost sight of that these Elegies represent, first and foremost, the artistic creations of a poet of genius and not the scholarly works of a religious historian. Yet this being so, it shall be my constant intellectual position (bias, if you will) throughout the course of this work that our poet knew immeasurably more about his country's religious history and development than I, or any other modern, can every possibly hope to know. Given the

pitifully meagre state of our knowledge about Rome's mythological and religious heritage, and the incredible amount of factual information of which we are hopelessly unaware, that man is foolish indeed who declares himself an 'expert' in Roman religion. The most a student of this field can do is to be thankful for whatever small bits and pieces we do possess and lament the vastness of our ignorance.

In dealing with our poet's presentation of Roman religion in Book 4 I shall proceed from poem to poem, examining each in detail for its religious content and commenting on the poet's treatment of the matters which each poem contains. It shall not be my concern, nor do I wish it to be, to discover some single unifying 'theme' (or the poet's 'intentions', as Grimal would have it) which embraces the entire Book and explains the poet's purpose in writing it. I believe this kind of criticism to be neither possible, at this removal in time, nor profitable. I am not interested in concocting precocious 'theories' nor 'hypotheses' which would perhaps remain fashionable for the moment but which in essence do little to further our understanding or appreciation of the material in question. Such methods have always seemed to me to illustrate better the minds of their creators than to add to our knowledge of a particular literary figure and his work. I tend rather to agree in part

with Burck,³ who sees the unifying principle of the Book to consist in its variatio: "Nur in einer solchen Vielfalt der Beziehungen kann das kompositionelle Aufbau- und Verästelungssystem des vierten Properzbuches erfasst und gewürdigt werden" (409).

Certain common threads do, of course, begin to manifest themselves as one proceeds through the Book on a poem by poem basis: there is the great stress placed on that one creative moment in sacred time when the City merged in a union of the three founding peoples--I refer to the Sabine War which Propertius alludes to three times in eleven poems; there is the forward chronological movement discernible after the mid-point in the Book, when the course of the Book seems to march triumphantly towards its conclusion; there is Elegy 6 itself, the only contemporary aition in the Book and dealing, significantly enough, with the mythology of the Principate; and finally, there is the curious attention paid to legends and rites which involve the gens Fabia and which is dealt with in the Appendix.

Book 4 is much more than a mere scholarly/poetic assemblage of half-forgotten religious bric-à-brac; it is a marvellously alive and loving recreation of a vital

³E. Burck, "Zur Komposition des vierten Buches des Properz", WSt 79 (1966), 405 ff.; I disagree with Burck in that I don't feel that there is any single unifying theme to the Book at all, save the very general one of Roman religion.

religious tradition done by a man who was truly pius. It represents a major departure in the spiritual and artistic life of the poet and bears the mark of a man who has brooded long over the meaning of religion and his place within it. Religion for Propertius is something uniquely human whose spirit can span centuries and unite souls and even whole peoples widely separate in physical time. There is a truth deeper than logic which is encompassed in these timeless symbols of psychic realities which only poetry can reveal and this poet from a culture far older and wiser than that in which he finds himself sets out to explore these verities.

It may indeed seem quite the obvious thing to say, but Book 4 could not have been written by Propertius at any other time in his life. Here he reveals himself as far more sensitive and mature than in his first three Books, indeed one might almost say at perfect peace with himself. The Book is a witness to this, representing in its fullness and variety almost a tour through the whole of Roman religion. All of the essence of Roman religion is there and it is difficult at times to remember that the Book comprises but eleven elegies. It is for this reason that I have entitled this work Elements of Roman Religion; the Book is so broad in scope that to deal with all of the topics in full measure would require a volume several times larger than the present one which the reader, upon completion, will feel I am sure

is quite large enough. I have accordingly been somewhat selective in the matters with which I chose to deal, concentrating upon those which present the greatest importance and scope and, in some cases, on those which to my mind have not hitherto received the attention which they deserve.

The reader will thus find that the present work is not a forum for the presentation and furtherance of my own pet theory as to the 'meaning' of Book 4 as a whole, nor whatever intentions I feel may have stirred the poet to creative activity. These purely value judgements have, paradoxically, but little value. I have tried as best I could throughout the work to meet Propertius on his own terms, at least as far as the impact of his Book is concerned. With the poet as guide we shall follow him poem by poem, as he would wish it, throughout the Book and at the end of it we shall see what we shall have seen. In this, we are, of course, hampered by the vast gulf of time which separates him from us, the altered state of consciousness which effectively removes us from his world, the very barest state of our knowledge about such matters and the prejudices and misconceptions which inexorably manage to frustrate the furtherance of understanding between any two given periods of man's psychic history. But it is surely worth the effort needed to bridge the gap. In today's world, when more and more people, both lay and professional, are truly concerned about the alienation which is manifestly rampant in our

society, it is indeed strange that so few seek the causes for this in the abandonment of our spiritual heritage. It is no longer thought 'relevant' to teach the achievements of our past to the children of today's 'modern' society and yet this very denial of the validity of centuries of human mental and psychic development has resulted in the present state of collective malaise. These forces, these compartments of the human psyche, will out: until very recently it was thought that the delusions of astrology could be safely ridiculed, yet today it stands before the doors of the very Universities from which it was banished several centuries ago.

Propertius in Book 4 represents a door into a chamber of the soul whose key we have almost lost. His world is no longer our world, but as long as there are human beings, mind can speak to mind and soul to soul: sunt aliquid Manes!

CHAPTER 1

1.0 IN THE BEGINNING

Due to the nature of Elegy 1--a prooemium which serves in part as a thematic introduction to many of the topics later to be handled in subsequent poems--I thought it best to deal with these several elements of Roman religion as they occur, line by line, rather than try to write of them as a coherent whole. While this rather lengthy Elegy is generally held to be composed of two halves, called 1A and 1B, quite distinct both in matter and character yet related in substance, I shall not be concerned with questions of structure or of composition, but shall confine myself solely to matters connected with Roman religion, this processus remaining operative throughout the entire work. My comments on 1B will be principally concerned with an attempt at demonstrating that it represents a very elaborate and esoteric astrological signature by the poet himself. Since this will involve a great deal of frequently recondite astrology, I would ask the reader to be patient, for the conclusions reached should prove to be most interesting.

1.1 Phrygian Aeneas

In this first part of the prooemium to a book of poetry intending to deal in part with sacra diesque and

cognomina prisca locorum (69), Propertius shall set forth in verse the earliest legends, rites, festivals and myths of a Rome now grown powerful and splendid under Augustus. It shall be, one presumes, a labour of love, inspired no doubt partly by the earlier antiquarian researches of such people as Varro, Verrius Flaccus, Vergil and Livy. Significantly, the first names mentioned are those of Aeneas, the Palatine and Euander (1-4). This is significant because Propertius, beginning at the beginning, makes poetic allusion to the then two most predominant of the City's (Greek) foundation legends.¹ But the significance of the connection between the two names does not end here, for in fact Aeneas was related by blood to Euander. Readers of the Aeneid will recall the amazingly warm and avuncular hospitality which Vergil has Euander bestow upon Aeneas in the 8th Book. They would next call to mind that Vergil makes Aeneas relate a geneology to Euander, by virtue of which the two are shown to be "sanguine ab uno" (8,142). Nor was Vergil's the only geneology to do so. According to the Pelasgian (= Arcadian) geneology, Euander was the grandson of Pallas, the eponym of

¹The connection of Aeneas with Rome is already present in the 'Hiereiai' of Hellanikos about the middle of the fifth century: FGrHist 4, fr. 84; Aeneas' westward wanderings appear in the Iliupersis of Stesichoros (Poetae Lyr. Gr. 3⁴, p. 212, Berck) in the first half of the fifth century; cf. L. Malten, "Aineias", ARW 29 (1931), 42 ff., esp. 48 ff. The legend of Euander as founder of Rome can be traced at the latest from the third century; cf. Wilamowitz, Sappho u. Simonides², Berlin/Zürich, 1966 (1913), 236 f. and the remarks of Malten, a.c., 50.

Pallantion and one of Lycaon's fifty sons (cf. Dion. Hal. 1,68 ff.; Apollod. 3,8,1; Paus. 8,3,1). Still following Dionysios of Halicarnassos (1,33) this Pallas, Athena's tutor, had two daughters, named Nike and Chryse, one of whom (Chryse) he gave in marriage to Dardanus, founder of the Trojan royal dynasty. Now according to the 20th Book of the Iliad, Aeneas is of the house of Dardanos, being of the sixth generation; thus, by virtue of the marriage of an aunt of Euander to the great-great-great-great grandfather of Aeneas, the two are related by blood.

The mythographers' assertion that Aeneas is a Dardanian (= Phrygian) has been substantiated by modern philologists.² The Dardanian people have been situated originally in the Balkans and to the ancients they were an Illyrian tribe with a mixture of Thracian.³ Wilamowitz's brief thesis⁴ that the name Aeneas is un-Greek and derived from the Thracian city Ainos seems to have won general acceptance. In this connection Propertius' epithet of Aeneas at line 2 as 'Phrygian' takes on an especial significance. Added to this there is attested a river Ainios in

²Cf. Malten, a.c., 37 and Fr. Bömer, Rom u. Troia. Untersuchungen zur Frühgesch. Roms, Baden-Baden, 1951, 24 f.

³Malten, a.c., 38 and P. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache, Göttingen, 1896, 185 f., 245 f.

⁴Glaube der Hellenen²¹, Darmstadt, 1959 (1931), 315,2 (hereinafter referred to as GdH²).

the Troad (Demetr. of Scepsis in Strabo 13,603). Further witness to the wandering of the Thracio-Phrygian Aeneadae since the second millenium is the presence of Aeneas as an historical name, especially in Arcadia.⁵ Names of those associated with Aeneas also turn up in Arcadia. The name Anchises is found frequently in East Arcadia where a mountain range between Orchomenos and Mantinea is called Anchisai (Paus. 8,12,8 f.). Dardanos himself, after leaving the Dardanian territory of the Balkans and arriving in the Troad, is met with again in Samothrace (cf. Thrämer, RE IV, 2171 ff.) and then on Greek soil in Arcadia, either in the East in Phenos (Graeci et Varro in Serv. ad Aen. 3,167) or on the West coast around a mountain near Lepreon (Strab. 8,346). There thus appears to be more to the connection between Euander and the Aeneadae than the inventions of mythographers and the phantasies of poets.

Important too in the foundation legends of early Rome is the foundation hill itself, the Palatine, which Propertius here connects with Euander and his cattle (4). This connection had been made before (cf. Tib. 2,5,25) and will be made again (Ovid, ars amor. 3,119 f.), while the learned Varro had earlier sought to derive the etymology of the name from the ancient practice of pasturing cattle there

⁵Eitrem, Beiträge zur griech. Religionsgesch. 3 (Videnskapselsk. Skrifter 1919, no. 2), 1920, 126 ff.

(Varro, de l.l. 5,53: "eundem hunc locum a pecore dictum putant quidam; itaque Naevius Balatium appellat"). Propertius himself at 4,9,3 ("pecorosa Palatia") appears to agree with this etymology. But a closer connection than that of cattle links Euander with the Palatine. Livy (1,5 ff.) derives the name of the hill from Pallanteon, the city in Arcadia which Euander left and Pausanias (8,43,2 ff.) follows him in this. Others seek to connect the name with the children of Euander himself; thus we have a daughter, called variously Launa or Dauna⁶ (Dion. Hal. 1,43,1), who by Hercules was the mother of Pallas, the eponym of the Palatine; there is also a daughter Pallantia (Varro in Serv. ad Aen. 8,51; Ovid fast. 1,521) who gave his name to the Palatine. A grandson by the name of Palans is attested by Dionysios of Halicarnassos (1,32 ff.) who makes him the son of Hercules and Dyna, herself a daughter of Euander.⁷ Lastly Wissowa (RuK², 283) long ago made the suggestion on the basis of Dion. Hal. 1,32,2⁸ that Euander received a cult in the Forum Boarium, at the west corner of the Palatine,

⁶The significance of this name to the Euander legend is discussed by Altheim, RRG 1, 12 and cf. Ant. Liberal. metamor. 31,1: "Λυκάονος τοῦ αὐτόχθονος ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἰᾶπυξ καὶ Δαῦνιος καὶ Πευκέτιος."

⁷About the various derivations of the name Palatium cf. A. Bormann, Kritik der Sage von Könige Euandros, Halle, 1853, 2 f. and see Radke, 114.

⁸"Εὐάνδρῳ θυσίας ἔμαθον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτέλουμενας . . . Αὐεντίνῳ . . . τῆς Τριδύμου πύλης οὐ πρόσω."

near the entrance to the Circus Maximus. If so, it would be one more confirmation of Propertius' connection of Euander with cattle and with the Palatine.

With the introduction of the two earliest names in Roman history, the stage is now set for Propertius to unfold his description of the growth and development of Rome's earliest sacred rites and beliefs. As a fitting contrast to such humble origins, the poet presents us with the picture of Rome as it was in illo tempore and then directs our eyes to the magnificent and glittering example of what it has become, embodied in the majestic temple to Palatine Apollo. The incipient religious historian has not ceased being a poet.

NOTE: In 1853 Schwegler (Röm. Gesch. 1, Tübingen, 1853-58, 354-58) first advanced the hypothesis that Euander was none other than the Greek transliteration of the Roman god Faunus. He arrived at this conclusion from deriving Faunus from Favinus, the 'favouring', the 'good' god. He has since been followed in this interpretation by Weizsäcker (Myth. Lex. 1,1 1395), Escher (RE 6, 839 f.) and most recently by Radke (114). This seems to me to be one of those etymological flights of fancy which philologists engage in from time to time in order to acquit themselves of the charge of obtuseness and hypotheses, if repeated often and long enough, have a disturbing way of becoming facts. Certainly this etymology was engaged in by no ancient source. Further, it appears to make not only bad etymology but also bad sense. The name Euandros is attested for one of the sons of Priam (Apollod. 3,153) and we have followed above the Thracian origin of the Dardanides; it is also mentioned in connection with one of the sons of Sarpedon (Diod. Sic. 5,79,3), the king of Lycia, and surely no one will suggest that a pre-Greek Cretan prince was called after an obscure Latin deity. One might also add that Euander had a temple, together with Pallas his grandfather, in Pallantion (Paus. 8,44,5) where presumably he enjoyed a cult long before the mythographers brought him to Italy. One can then hardly argue that he was named for a god whose existence, before

the naming, was unknown. It therefore seems much the safer course to regard the name as pre-Greek and its existence in Greece as due to the Thracio-Illyrian wanderings of the second millenium.

1.2 Tarpeius pater

Continuing in his enumeration of 'cognomina prisca locorum' Propertius gives (7) what represents for him the lesser-known and presumably more ancient appellation of Juppiter Capitolinus.⁹ It most likely represented a special cult name of the supreme god, identifying him as a benefactor of certain factions within the City, as well as hinting at the fuller treatment given the legend connected with the name later on in Elegy 4. It seems too that Propertius was here the first to make a literary reference to Juppiter using the surname 'Tarpeius', although Vergil came close at Aen. 8,347 ff., a passage which may indeed have inspired our poet. It is certainly remarkable that Koch, in his justly famous monograph on Juppiter,¹⁰ should nowhere make mention

⁹Other ancient sources referring to Juppiter as 'Tarpeius' are: Ovid, fast. 6,34; Ep. ex Pont. 2,2,44; Juven. 12,6; Sil. Ital. 4,48; 548; 12,743; 17,654; Mart. 9, 101,24; CIL XIV, 2852. Cf. also Höfer in Myth. Lex. 5,116 and Mielentz in RE 4A, 2330 f. References to Juppiter in a similar vein are as follows: Tarpeius Juppiter, Ovid, fast. 6,34; Sil. Ital. 12,743; 16,261; Juven. 12,6; Ammian. Marc. 16,10,141 carm. minor. 4,4, p. 288 (Baehr) and Tarpeius Tonans (cf. here Prop. 4,1,7: "Tarpeiusque pater nuda de rupe tonabat"): Ovid, Ep. ex Pont. 2,2,44; Sil. Ital. 4,548; 17,654; Mart. 9,86,7; 13,74,1; CIL XIV, 2852.

¹⁰C. Koch, Der Römische Juppiter (Frankfurter Stud. z. Religion u. Kultur d. Antike 14), Frankfurt a. M., 1937.

of this epithet.

Ancient sources state (e.g., Plut. Rom. 18) that the Capitolium was first called Tarpeius mons and that, under the Tarquins, this name was replaced by that of Capitolium. Modern opinion, however, varies between ascribing an Etruscan or a 'Sabine' origin to the name Tarpeius, or indeed we may even be facing a linguistic remnant of a pre-Indoeuropean settlement. There is evidence of an Etruscan stem *tarχ (cf. Pallottino, Test. ling. Etr. 665) and Schulze, ZGLE 95 f., on the basis of an Etruscan *Tarquhētiō-, opts for an Etruscan origin. On the other hand, the Italic dialects--and therefore also Sabine--render the (Latin) labiovelar qu- as p- and the suffix -eia is also typical for this group,¹¹ so that the Latin Tarqu- (or the Etruscan asperated labiovelar Tarχ-) would give the Italic Tarp-. Dumézil¹² definitely favours a Sabine origin for the word, pointing out that (a) the radical of Tarpeius is nothing more than the Sabine pronunciation (with normal passage of qu- to p-) of the name Tarquinius with the resultant conclusion that (b) far from being the original name of the hill, Tarpeius mons is posterior to the Etruscan period and corresponds to the time when the Sabines entered the City and

¹¹Cf. W.B. Lockwood, Indo-European Philology. Historical and Comparative, London, 1969, 88.

¹²G. Dumézil, Tarpeia. Essais de philologie comparative indo-européenne, Paris, 1947, 281.

settled themselves in the northwest part of Rome, i.e. in the fifth century and not in the regal period. W.F. Otto¹³ and G. Wissowa (quoting Otto)¹⁴ both view the name as that of an old and established gens, but neither speculates on its origin. Finally Radke, p. 297 f., raises the possibility that the name may be a pre-Indoeuropean remnant and then concludes: "Die Bedeutung ihres Namens ist nicht mehr zu erschliessen; er hat aber auf die Bewohner der Landschaft noch gewirkt, als der Kult längst vergessen und zu einem Opfer am angeblichen Grabe herabgesunken war."

Is it possible in all of this to ascertain Propertius' ideas on the matter? Supplementary to the foundation legend of Romulus and the Palatine there exists another legend of the City's origin--that of Titus Tatius and the Capitoline. Coming from Sabine Cures, Tatius is said to have taken the Capitoline while the Romans under Romulus were reduced to the Palatine.¹⁵ In 4,4 Propertius deals with this legend in great detail, placing Tatius and his Sabines in control of the Capitoline, and while nothing conclusive may be stated on this point, it might reasonably be argued that Propertius opts for a Sabine origin of the name

¹³"Römische Sondergötter", Rh. Mus. 64 (1909), 465.

¹⁴RuK², 233.

¹⁵Livy, 1,2,5-8; 12; Dion. Hal. 2,38-46; Tac. ann. 12,24, and my remarks in the Appendix (p. 4 ff.).

Tarpeius, arguing further that the name represents a special Sabine cult-title of Juppiter which was used by the Sabines in the City, in contradistinction to the specifically Romulean (= Roman) cult-titles Stator and Feretrius.

1.3 Quirites

Continuing in his catalogue of ancient names, Propertius (13) presents us with the term for the collective assembly of the people in peacetime, as distinct from their wartime appellation, milites (cf. Suet. Caes. 70). However, the derivation of the name presents many problems. The ancients derived it either from the Sabine city of Cures¹⁶ or from the alleged Sabine curis (quiris), meaning 'spear'.¹⁷ Ovid (fast. 2,475 ff.) ultimately connects the name with Quirinus pater, and Plutarch (Rom. 29,1) follows him in this. Festus (s.v. curis) significantly adds: "Curis est Sabine hasta. Unde Romulus Quirinus, quia eam ferebat, est dictus; et Romani a Quirino Quirites dicuntur. Quidam eum dictum putant a Curibus, quae fuit urbs opulentissima Sabinorum." The inclusion of the god Quirinus effectively complicates matters. He is one of the most ancient gods of the Roman

¹⁶Varro, de l.l. 5,51; Ovid, fast. 2,480; Fest. p. 185; 254 L.

¹⁷Ovid, fast. 2,477 f; Paul.-Fest., 43 L.; Macr. S. 1,9,16; Plut. Rom. 29; Qu. Rom. 87; Serv. ad Aen. 1,292.

pantheon, forming the third part of the ancient triad Juppiter-Mars-Quirinus, anterior to the Capitoline triad, and possessing his own flamen, third in importance among the flamines maiores. The matter is yet further complicated by the identification (demonstrably late, according to Wissowa, RuK², 153; indeterminable, but ancient, according to Le Bonniec)¹⁸ of Quirinus with the apotheosized Romulus.¹⁹

Wissowa (RuK², 153 f.) has made the suggestion that the adjective Quirinus could be derived from a (hypothetical) place-name Quirium (similar to Palatinus < Palatium), and thus Quirinus pater could be the protective deity of the original community on the Quirinal, in much the same way as Reatinus pater (CIL IX, 4676) was the patron of Reate. Latte (RRG², 113) not only follows his predecessor in this, but goes even further and states definitely that "Er [= Quirinus] also ursprünglich in diesem Kreis gehören, als Ortsgottheit der Leute, die ihr Zentrum auf dem Quirinal hatten." Thus Quirinus would be to the Quirinal as Mars is

¹⁸H. Le Bonniec, P. Ovidius Naso, Fastorum Liber Secundus ("Erasme", Coll. de Textes lat. commentés), Paris, 1969, 72, commenting on fast. 2,475 ff.

¹⁹Other sources identifying Romulus with Quirinus begin with Cicero, de rep. 2,20; de nat. deor. 2,62, in whose time the identification was still incomplete: "hinc etiam Romulum, quem quidem eundem esse Quirinum putant"; Verg. Aen. 1,292; Ovid, metam. 14,805 ff.; Dion, Hal. 2,63, 3-4; Plin. n.h. 15,120; Plut. Rom. 28,2; 29,1; Numa, 2,3; Tert. ad nat. 2,9; August. civ. Dei 2,15. I disagree with Le Bonniec's statement (o.c., p. 72) that by Ovid's time the identification of Romulus with Quirinus was complete; cf. my n. 29.

to the Palatine and Juppiter to the Capitoline, and the ancient triad Juppiter-Mars-Quirinus was the result of a synoecism of the three original hill-communities. To all of this Dumézil (RRA, 154 ff.) makes (to my mind) the very sound objection that the theory of Quirinus as a local divinity pertaining originally to the Quirinal has failed to contend with the fact that other Italic communities outside of the confines of Rome possessed a similar triad, mentioning specifically the Umbrian community of Iguvium.²⁰ There existed in Iguvium a triad of gods possessing a common epithet, Grabovio-, and who figure in a structurally organic ritual. They are, in order, Iou-, Mart- and Vofio- and their order is hierarchical, to judge from one important detail: whenever one of the major gods receives three bullocks (and for the third in the hierarchy, Vofiono Grabovio-, the offering is always precisely tref buf kaleruf "tres boves calidos", i.e., having the forehead or face white and the rest of the body another colour), the minor gods associated with them receive different victims, respectively tref sif kumiaf, "tres sues gravidas", tref sif feliuf, "tres sues lactentes", and tref hapinaf, which Dumézil would dearly like to translate as "trois agneaux". There is, however, some

²⁰Cf. Dumézil, "Remarques sur les dieux Grabovio-d'Iguvium", RPh 28 (1954), 225 ff.; I. Rosenzweig, Ritual and Cults of pre-Roman Iguvium, London, 1937, as well as A. Ernout, Le Dialect Ombrien, Paris, 1961, 15 where is found the text and Latin translation of the Tables.

difference of opinion on this.²¹ In any event Dumézil sees here a neat parallel with Quirinus for, according to the theory of the sacrifices pertaining to each god of the triad during the consecration of the spolia opima, Quirinus receives an agnus mas (as compared to a bos for Juppiter and the suovetaurilia for Mars).²² He goes on (155, n.3) to list "une étymologie de Vofiono- très vraisemblable" proposed by E. Benveniste²³ by virtue of which Vofiono- > *Leudhyo-no-; the phonetic changes involved (l, eu, dh > u, o, f) are quite regular and, for *leudhyo-, we are asked to compare Germ. 'Leute'. Thus the Umbrian Vofiono- becomes an exact equivalent of *Covirio-no-, the etymology proposed by Kretschmer²⁴ in 1920 for Quirinus. Quirinus would then be a derivative in -inus, formed from an ancient composite designating "the assembled men", looked upon as a collective, exactly as in *co-vir-iya > "Curia", the division of the primitive tribes. According to Dumézil then (RRA, 166)

²¹Cf. Ernout, o.c., 121, s.v. habina, for a resumé of the arguments; among those which have been proposed are 'agnas' from *agwn-ina- > *agwina; C.D. Buck, Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian, Boston, 1904, no. 149a, suggested Skr. chaga 'goat'; E. Vetter, Handb. d. ital. Dialekte 1, Heidelberg, 1953, 177 proposed 'sues castratas'.

²²Cf. Serv. ad Aen. 6,859.

²³"Symbolisme social dans les cultes gréco-italiques", RHR 129 (1945), 7-9.

²⁴P. Kretschmer, "Lat. quirites und quiritare", GLOTTA 10 (1920), 147 ff.

Quirinus would be "le dieu de toute l'organisation curiate, de l'ensemble du peuple, non pas en tant que moles indistincte, mais dans ses divisions fondamentales." This seems to be the opinion of most moderns, who regard Quirinus as being derived from Quirites, the assemblage of citizens in peacetime, over which he bestows his protection.

Over against this theory of the names 'Quirites', 'Quirinus' stands the opinion of those who propose Quirinus as a Sabine war-god. This view takes as its locus classicus the statement by Plutarch (Rom. 29,1) that Quirinus is analogous to Ares Enyalios, and its chief proponent is C. Koch.²⁵ Latte follows Koch in this, and writes (RRG², 113): "Sie [= Quirites] waren Krieger, wie ihre Salier lehren, und dementsprechend ist Quirinus ein kriegischer Gott gewesen." This view is given further support from the derivation of Quirinus < 'quiris', 'spear'; one is instantly reminded of the importance of the spear in the Mars cult (the hastae Martis).²⁶ So far we seem to have uncovered a veritable Chinese puzzle. Is there hope of any order amid all the confusion? Possibly. First, is it so difficult to imagine

²⁵C. Koch, "Bemerkungen zum Römischen Quirinus-Kult" in Religio. Studien z. Kult u. Glauben d. Römer (Erlanger Beitr. z. Sprach-u. Kunstwissensch. 7), Nürnberg, 1960, 17-39; cf. too his art. "Quirinus" in RE 24, 1306 ff. The resumé of Dumézil's views in RRA, 161-180; 246-271.

²⁶It is a powerful prodigium if the hastae move of their own accord; cf. Livy 40, 19,2; Cass. Dio 44, 17.2 and Wissowa, RuK², 144.

a community of Sabine immigrants living in a settlement on a hill which they have named after one of their gods? Must Quirinus be only the local deity of the Quirinal, with no other functions before or since? Varro tells us (de l.l. 5,74) that Quirinus was indeed Sabine and a part of the deities and cults which T. Tatius introduced into Rome and settled on the Quirinal (cf. Fest. p. 200,1 f.; 304,13 L.).²⁷ This legend of the Sabine Quirinus almost certainly antedates Varro, as the naming of the Sabine gens Quirina (Fest. p. 304 L.) in 241 B.C. shows. His oldest sanctuary was located on the Quirinal, near the porta Quirinalis (Fest. p. 304,16; Paul. p. 305,3 ff. L.; Plin. n.h. 15,120); the old sacellum (Paul. p. 303,5 f. L.) was replaced in 293 B.C. by a temple, dedicated by L. Papirius Cursor, famous son of the famous father of the same name, after his victory over the Samnites at Aquilonia (Livy 10,46,7 f.; Plin. n.h. 7,213), in fulfillment, Livy suggests, of a vow made by his father.²⁸

²⁷Cf. Dion. Hal. 2,48 where Quirinus appears in the foundation legend of Cures as the father of the founder Modius Fabidius, a role suspiciously similar to that played by Mars in Rome's foundation legend.

²⁸Schulze (ZGLE 331,5) states that Papirius "appears" to be of Etruscan origin. Münzer, Röm. Adelsparteien u. Adelsfamilien², Stuttgart, 1963 (1920), 11 quotes a letter of Cicero to L. Papirius Paetus (fam. 9,21,2) to the effect that the Papirii were one of the Gentes Minores (i.e. important families of the towns immediately bordering Rome who were admitted to the City's patrician lists as these towns--Latin, Etruscan, Sabine--came under Rome's expanding sway). The original territory of the gens Papiria seems to have been situated around Tusculum, which it was granted in 381 B.C.

The identification of Quirinus with Romulus I take to be no later than the time of Cicero (pace Le Bonniec o.c., 72 and Bömer, Ahnenkult u. Ahnenglaube im alten Rom, Leipzig, 1943, 75 ff.), where it first appears in de rep. 2,20, destined to play an important role in the propaganda of the gens Iulia,²⁹ especially in the Augustan age (cf. the Romulus elogium in CIL 1², p. 189 and cf. my Chap. 10.6 as well as Suet. Aug. 7,2). Cicero too seems to have been responsible for the notion that Quirinus is to be regarded as that

(cf. Livy 8,37,12 and Koch, art. 'Papiria' in RE 18, 1000). There is evidence (Joseph. ant. Iud. 14,145) of a Papirius from the tribus Quirinia and it appears that the tribe was anciently entrusted with the keeping of sacred laws dating back to the regal period, the so-called ius Papirianum; cf. Serv. ad Aen. 12,836: "Quod ait 'morem ritusque sacrorum adiciam' ipso titulo legis Papiriae usus est, quam sciebat de ritu sacrorum publicatam" and Dion. Hal. 3,36,4: μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων εἰς ἀναγραφὴν δημοσίαν αὐτοῖς ἤχθησαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἱεροφάντου Γαίου Παπυρίου, τὴν ἀπάντων τῶν ἱέρων ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος, and see Münzer, art. 'Papirius' in RE 18, 1005. What the connection was between Quirinus and an ancient priestly tribe stemming from Tusculum is lost to us now, but the presence of a Papirius in the Sabine tribus Quirinia shows that there must have been one. Is it likely that the old Sabine deity became the tribal god of the Tusculan Papirii as well?

²⁹Cf. Radke, 270; it must be remembered that belief in the deification of Romulus was not universal at the time of its occurrence (Livy 1,16,4) and his identification with Quirinus is regarded by A. Walde, Lat. Etymol. Wörterb.², Heidelberg, 1910, 635, s.v. 'Quirinus' as "blosse Volksetymologie"; cf. Tert. de spect. 9: "Romulus . . . si idem est Quirinus," together with August. civ. Dei 3,15. Apparently the identification was uncertain even by Tertulian's time. For an excellent resumé of the geneological and propagandistic implications of the Romulus-Quirinus connection with the Julian family, see W. Burkert, "Caesar und Romulus-Quirinus", HISTORIA 11 (1962), 356 ff.

special type of man who is deified because of his services to the human race, such as Hercules, the Tyndaridae and Liber (nat. deor. 2,62; cf. Hor. c. 3,3,15). In keeping with this must be mentioned the fact that, like Hercules and the Tyndaridae, Quirinus was at Rome a god of oaths, as the formula equirine shows (Fest. p. 71,13 L.). Since Hercules and the Tyndaridae, the gods by whom common oaths were sworn, were imports from Greece, this may be a confirmation of the view that, like the other three, Quirinus too was an import, this time from the Sabine territory.

Does what has been stated above entitle us to assume how Propertius might have regarded the word Quirites? I should like to suggest that it does, that, in the light of the Sabine connections with the word 'Tarpeius' which has just been mentioned, and looking forward to his fuller treatment of the legend of Tarpeia and T. Tatius in 4,4, Propertius regards the word as a Sabine import dating from the occupation of the Quirinal by the followers of T. Tatius, hence a derivation from the Sabine town-name Cures. Beyond this defensible suggestion we are not entitled to go, and although there is the distinct possibility that Propertius is also hinting at a connection with Quirinus, this would take us into the realm of conjecture, an area best left to less serious works.

1.4 'externos . . . divos'

That 'externos . . . divos' in line 17 refers to the national and patriotic revival of Roman religion under Augustus there can be little doubt; what is disputed is the meaning of the phrase itself--does it refer to Greek gods and rituals, Oriental cults or both? Rome had never had any scruples about satisfying its religious needs through foreign cults. Early on Greek and Etruscan deities, cults and rites were accommodated in the City without very much discrimination or jealousy. Indeed, the organizer of the Roman State religion was traditionally held to be the Sabine king Numa. It would appear then that one of the distinguishing marks of the religious mentality of the Romans was this very eclecticism,³⁰ an eclecticism which not even Augustus' celebrated attempts at restoring traditional values of worship and piety could wholly stem.

The second century is rightly considered the period when for the first time the religions of the Hellenized Orient, astrology and Chaldean teachings made their unimpeded entrance into the City.³¹ This had not always been the case. The adoption of the cult of the Magna Mater into

³⁰Cf. Bayet, 42 ff.

³¹Cf. Livy 25,1,6: "tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, civitatem incessit ut aut homines aut dei repente alii viderentur facti."

Rome (204 B.C.) was accomplished only under duress and with the severist restrictions, and marked the first time an ecstatic Oriental cult was admitted into the City.³² The story of the Bacchanalia scandal of 186 B.C. paints a similar picture,³³ and seems to suggest that those responsible for this essentially non-Roman taste for the ecstatic were chiefly the rustica plebs, who, driven off their farms by the long course of the Hannibalic war, flocked to the City, where they continued to give expression to their religious longings. It is certainly a fact of some interest that during the course of the second half of the second century the measures against the Oriental superstitions abated, an obvious reflection of the growing popularity of the externa religio among the City's lower classes.

The governing class viewed this tendency with growing alarm, since it contained nothing of the mos maiorum, and a waning of the belief in the right of the patricians to govern in their capacity as custodians of the mos maiorum meant a corresponding decline in the political power and prestige of the old patrician families. In other words, the power of the ruling class at Rome rested, in great measure, on religious

³²Cf. Wissowa, RuK², 63 f.

³³Fr. Altheim, Epochen d. röm. Geschichte, Bd. 2, Weltherrschaft u. Krise (Frankfurter Stud. z. Religion u. Kultur d. Antike, 12), Frankfurt a. M., 1935, 219.

awe.³⁴ Obviously, religiones externae and externae caerimoniae constituted a threat to the power base of the ruling class. In the early days of the Roman State politics and religion were inseparably linked; is it any wonder then that "Es ist einer der charakteristischen Züge des augusteischen Staatsreform . . . dass ihr Fundament die restaurirte Orthodoxie war"?³⁵ The moral base of Rome's power was rooted in the firm and dignified worship of the old Roman gods and Propertius seems to agree with this when he says: "nam quantum ferro tantum pietate potentes / stamus."³⁶

As the official representative of the Roman State religion the Princeps was naturally inimical to all those foreign religions which had found inroads into the City,³⁷ and as early as the Battle of Actium he had, in his position as head of the Fetial College, resorted to the ancient

³⁴Cf. the important work on this question by R. Günther, "Der politisch-ideologische Kampf in der rom. Religion in den letzten zwei Jhdt. v. u. Z.", *KLIO* 42 (1964), 209 ff., esp. 275 where he states: "Der Repräsentant der herrschenden Klasse Roms wurde durch Prodigienerscheinungen als erwarteter Messias und Erlöser angezeigt."

³⁵Mommsen, *S.-B. d. Berl. Akademie* (1889), 33 quoted by V. Gardthausen, Augustus u. seine Zeit, 2 vols. in 6, Aalen, 1964 (1891-1904), 866.

³⁶Prop. 3,22,21 f.

³⁷Cf. Suet. Aug. 93; his successor Tiberius also acted in a similar vein, cf. Suet. Tib. 36: "Externas caerimonias, Aegyptios Iudaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere," and see as well Livy 39,15,28; 16,8.

ceremony of a formal declaration of war against Cleopatra and the threat of religious pollution which she represented.³⁸ Among all the temples which Augustus lists himself as having rebuilt or restored,³⁹ not one is the abode of an Egyptian deity. Suetonius further reports (Aug. 93) that, among the Oriental cults, Augustus would only tolerate those sanctioned by Rome's ancestors; hence he respected the Eleusinian mysteries but refused, while on a trip through Egypt, to view the sacred bull Apis. All of this, however, as is well-known, had little lasting effect, despite the Princeps' proud boast: "legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro saeculo reduxi et ipse multarum rerum exempla imitanda posteris tradidi."⁴⁰ Even in the previous generation some of the noblest and best educated were openly espousing mysticism and occultism, rather like the situation in which we find ourselves today. For example, Nigidius Figulus, Cicero's friend, held Pythagorean meetings in his home,⁴¹ while in Augustus' time more and more of the educated were turning to philosophy for consolation, with the consequent result that they were drawn further

³⁸Cass. Dio 50,4, and cf. Wissowa, RuK², 73.

³⁹Mon. Anc. 19 and 21.

⁴⁰Ibid., 8,5.

⁴¹Cf. the remarks by W. Kroll, Die Kultur d. cicero-nischen Zeit², Darmstadt, 1963 (Leipzig, 1933), 147.

and further away from the tenets and beliefs of their native religion,⁴² while the lower orders, enflamed with a religious longing and expectation deeper than many have been willing to believe and which was given such breathless and undying expression in Vergil's 4th Eclogue, really could not be satisfied any more with the ancient and, to them, now lifeless forms of the old religion. The Mediterranean world was caught up in the strains of a new music--Phrygian flutes, Oriental tambours, even David's harp--all desperately trying to play that most difficult of tunes, ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας,⁴³ and naturally neither the politicians nor the panegyrists could ever bring back the "good old days."

Finally, to a consideration of what Propertius was referring to by the expression 'externos . . . divos', Rothstein comments (ad loc.) that it was not the Oriental cults which were meant, but "die griechischen Götter mit ihren kostbaren Tempeln und anspruchsvollen Kultusgebräuchen." I take this assumption to be wrong on several counts. First, we have already noted the Princeps' ill-concealed dislike

⁴²Gardthausen, *o.c.*, 869 and see M.P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, 2 Bd., *Die hellenistische u. röm. Zeit* (Handb. d. Altertumswissensch. V, 2, 2), Munich, 1961, 399: "Die Stoiker der Kaiserzeit sammelten den Brennstoff, erlangen aber des zündenden Funkens, den das Christentum durch seinen Glauben an den persönlichen, barmherzigen, seine Liebe zu den Menschen betätigenden Gott brachte"

⁴³Luke 2:14.

for Oriental 'superstitiones' and the threat which they posed to the ruling class. Second, there is no proof whatever of a similar aversion on the part of the Princeps for Greek cults and influence. Rather, many of his religious reforms and restorations were not carried out according to ancient Roman sacral requirements, but were done Graeco ritu as, for instance, the augurium salutis,⁴⁴ the closing of the temple of Janus,⁴⁵ and the ludi saeculares.⁴⁶ He made the very heart of the State cult centre around, not the venerable old Roman Capitoline triad, but the most representative of Greek gods, Apollo. Far from despising Greek cultural values, he was imbued with them, being the pupil of the Stoic Areios Didymos of Alexandria,⁴⁷ whom he held in great respect.⁴⁸ He was knowledgeable in Greek poetry, and even read entire volumes to the Senate (Suet. Aug. 89). In the light of all of this, it would seem painfully obvious that what Propertius here means by 'externos . . . divos' is surely the proliferation of Oriental ecstatic cults and

⁴⁴Cass. Dio 51,20,4; Suet. Aug. 31.

⁴⁵Mon. Anc. 2,42 ff.; Suet. Aug. 22.

⁴⁶Cf. E. Fraenkel's remarks in Horace, Oxford, 1963, 368 and the important observation by W. Will, Horaz und die augusteische Kultur², Darmstadt, 1965, 349: "Überdies sind alle diese Gottheiten nicht griechisch, und nicht römisch, sondern griechisch-römisch."

⁴⁷Suet. Aug. 89.

⁴⁸Cf. Heinze, Die augusteische Kultur, o.c., 53.

mystery religions which had infested the City. By those who would claim that the influx of foreign cults from the East does not apply to the period of very early Rome which Propertius is here describing, let it be remembered that Propertius is talking, in the present, to a 'hospes' and is contrasting the City of Augustus with the very primitive collection of mud huts from which it sprang. Then, a community of worshippers faithful to the old ways; today, a veritable hodge-podge of every religious diversion and mystical quackery imaginable.

1.5 The Parilia

At line 19 Propertius uses the more ancient name⁴⁹ which later became Palilia through consonantal dissimilation (cf. Varro de l.l. 6,15: "Palilia a Pale" and Fest. p. 248,17 ff.: "Pales dicebatur dea pastorum, cuius festa Palilia dicebantur"). The feast occurred on the 21st of April, between the Fordicidia (April 15) and the Cerialia (April 19) on the one side and the Robigalia (April 25) and the (probably) moveable ludi Florales (April 28-30) on the other. The most complete description which we have of the feast is to be found in Ovid, fast. 4,721 ff., while that furnished by Tibullus (2,5,85 ff.) though less detailed, agrees in all major areas

⁴⁹PAR in the fast. Esquil. Caeret. Maff.; PARIL in the fast. Antiat. vet.; cf. Radke, 242 f.

with Ovid's text.⁵⁰ Both authors agree that the main purpose of the ritual connected with the feast was purificatory, there being lit a bonfire of straw and hay, over which the celebrants leapt and through which they drove their flocks. Propertius here mentions this specifically, and cf. Dion. Hal. 1,88,1. Tibullus also mentions (2,5,88) that in addition to being a purificatory rite, the festival also had apotropaic purposes: "a stabulis tunc procul este lupi," and both Tibullus and Ovid regard the custom of leaping over bonfires as still in practice in their own day. Propertius, however, seems to regard the feast as primarily a lustratio (line 20, "lustra novantur") and implies that while bonfire leaping was the ancient and original practice (cf. esp. Prop. 4,4,77 f.), the idea of a lustrum inherent in the feast was performed in his own day (line 20, "nunc") by some rite involving a 'curtus equus'.⁵¹

In literary sources the feast was first identified with a deity by the name of Pales by Varro.⁵² She is dea

⁵⁰For other classical references to the Parilia, see Varro, r.r. 2,1,9; Serv. ad georg. 3,1; Arnob. adv. gent. 3,40; Cic. de div. 2,98; Plut. Rom. 12.

⁵¹Cf. my remarks below (1,6) on the 'curtus equus'.

⁵²de l.l. 6,15: "Palilia a Pale, quod ei feriae." Latte (RRG², 88) states that this connection of Pales with the Parilia was the invention of Varro, an idea which is soundly attacked by A. Brelich, "Un libro dannoso: la 'Röm. Religionsgesch.' di Kurt Latte", SMSR 32 (1961), 331 who states that, according to Latte's reasoning, "si possono agevolmente eliminare tutti i dati, senza eccezione, che

pabuli according to Servius (ad georg. 3,294; ad eclog. 5,35) and dea pastorum in Festus (p. 248 L. s.v. Pales).⁵³ Propertius, though he lists the feast on two separate occasions (here and at 4,4,73), nowhere mentions a deity in connection with it. While a dea Pales is constantly spoken of in later writers, Varro tells us of the existence of a male Pales (quoted in Serv. ad georg. 3,1). There are, in fact, three texts which speak of a deus Pales but none of them has any connection with Rome. Arnobius (3,40) says that a Pales, not female as she was at Rome, but masculine, was one of the Etruscan Penates (cf. Serv. ad Aen. 2,325). In two passages (1,50 and 51) Martianus Capella places a god Pales in the sixth and seventh regions of the heavens, in a context which shows that he is speaking entirely of Etruscan augural matters. The case of the male Pales is admirably summed up by Dumézil (RRA, 56 f.) when he states that "'le' Pales masculin n'est signalé qu'en Etrurie, ce qui signifie simplement que la divinité étrusque de même fonction que Palès était un dieu, non une déesse."⁵⁴

abbiamo nelle fonti letterarie: un autore inventa, l'altro deduce, il terzo confonde e così via; anche la semplice possibilità che per caso uno, di tanto in tanto, dica una cosa vera, sembra esclusa a priori."

⁵³So too Tibullus 2,5,87 and Ovid, fast. 4,776.

⁵⁴This entire question of divine male-female doublets at Rome is shrouded in not a little suspicion. There are many questions: e.g., *Florus does not exist at Rome beside Flora; if he exists at all (still a mute point!) it is only

Wissowa (RuK², 200) first made the assertion that the goddess Pales cannot be separated from a certain diva Palatua who possessed her own flamen Palatualis and who was worshipped by the Palatine community as their special protective deity; her feast was celebrated at the Septimontium (December 11) with a sacrifice called the Palatuar.⁵⁵ This seems, however similar in appearance the names, to be slightly overstating the case. Pales was not, like Palatua, a local deity tied to one spot (the Palatine), but her feast was both public and private⁵⁶ and celebrated in common by the entire community. The fact that her feast day (April 21) later⁵⁷ was identified with the birthday of Romulus and Remus (Cic. de div. 2,98; Plut. Rom. 12,5) and of the City of Rome (Varro, r.r. 2,1,9 and cf. esp. Prop. 4,4,73) has led some to the conclusion that this was due to the close

in Oscan country; *Pomo or *Pomonus is Umbrian and does not exist in Rome with Pomona; Jana is highly dubious, and if there really was a Caca, Cacus is certainly a legendary figure; cf. Dumézil's note, RRA, 57,1.

⁵⁵Cf. RuK², 200 and see Schulze, ZGLE 474,4: "Das Opfer auf dem Palatium heisst Palatuar Fest. 524.26 Th., die Schutzgöttin diva Palatua, ihr flamen Palatualis Varro l.l. 7,45 Fest. 316,13 (pontifex Palatualis CIL VIII 10500)"; likewise Rohde RE 18,3 95 and Fowler, Roman Festivals of the period of the Republic, London, 1895, 80,3.

⁵⁶Varro in Schol. Pers. 1,72: "Palilia tam privata quam publica sunt apud rusticos."

⁵⁷No one is sure exactly when, but surely earlier than our oldest sources; Cic. de div. 2,98; Varro, r.r. 2,1,9. Cf. Plut. Rom. 12,3.

connection of Pales with the Palatine, the oldest of the City's communities.⁵⁸

1.5.1 The Elements of the Parilia

The best description of the rites of the Parilia, i.e. the festival of Pales, protectress of the flocks, is given by Ovid, fast. 4,721-783 (cf. also Dion. Hal. 1,88 f.; Tib. 2,5,87-94; Prop. 4,4,73-78); he probably follows the prescribed ritual with tolerable fidelity. On the 21st of April, Pales' day, no blood must flow and no victim must be sacrificed: ἐν Ἀρχῇ δ', ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον ἔθουον.⁵⁹ Plutarch explains this by stating that it is Rome's birthday, noting as well that the feast was certainly prior to the founding of the City.⁶⁰ Early in the morning everyone went to the atrium Vestae to obtain the suffimenta, or materials of purification in preparation for the coming rites. This consisted of (a) the ashes of unborn calves sacrificed at the Fordicidia, (b) the blood of a horse (not of the Equus October; cf. my remarks below), and (c) bean straw (cf.

⁵⁸Cf. Wissowa, RuK², 201 and again in Myth. Lex. 3, 1278; so too Altheim, RRG 1, 25. Latte (RRG², 88) however, states: "Fernzubleiben hat die Diva Palatua, die Ortsgott-heit des Palatins ist."

⁵⁹Plut. Rom. 12,2 and see Ovid, fast. 4,743 ff., 775 ff.

⁶⁰Rom. 12,3; cf. as well Dumézil, "Palès", in Idées Romaines, Paris, 1969, 273-287 and RRA, 373-377.

fast. 4,733 f.). At dawn ("oriturque Aurora", fast. 4,721) the lustration began: the stables were thoroughly cleaned and trimmed with flowers and green branches, and both flocks and stables were sprinkled with a branch of laurel dipped in water and then fumigated with sulphur and fragrant herbs.⁶¹ Then, continues Ovid (fast. 4,741 ff.):

ure mares oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas,
et crepet in mediis laurus adusta focus.
libaque de milio milii fiscella sequetur:
rustica praecipue est hoc dea laeta cibo.
adde dapes mulctramque suas: dapibusque resectis
silvicolam tepido lacte precare Palen.

When the prayers and invocations were over, it was customary for the celebrants to drink as much as they could of the special beverage for this feast, the sapa (i.e. new wine boiled down thick) mixed with new milk and poured out into large wooden bowls, or camellae. Then at dusk ("ad prima crepuscula", 4,735) occurred what all sources agree was the most important part of the ceremony, the lighting of the great lustral bonfires through which the celebrants leapt three times (Ovid, fast. 4,727) and drove their flocks, a custom which the ancients themselves regarded as an act of purification.⁶²

⁶¹Cf. Ovid, fast. 4,736 ff., together with Wissowa, RuK², 220 and Dumézil, RRA 375 f.

⁶²fast. 4,763: "Pelle procul morbos, valeant hominesque gregesque"; Dion. Hal. 1,88,1. The purpose of the Parilia bonfires has been described by Mannhardt, WuFk² 2, 311 f. as: "alle Krankheit erzeugenden Mächte von den

Tibullus alone (2,5,91 f.) records that after the lustration by fire there occurred the amusing and apparently rustic custom whereby the elders took hold of their children by the ears, turned their faces upwards as a jug is held by the two handles, and then kissed them. This was known to the Greeks as the χύτρα, or "jug kiss",⁶³ a form of kiss which survived in Italy and was traditionally known as the "bacio alla Fiorentina".⁶⁴

1.5.2 The Parilia and the Celtic Bealtine

The linguistic union of the Italic and Celtic branches of the Indoeuropean family has long been recognized.⁶⁵ Both languages contain common religious and political terms and possess grammatical similarities which have disappeared elsewhere. This being so, it would appear

Aufenthaltsorten der Schafheerde fern zu halten, die zumeist im Walde belegene Weide mit reichlichem Graswuchs zu begaben, den Tieren volle Euter und reichliche Nachkommenschaft zu sichern."

⁶³Of the kiss being given to little children, cf. Plut. Mor. 38 C: οἱ τε πολλοὶ τὰ μικρὰ παιδία καταφιλοῦντες αὐτοῖ τε τῶν ὄτων ἄπτονται καὶ κεῖνα τοῦτο ποιεῖν κελεύουσιν; see also Plaut. Asin. 668; Poen. 375.

⁶⁴Gio. Francesco Loredano wrote on the custom in 1642 (Bizzarrie Accademiche, Venice, 1642, 230, cited by K.F. Smith, Tibullus, o.c., 474), explaining that the reason for its use was "perchè l'orecchio è consagrada alla memoria. Volevano dunque baciando in questa maniera avvertire l'orrecchie a non perdere la rimembranza del diletto delle labra."

⁶⁵Cf., e.g., A. Meillet, Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Langue latine⁶, Paris, 1952 (1928), 16-47.

reasonable to suppose a primeval union of the two branches as one before various wanderings and disruptions separated them into two distinct but related main groups. It would also then be reasonable to assume the existence of similar cultural and religious practices between the two peoples, in the form of customs, practices and beliefs, and such indeed are readily at hand. As an example I cite the practice among the Celtic peoples of making a holocaust to "Mars" and "Mercury" (= Ogmios and Lug?) of captured enemy spoils.⁶⁶ Similar practices are reported of the Romans by Livy on several occasions.⁶⁷ Analogies in language and cultural practices would also lead one to expect analogies in religious development--a more than chance similarity in religious rites and cult practices. As presented by Propertius, the feast of the Parilia was anciently a rustic festival whose principal feature was a ritual bonfire of straw which served as a lustration both of flocks and community. Is there, among the religious festivals of the Celts, some strikingly parallel feast which would serve to bear out the

⁶⁶See the report by Tacitus, ann. 13,57 of the vow of the Hermundari and the Chatti and that of Strabo 7,2,3 of the practices of the Cimbri, and see H.R. Ellis Davidson, Gods and Myths of Northern Europe (Penguin A670), Harmondsworth, 1971 (1964), 55 ff. It is to be remarked that, among the Celts, "parfois, Mercure se distingue à peine de Mars," J. De Vries, La Religion des Celtes (Keltische Religion [Die Religionen d. Menschheit, 18], Stuttgart, 1961), trans. L. Jospin, Paris, 1963, 52.

⁶⁷E.g., Livy 1,37,5; 8,1,6; 10,29,18.

essential validity of the early Parilia as presented by Propertius?

In the past scholars have not failed to remark on similarities between the rituals of the Parilia and similar rites among the Germanic and Celtic peoples, noting especially the common element of the lustral fire. Mannhardt, for instance, long ago pointed out that "Die Uebereinstimmung desselben [= Parilia] mit unseren Oster- und Johannisfeuern ist allgemein anerkannt,"⁶⁸ and Grimm did the same.⁶⁹ But the festival which most closely parallels the Parilia in all essential points is that of the Celtic Bealtine. In order to ascertain whether the presentation which Propertius gives of the ancient ritual of the Parilia is accurate, I now propose to compare this feast with the related (and similarly ancient) celebration of the Bealtine among the Celts. So that the striking parallels and similarities may be more clearly outlined, the essential characteristics of both feasts shall be listed side by side.⁷⁰ In this way, I hope

⁶⁸o.c., 2,309.

⁶⁹J. Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie⁴ 1, Darmstadt, 1965 (Berlin, 1875), 520 (hereinafter referred to as Grimm, DM): "der ritus selbst, das springen über die flamme, das treiben des viehs durch die glut ist ganz wie bei dem Johannisfeuer und notfeuer."

⁷⁰The sources from which I have chiefly drawn for the presentation of the Bealtine are: J.A. MacCulloch, art. "Festival and Fasts (Celtic)", in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 5, ed. J. Hastings, New York, 1967 (Edinburgh, 1912), 838-843 and J. de Vries, Religion des Celtes,

to demonstrate the accuracy and fidelity of Propertius' conception of the Parilia.

BEALTINE	PARILIA
(a) occurred on the 1st of May.	(a) occurred on the 21st of April.
(b) one of four chief festivals of the Celtic year.	(b) marked the birthday of the City of Rome.
(c) Druids played a central role.	(c) Vestals presided over the festival.
(d) the festival was communal.	(d) the feast was "tam privata quam publica."
(e) chief ritual act was the kindling of a bonfire.	(e) the lighting of straw bonfires formed the principal ritual.
(f) people crept through the fire to avoid disease and ill-luck; at the Scottish Bealtine one leapt 3 times ⁷¹ through the fire.	(f) the purpose of the fire was purgative and one leapt 3 times through it.
(g) cattle driven through the fire to ward off disease.	(g) flocks driven through the fire to ward off disease.
(h) flames, smoke and ash purified what- or whom-ever they touched	(h) the suffimenta (<u>februa casta</u> , <u>fast.</u> 4.726) served as a purgative as well as the flames.

o.c., 234 f.; but see also M.-L. Sjoestedt, Gods and Heroes of the Celts (Dieux et Héros des Celtes), tr. M. Dillon, Paris, 1940; N. Chadwick, The Celts (Penguin 14021211 6), Harmondsworth, 1971, and the article by J. Vendryes, "Imbolc", Rev. Celt. 41 (1924), 243. As far as I know, the only scholar who has hitherto noticed the similarity between the two feasts is Frazer in his commentary on the Fasti, London, 1967 (1931), 415 f. (Loeb), where he gives a few brief remarks without going into great detail.

⁷¹Cf. Mannhardt, o.c., 1,508; 2,313.

BEALTINE

- (i) cattle and horses sacrificed.
- (j) the houses of the people were decorated with green boughs.
- (k) 'Bealtine cakes' played a sacramental role in the rite.
- (l) a round trench was cut in the sod at the Scottish Bealtine.⁷²

PARILIA

- (i) suffimenta were prepared from the ashes of unborn calves and the blood of a horse.
- (j) the sheep-pens and stables were decked with boughs and flowers.
- (k) cakes of millet ("libaque de milio" were a part of the feast.
- (l) the Parilia was celebrated as the birthday of Rome, at the founding of which Romulus traced a magic circle with a plough.

This last example is of capital importance for our knowledge of the origins of early Roman religion. It can be seen that the tracing of a magic trench is common to both the Parilia and the Bealtine rituals. Hitherto it has been affirmed that the ceremony which Romulus conducted at the founding of the City was borrowed from the Etruscans. A comparison with the Bealtine ritual, however, enables the trench-cutting ceremony to reassume its prehistoric Italo-Celtic character and from all of the foregoing there are two important results to be drawn:

⁷²Cf. Armstrong's description in Grimm, DM 1,510: "in some parts of the Highlands the young folks of a hamlet met in the moors on the first of may. they cut a table in the green sod, of a round figure, by cutting a trench in the ground of such circumference as to hold the whole company."

- (1) the existence of a prehistoric, Italo-Celtic spring feast of fire, the Bealtine/Parilia;
- (2) the rite of Romulus involving the circular trench is not specifically Etruscan, but also Italo-Celtic. It might even be suggested that the Etruscans did not introduce it, but in fact borrowed it.

Further on this theme, my colleague and former professor W.A. Borgeaud has suggested to me that the name of this magical circular furrow of Western Europe was originally *urvos, basing his opinion on a judicious reading of Prop. 4,4,73-75, and following the emendations suggested by Postgate and Richmond (cf. the note ad loc. in Butler and Barber, p. 349). The Parilia are then the lusus *Urvi. Prof. Borgeaud continues that this ancient word *urvos rapidly became obscured due to a confusion between the words urvum (spelled urbum by Isid. 15,2,3), 'a plough-tail' (cf. Fest. p. 514 L.) and urbs, 'city', the former being of Italo-Germanic origin, while the origin of the latter remains obscure.

It is impossible to know whether the primitive form of the name of the feast was Parilia (epigraphic evidence) or Palilia (the connection with Pales is irrefutable and the lexicographic evidence appears solid and boasts a venerable tradition). The etymology of Palēs - Palīlia proposed by J. J. Grimm⁷³ is morphologically weak: one expects something

⁷³DM 1,188: he suggests a connection with Slav. paliti, 'to burn'.

like *Pělēs or *Pōlēs instead, although this etymology cannot be rejected totally out of hand. It is tempting to link Palēs to pālĕa, 'straw', since the Palilia feature bonfires of hay or of straw. But the meaning 'straw' for pālĕa is late (Vergil), the more ancient meaning being the 'chaff', which is blown away by the wind during the winnowing process. This solution then appears to be impossible, since we know that the rites of the Parilia are of ancient Indo-European origin, both through the words of Propertius himself and through the efforts of our researches outlined above. As regards Parilia, we have the tried and true etymology from pārio, pārĕre, 'to give birth', which cannot be rejected. It holds up on two counts: as a viable popular etymology, but at the same time modern as well as scientific. Even the sceptic Latte⁷⁴ admits it. If the etymology of Palilia < pārĕre is correct, Palilia will then have issued from Parilia by consonantal assimilation of the r to the l, under the influence of the ancient deity Palēs. If on the other hand Palilia is the more ancient form, Parilia would have descended from it through consonantal dissimilation of the l to r, under the influence of the verb pārĕre: in any event, as Prof. Borgeaud states, "donc étymologie populaire venant au secours de l'évolution phonétique."

⁷⁴RRG 88,1: "Für Parilia müsste man dann Anknüpfung an parere suchen und sie als Fest für die Fruchtbarkeit des Viehs deuten."

On the other hand, Palēs has been linked with pellēre, 'to drive' (i.e. the flocks; see Pokorny, Indogerm. Etymologisches Wörterb. s.v. pel-), but this too presents the same difficulty with Pāl- (in place of Pěl-, Pŏl-). Finally, Pālēs could (still keeping in mind the same phonetic difficulty) correspond to the Albanian verb pjell, 'to give birth' (used of animals and women), which goes back to *pělō, *pel- (cf. Borgeaud, Revue Roumaine de linguistique, t. 18, 1973, n. 4, p. 328). In this case, Palīlia and Parīlia could mean the same thing: the feast of reproduction, and of the goddess of reproduction Palēs - *Parēs.

1.6 The curtus equus

With the words "curto . . . equo" (20) we have what is both an ἄπαξ λεγόμενον and an enigma; from the context of the passage we know that Propertius is opposing the antique

simplicity and genuine piety of the early Roman feasts with the sumptuousness and splendour of the City in his own day, probably also implying an inverse relationship between wealth and the true spirit of religion. He states that while in the early days of Rome's history the Parilia were celebrated with a ritual bonfire, nowadays the lustration is effected by means of a 'curtus equus'. Those are the words, but what do they mean? Ovid gives some help. He states⁷⁵ that one of the three ingredients comprising the purificatory suffimen which the Vestals dispense to the people on the day of the feast is the blood of a horse. It seems then that the blood of a horse was deemed in some way efficacious toward the purification of men and pecora (= cattle and sheep). One would also assume from Propertius' text that the horse was considered the most important element in the rite. But what has a horse to do with the Parilia, a feast celebrated in honour of Pales, a dea pastorum? And what exactly is a curtus equus? These questions and others like them have exercised the minds of many. I propose to examine the answers given to such questions and hopefully, in the ensuing process, to try and clarify somewhat the almost impenetrable haze which during the years has managed to settle over this question.

First, let us consider the word 'curtus'. The

⁷⁵fast. 4,733: "sanguis equi suffimen erit."

Oxford Latin Dictionary (fasc. 2, 1969, 477) defines it thus: "curtus. 1. Having a part missing, mutilated, damaged, broken. b (of men) mutilated, circumcised; (of beasts) castrated, having the tail cut off, docked." The ThLL 4.1540 actually assigned the meaning 'castrated' to our passage: "Prop. 4,1,20 qualia nunc -o (i. castrato) lustra novantur equo." Since the meanings 'castrated' and 'having the tail cut off' can accrue to the word, scholars busied themselves trying to find some reference in Roman ritual which would make sense out of Propertius' enigmatic phrase. Unfortunately, classical sources do not exactly abound in references to castrated horses, but there does exist an example of a tail-docking, the singular and mysterious ritual of the equus October. Since the number of classical texts which refer to the October Horse are few and an exact wording will be necessary to our argument, it would be well to list them all now. These are:

(a) Timaeus in Polybius 12,4b:

Καὶ μὴν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πύρρου πάλιν φησὶ τοὺς
 Ῥωμαίους ἔτι νῦν ὑπόμνημα ποιουμένους τῆς κατὰ τὸ
 Ἰλίου ἀπωλείας ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τινὶ κατακοντίζειν ἵππον
 πολεμιστὴν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ Κάμπῳ καλουμένῳ

(b) Plutarch, Qu. Rom. 97:

Διὰ τί ταῖς Δεκεμβρίαις εἰδοῖς [presumably
 Plutarch's error; he means October] ἵπποδρομίας
 γενομένης ὁ νικῆσας δεξιόσειρος Ἄρει θύεται, καὶ
 τὴν μὲν οὐρὰν ἀποκόψας τις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥηγίαν
 καλουμένην κομίζει καὶ τὸν βωμὸν αἵματτει, περὶ δὲ
 τῆς κεφαλῆς οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ λεγομένης οἱ
 δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Συβοῦρης καταβάντες διαμάχονται;

(c) Paulus, p. 71 L.:

equus Marti immolabatur, quod per eius effigiem
Troiani capti sunt, vel quod eo genere animalis
Mars delectari putaretur.

(d) Paul.-Fest. pp. 190-191 L.:

October Equus appellatur, qui in campo Martio mense
Octobri immolatur quotannis Marti, bigarum victri-
cum dexterior. de cuius capite non levis contentio
solebat esse inter Suburbaneses et Sacravienses, ut
hi in Regiae pariete, illi ad Turrim Mamiliam id
figerent; eiusdemque coda tanta celeritate perfer-
tur in Regiam, ut ex ea sanguis destillet in focum,
participandae rei divinae gratia.

(e) Paulus, p. 246 L.:

panibus redimibant caput equi immolati idibus Octo-
bribus in campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat
ob frugum eventum; et equus potius quam bos immola-
batur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est
aptus.

Such then are the texts. From a close and objective reading of them it will at once be remarked that not one of them makes any mention whatever of a connection between the rites of the October Horse and those of the Parilia; yet by linking up the tail-docking connected with the ritual of October 15 and the mention of a 'curtus equus' by Propertius scholars have attempted to do just that. Hypotheses to this end were put forward, tenuously at first, which later through constant repetition came to be accepted as fact by virtually every commentator. It is difficult to know where it all started. Mannhardt was one of the first to make the connection between the blood of the October Horse and the suffimen of the Parilia, celebrated six months later. He

says:⁷⁶ "Ganz dasselbe gilt von dem Blute, d.i. dem Lebenssaft des Octoberrosses, d.h. des beim Erntedankfest, am 15. October, auf dem Marsfelde geschlachteten, wahrscheinlich als Abbild eines dämonischen Getreiderosses Das aufgefangene Blut scheint von den Vestalinnen präpariert und bis zum Palilienfeste im Penus Vestae bewahrt zu sein." Notice the cautiously expressed "scheint"; the hypothesis has not yet become fact. Wissowa also follows suit:⁷⁷ "die Vestalinnen verteilen an jedermann die Reinigungsmittel, nämlich die Asche der an den Fordicidia aus den fordae boves herausgeschnittenen und verbrannten Kälber, das Blut des Oktoberrosses und Bohnenstroh." It is to be remarked how quickly (Wissowa wrote that in 1902) the hypothesis has become fact. Even commentators of Ovid got into the act. Thus, J.G. Frazer:⁷⁸ ". . . the blood [= of the October Horse] dripped on the hearth of the [King's] house. This blood the King caught in a vessel and kept, or handed it over to the Vestal Virgins, whose house adjoined his own, to be burned . . . at the Parilia." So, too, Fr. Bömer:⁷⁹ "Der Schwanz des am 15. Oktober an der Ara Martis in Campo geopferten Equus October wird eilends in die Regia gebracht,

⁷⁶Mannhardt, o.c., 2,315.

⁷⁷RuK², 200.

⁷⁸Ovid's Fasti, London, 1967 (1931), 414.

⁷⁹Fasten 2, 274.

wo das Blut auf den Herd geträufelt, der Schwanz verbrannt und die Asche im Penus Vestae bis zu den Parilia aufbewahrt wird (Fest. 131. 179. 180 f. 221 M. 117. 190 f. 246 L. Plut. qu. R. 97 p. 287A; vgl. Polyb. XII. 4b, 11 ff. Prop. IV 1, 20)." One looks vainly through this abundant array of references for any mention of the blood from the docked tail of the October Horse being used in the suffimen for the Parilia six months later. Bömer seems intrinsically to feel this, so he takes the totally unwarranted step, unsupported by any of our texts, of having the tail burned and the ashes preserved in the penus Vestae. A very audacious move on his part and, as we can see from references to our texts, one entirely free of any classical support whatever. Yet we are still not finished; the litany goes on. So Krause in his article in the Realencyclopädie;⁸⁰ Latte,⁸¹ following his predecessor Wissowa; Bayet⁸² and, speaking on behalf of the primitivists, H.J. Rose.⁸³ Nor have the commentators on Propertius been inactive: in 1898 Max Rothstein declared:⁸⁴ "Das Opfer [after quoting Paul. Fest. pp. 190 f. L.], zu dem das Blut des getöteten Pferdes benutzt wurde, war eben das

⁸⁰s.v. 'Hostia', RE Suppl. 5 (1931), 249.

⁸¹RRG², 87.

⁸²Bayet, 82.

⁸³Some Problems of Classical Religion (The Eitrem Lectures), Oslo, 1958, 5.

⁸⁴2,195 f.

der Parilia." Echoing him are Butler and Barber⁸⁵ and, most recently, W.A. Camps.⁸⁶ However much the success which this interpretation has enjoyed over the years, it nevertheless rests upon a base which is very unsteady indeed. The rather simplistic presumption is that since our Propertian text raises the question of a 'curtus equus' and the October Horse ritual features blood which is allowed to drip from a tail cut from a horse, there can be no question but that the two are related. Yet none of the texts cited above on the Equus October state, nor even suggest, that the blood from the docked tail of this horse was conserved in order to become, six months later, one of the ingredients in the suffimen used at the Parilia on April 21; further, none of the texts which give us information on the Parilia (cf. my remarks above on the Parilia) or on the composition of this suffimen mention any connection with the October Horse. The fact is that the connection between the ritual of the October Horse and that of the Parilia is entirely the work of modern commentators. There is only one recent commentator on Roman religion who seems to have resisted this tide--G. Dumézil. After several pages examining the history of this identification, he then presents some of the principal facts which

⁸⁵ 323 f.

⁸⁶ o.c., 52. Radke, p. 324, also subscribes to this theory.

argue against it:⁸⁷

- (a) Si le sang de la queue du Cheval d'Octobre avait eu cette destination, c'eût été l'essentiel et il serait étonnant que les auteurs qui en parlent ne l'aient pas signalé; à les lire sans préjugé, on a l'impression que la distillatio sur le foyer de la Regia est bien le terme, l'objectif unique et suffisant du transfert rapide de la queue, et que tout est fini, en acte comme en intention, quand la queue a ainsi rejoint (dans le meilleur cas) la tête chez le roi.
- (b) Replacés dans leur contexte, les deux vers de Properce font entendre que, dans la pensée du poète, l'utilisation de sang de cheval pour les Parilia est une innovation relativement récente: en effet, presque tous les distiques précédents opposent un état ancien, primitif, fruste et simple, à un état moderne et somptueux. Or il est difficile de penser que le poète érudit, archéologue, que révèle cette élégie ait pu considérer l'Equus October comme un rituel récent, postérieur en tout cas aux temps royaux, alors que la "maison du roi" y joue un si grand rôle. Il ne peut non plus avoir voulu dire que l'innovation somptuaire a consisté à établir un lien entre deux rituels également anciens, un peu de sang caillé du sacrifice d'octobre, pratiqué de tout temps, ayant été tardivement (nunc ...) associé à la purification d'avril; car alors on ne verrait pas ce que cette innovation mineure eût ajouté au caractère luxueux, coûteux des Parilia. Il semble donc que Properce pense à un autre cheval, mutilé spécialement pour les Parilia.
- (c) H.J. Rose écrit, pour fonder l'identité du curtus equus du 21 avril et de l'Equus October: "If it was not so, it is hard to see why Propertius declares that the purifications curto novantur equo, for a beast is curtus if its tail is docked." Ce sens existe, mais il n'est pas le seul, même dans le langage technique des chirurgiens, à plus forte raison en poésie: Celse dit curtus pour designer des mutilations de l'oreille, du nez, des lèvres et son expression laisse entendre que cet

⁸⁷RRA, 224 f.; his examination of the problem is on pp. 217-24.

emploi n'est pas limitatif: curta igitur in his tribus, si qua parva sunt, curari possunt (7,9). Les mots de Properce permettent aussi bien de comprendre que le sanguis equi dont parle Ovide est prélevé sur un animal, qui n'en mourra pas, par la mutilation de quelque organe saillant, tel que les oreilles ou les testicules, aussi bien que de la queue.

- (d) Que serait-il resté, après plus de six mois, des rares gouttes de sang qui, après celles qu'avait absorbées le foyer de la Regia, auraient été recueillies in extremis dans un vase et transportées au penus Vestae? Ni par l'intégrité de sa matière, ni par son volume, ce troisième ingrédient, sanguis equi, n'eût été comparable aux deux autres, les tiges de fêve apparemment fraîches, la cendre incorruptible des trente embryons de veaux brûlés six jours plus tôt, aux Fordicidia du 15 avril. M.F. Bömer règle la difficulté en substituant au sang les "cendres de la queue," indéfiniment conservables, mais les expressions de Properce, d'Ovide--celui-ci opposant sanguis equi et vituli favilla--ne permettent pas cet artifice: c'est bien du sang comme tel qui est requis aux Parilia.⁸⁸

Having demonstrated that there are grave difficulties indeed involved with the identification of the blood of

⁸⁸This same difficulty with the volume of blood one could be expected to collect from a docked tail was faced in a recent article by G. Devereux, "The Equus October Ritual Reconsidered," Mnem. 23 (1970), 297 ff., with curious results. Mr. Devereux proposed to obviate the problem by suggesting that in fact the expressions cauda and οὐρά used in our sources are really euphemisms for the horse's membrum virile, an organ which contains manifestly more blood than the tail. To justify this assumption, he states (297): "the simplest assumption is that these texts should not be taken at face value: that they mean something else than they seem to mean"!! Further on (298) he continues: "All difficulties disappear [sic!!] if οὐρά and cauda are assumed [!!] to be euphemisms." He stumbles along in a similar manner and omits any reference to the much more scholarly (if no more convincing) article by H. Wagenvoort, "Zur magischen Bedeutung des Schwanzes," Serta Philologica Aenip., 1961, 273 ff. As for Mr. Devereux, one can only marvel in the face of such reasoning.

the tail of the October Horse and the third ingredient in the suffimen prepared for the Parilia, there still remains the problem of explaining the presence of horse's blood at the rites of the Parilia. I should like to make a tentative suggestion that the answer may have been provided by Paul. Fest. p. 246 L.: it will be remembered that the explanation there given for the head of the October Horse being wreathed with loaves of bread was "ob frugum eventum" and that a horse was more suitable than a bull for this purpose "quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus." It would appear from this then that the preposition ob does not have, in this instance, the very general sense 'because of', but contains a more specific meaning 'in consideration of' or 'in recompense for',⁸⁹ and the entire phrase would carry some such meaning as 'in recognition of the successful completion of the harvest'. The sacrifice of the October Horse then looks back at the successful termination of the planting season, i.e. the reaping of the harvest, and not ahead to the coming planting season. The sacrifice of the October Horse was a thank-offering in recompense for past blessings and not an offering made in expectation of future prosperity (cf. "frugibus pariendis"). Thus a horse, the theriomorphic representation of the war-god, was a much more fitting

⁸⁹Cf. the examples cited for this meaning in C.T. Lewis, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1962 (1889), 686 and see Dumézil's remarks, RRA, 221.

sacrifice than a bull, the symbol of fecundity and the successful increase of the harvest, since the ager Romanus had to be protected against the incursions of hostile forces whose assaults would doubtless spell disaster for the grain ripening to fruition ("eventum"). It was because of the success which Mars granted to the City's warriors that the harvest could be brought to such a favourable conclusion at the end of the campaign season in October, celebrated with military festivals. The symbol of the successful defence of the fields was that Rome could be assured of enough bread for another year, and hence the wreath of loaves on Mars' offering. It seems that the same reasoning can be applied to the rites of the Parilia, a feast which took place at the beginning both of the planting and the military season and which can be assumed to have involved, not only the purification and increase of the flocks and herds, but also their protection for the coming season.⁹⁰ In order to effect the protection of the flocks against the destructive force of enemies, whether human or otherwise, the active participation of Mars, personified by the protective presence of the exercitus Romanus, was of course a sine qua non.

The ritual connection between the Fordicidia and the

⁹⁰Cf. Ovid, fast. 4,748: "effugiat stabulis noxa repulsa meis"; 763: "pelle procul morbos, valeant hominesque gregesque"; 767: "absit iniqua fames. herbae frondesque supersint"; Tib. 2,5,88: "a stabulis tunc procul este lupi."

Parilia could possibly be seen as caused by a piaculum made at a feast in celebration of the increase of the flocks in atonement for the slaying of unborn calves at the Fordicidia. It might be well to point out that according to the Gothic commentaries (Skeireins 3, par. 8) on the Gothic Bible, translated by Wulfila (c. 370 A.D.), the Jews before John the Baptist atoned for an error by means of the ashes of a burned calf: "azgôn kalbôns gabrannidaizôs". What in fact is involved here is a Semitic piaculum (atonement). In the light of the researches carried out by D. v. Berchem and M.A. Piganiol^{90a} it seems at least plausible that the ritual at the altar of Hercules in the forum Boarium was influenced by Phoenician elements dating from as early as the sixth century B.C., and this plausibility could provide a link with the rite carried out by the Vestals at the Parilia where they used the ashes of unborn calves sacrificed in the wombs of their mothers at the Fordicidia: in other words, this rite could be an ancient piaculum--a Semitic, or at least a

^{90a}D. van Berchem, "Hercule-Melgart à l'Ara Maxima", Rendiconti de l'Académie pontificale d'archéologie 32 (1959-60), 61-68; M.A. Piganiol, "les origines d'Hercule", in Hommages à A. Grenier, coll. LATOMUS, 58, t. 2, Brussels, 1962, 1261-64; cf. R. Bloch, Tite-Live et les premiers siècles de Rome (Coll. Budé), Paris, 1965, 102, where he says: "Il nous faut, en tout cas, considérer avec grand soin aujourd'hui le problème de la pénétration précoce, sur les côtes d'Italie, de cultes propagés par les navigateurs phéniciens de Chypre et de Carthage."

a Mediterranean atonement.^{90b} It is, in effect, conceived as a crime to kill a calf while still in its mother's womb: a crime, ritually necessary, yet a crime just the same. In such a way then it is possible to arrive at a logical connection between the rite of the Fordicidia and that of the Parilia.^{90c}

In addition to the presence of the horse at the

^{90b} See the remarks of U. Pestalozza, Religione Mediterranea. Vecchi e nuovi studi, Milan, 1971 (1952), 271: "A fondamento del sacrificio [= the Fordicidia] sta il rapporto tra il ventre gravido delle vacche e il ventre della Terra gravida del nuova grano."

^{90c} Cf. my remarks below (pp. 77 ff.) on the piaculum.

Parilia in its capacity as defender against the enemies of the flocks, there also exists another meaning which the horse had in Indoeuropean thinking, that of fertility.⁹¹ It would surely not be altogether contrary to this meaning to see in the presence of the sanguis equi at the rites of the Parilia a symbol of this fructifying, life-giving force which would be assumed to ensure the fertile increase of the flocks and herds. This interpretation would not run counter to the presence of another of the ingredients in the suffimen, the ashes of unborn calves. The embryos of pregnant cattle would likely symbolize the assurance of fertility, the hidden promise of life to come which lies dormant in the womb, like a seed in the womb of the earth, just as a bean⁹² which has been planted in the earth yields nourishing fodder for the flocks and herds. Thus all three ingredients of the suffimen can be seen to have some symbolism of fertility and I would argue that it is precisely this which would account for the presence of the blood of a curtus equus in the rites of the Parilia. The fact that, according to Propertius, this use of the blood of a curtus equus was a rather recent innovation

⁹¹Cf. Mannhardt, Myth. Forsch., Strassbourg, 1884, 156-201; E. Jones, On the Nightmare, London, 1931, 269.

⁹²Cf. Ovid, fast. 4,733 f.: "sanguis equi suffimen erit, vitulique favilla; / tertia res durae culmen inane fabae" and see C. Rambach, Thes. Eroticus Lat., Stuttgart, 1833, 207 s.v. faba, for further associations of the bean with fertility.

could be explained by its being adapted from the rites of the October Horse, carried out as we have seen ob frugum eventum. For a similar and related reason, viz., to assure a fruitful increase of the flocks, the blood of a horse was used at the Parilia.⁹³

1.7 The Vestalia

In line 21 Propertius refers to the feast of the Vestalia, celebrated on June 9 in honour of Vesta, ancient Latin goddess of the hearth-fire.⁹⁴ The essential ceremonial

⁹³In a possible confirmation of this interpretation, Tibullus mentions (2,5,91) in connection with the rites of the Parilia, "et fetus matrona dabit," referring of course to children; the use of fetus, however, with reference to humans is rare and the word can be a synonym for fruges, cf. ThLL s.v. fetus, p. 638: "2 quod terra profert: fructus terrae. Cic. de orat. 2,131 ager meliores fetus possit et grandiores edere; Lucr. 1,193 Laetificos fetus submittere tellus; Verg. georg. 1,82 mutatis requiescunt fetibus arva; 2,521 varios ponit fetus Autumnus"; in any case, a curious echo of the expression ob frugum eventum in Paul.-Fest.

⁹⁴The feast is listed in the oldest calendars (fast. Tuscul. Venus. Maff.; CIL 12,216; 221; 224 and see Radke, 321 and Koch, art. "Vesta" in RE 8A, 2 1755,5 ff. for more calendar information). As far as can be gathered, it seems that about Cicero's time the opinion developed that Vesta was goddess of the hearth (Cic. nat. deor. 2,67: "vis autem eius [= Vesta] ad aras et focus pertinet" and cf. Varro in August. civ. Dei 4,10); this conception of Vesta seems to reflect that of the Greeks concerning Hestia, with whom Vesta was compared (cf. Cic. ibid., "ea [= Vesta] est enim quae ab illis Ἑστία dicitur") and is most probably to be explained as the result of scholarly attempts at synoecism with Greek religious ideas. The use of the word 'Vesta', like the Greek Ἑστία, was intended by the Augustans as a personification of the hearth. This doubtless reflects learned attempts at equating Gk. ideas such as the Ἑστία κοινῇ (cf. Paus. 8,53,9) and to derive the name itself from

feature on this day was the garlanding of asses with wreaths (21; Lyd. de mens. 4,94) or with flowers and loaves (Ovid, fast. 6,311 f.; 347; 469). However, decking these patient little animals with loaves does not seem to have been a part of the original ritual; Propertius, intent on portraying the original nature of the ritual in illo tempore, makes no mention of it, and it is only through the notice of Ovid, who seems intent on portraying the feast as it was held in his own day, and that of much later writers such as Lactantius and Lydus, that we know of such a ritual at all. This

the Greek (cf. Ovid, fast. 6,300). That these attempts met with an unqualified success can be traced in almost every modern commentary. Thus Wissowa (RuK², 157): "Name und Ritual der Göttin lassen daran keinen Zweifel aufkommen, dass sie von Haus aus nichts anderes als der Herd ist" (as supporting sources he lists Verg. georg. 4,384 and Sil. Ital. 6,76; hardly clinching proof, since the one was actively engaged in effecting the Hellenization of the Latin Vesta and the other lived in an age when the transformation was a fait accompli); Koch (RE 8A, 1717 ff.) and Latte (RRG², 90) follow suit, as does Bömer (Fasten 2, 353), who states curiously: "die altrömische Gottheit des Hauses (!) und als Vesta p.p.R.Q. Gottheit des Staatsherdes," as well as Bayet, 116. Despite the above statements, it seems that Vesta really was, not the hearth, but the hearth fire. The Propertius of Book 4, erudite scholar-poet and researcher of his country's early religious history, makes four references to Vesta: if we leave aside the one now before us, all three of those remaining mention her in connection, not with the hearth, but with fire; e.g., 4,4,18: "quae voluit flammis fallere, Vesta, tuas?"; 4,4,69: "Vesta, Iliacae felix tutela favillae"; 4,11,53: "iusta suos cum Vesta reposeret ignes"; Ovid too, in his treatment of Vesta in the fasti (6,267) states: "Vesta eadem est et terra--subest vigil ignis utrique--"; cf. the useful distinction made by Wilamowitz (GdH³ 1,155) between Hestia and Vesta, without, of course, going as far as he in denying Vesta any private cults at all (for Vesta in private cults, cf. Dumézil, RRA, 347; 582).

seems to have come about due to the fact that the feast was at a later date especially celebrated by the Pistores⁹⁵ who, in addition to decking the asses with loaves also garlanded their flour mills. The usual and accepted explanation of how the Vestalia became a sort of millers' feast with mules and mills wreathed in flowers and loaves is the following: Vesta, as goddess of the hearth, was associated with the nourishment of the household and thus with the implements of nourishment, i.e., flour for bread and porridge,⁹⁶ provided by the efforts of miller and mill-turning mule and kneaded and prepared at the family hearth;⁹⁷ or the preparation of bread, done in the early days in the home, fell under Vesta's protection;⁹⁸ or perhaps the Vestalia was one of the days on which the Vestals prepared (and/or distributed) the mola salsa, special meal used in Roman religious rites.⁹⁹ These last two explanations fail to account for the presence of the ass in the festival, unless of course it is assumed that since it was a special day for the millers, their labouring beasts also were

⁹⁵Plin., n.h. 18,107 places the date for the feast becoming a special one of the millers' and bakers' guilds about the beginning of the second Macedonian War, and we know of a quaestor of a bakers' guild at Rome who made an offering to Vesta (CIL VI,787 = 30832: "quaestor corporis pistorum urbanorum," and cf. VI, 1002).

⁹⁶Cf. Wissowa, RuK², 158.

⁹⁷Cf. Bömer, Fasten 2, 361.

⁹⁸Latte, RRG², 144.

⁹⁹Cf. Koch, a.c., 1755,60 ff.; for the mola salsa, cf. Plin., n.h. 18,7; Serv. ad eclog. 8,82; Paul.-Fest. p. 97 L.

given the day off. Dumézil seems almost to feel instinctively that something is not quite right with the prevailing view, but he nevertheless accedes, stating: "Une extension pittoresque a rattaché au culte du feu bienveillant les opérations d'où sort l'aliment de base, le pain. Sans doute cela s'est-il fait à partir du culte privé, domestique, du foyer, bien que les boulangers d'abord, et aussi solidairement les meuniers avec les animaux qui tournent la pierre."¹⁰⁰

Yet something is wrong here; it is not clear how Vesta can be the deity associated with flour and bread; surely that should be a function of Ceres. And the whole explanation of the association of millers, asses and loaves with the Vestalia seems to have been contrived a posteriori. Confronted with the presence of millers, mills, asses and loaves at the Vestalia, scholars attempted to find some viable reason for this and one or all of the variants outlined above came to be accepted as the most likely explanation. But Propertius knows nothing of millers and garlands of loaves, and we are informed by Pliny that, in fact, the development of the feast into a sort of millers' holiday was a rather recent one (cf. n. 95 above). The picture which Propertius gives us of the original nature of the festival is one in which asses are garlanded in service to Vesta. The

¹⁰⁰RRA, 319.

only connection which he makes in the original celebration is that made between Vesta and asses. It would then seem that the Vestalia became a special day for millers almost by default: forced to be idle through the participation of their animals in the Vestalia and the consequent inactivity of their mills, they at last made it into a holiday for themselves and celebrated the day as a kind of guild festival, advertising their wares, as it were, by stringing them about the necks of their animals who were featured in the goddess' procession. As so often happens even now, the original meaning and significance of the festival was forgotten and it became simply a day of holiday and relaxation.

But Propertius has made the connection between Vesta and asses and so the question persistently arises: what had Vesta to do with asses and, by extension, with mills? The answer to the first question is quite simply that asses were sacred to Vesta, as was the wolf to Mars and the goat to Juno. This sacredness of the ass to Vesta is readily apparent from numerous literary references, temple reliefs and wall paintings, all of which corroborate the special relationship between Vesta and her sacred animal.¹⁰¹ On a

¹⁰¹ Indeed Koch (a.c., 1755, 37 f.) gives in textual support of the sacredness of the ass to Vesta this very line of Propertius here under consideration. Cf. also Copa, 26: "Vestae delictum est asinus" with Voss' emendation and see further Olck, art. "Esel" in RE 6, 672, 44 ff.; 674, 52 f., Wissowa in Myth. Lex. 6, 256 f.; Grimal, 476.

Pompeian wall painting there is figured an ass together with Vesta,¹⁰² while in another two Cupids tend to two asses at the Vestalia; meanwhile, in the background, a mill is to be seen.¹⁰³ The animal's head was included in the sculptured decoration of the goddess' temple.¹⁰⁴ This association of Vesta with asses seems to have been made at a rather early date,¹⁰⁵ at any event certainly earlier than Pliny's date for the participation of millers' guilds in the Vestalia. That there was an ass-cult in Italy in early times is suggested by the distinguished Latin clan-names Asina, Asella, Asellio and Asellius.¹⁰⁶

However that may be, the feast of the Vestalia occurred at the same time of year that the ass-breeders were accustomed to pair their animals for breeding purposes, i.e. shortly before the summer solstice.¹⁰⁷ In explanation of why the ass was particularly associated with Vesta, perhaps

¹⁰²Cf. Olck, a.c., 672,44 f.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Koch, a.c., 1756,55 f.

¹⁰⁵Cf. Grimal, ref. to in n. 101.

¹⁰⁶Cf. Rohden, RE 2,1531 f. and see Varro, de r.r. 2,1,10; some of these gained great distinction in historic times, e.g., Herius Asinius, the leader of the Marrucini, and his even more famous grandson C. Asinius Pollio, cos. 40 B.C. (cf. Rohden, a.c., 1583 ff.); a distinguished member of the Cornelii bore the cognomen Asina (cf. Münzer, RE 4, 1485).

¹⁰⁷Cf. Koch, a.c., 1756, 62 ff. and Olck, a.c., 636.

it would not be too irrelevant to call to mind that in Italy one of the most characteristic attributes of the ass was its proverbial fear of water.¹⁰⁸ This would indeed augur well for an association with a deity who incorporated the hearth-fire, and an animal whose chief fear was the thing most inimical to Vesta would hardly have long to wait before entering into a relationship with the goddess.

Explanations for the presence of mills (and thus of millers) in the rites of the Vestalia are at once more complex and more extensive, involving both the psycho-sexual and astrological symbolism of the mill. In illustration of the former, let me quote an observation made by Nork in 1848:¹⁰⁹ "In der symbolischen Sprache bedeutet aber Mühle das weibliche Glied (μυλλός, wovon mulier), und der Mann ist der Müller, daher der Satyriker Petronius molere mulierem für: Beischlaf gebraucht. Der durch die Buhlin der Kraft beraubte Samson muss in der Mühle mahlen (Richter XVI. 21), welche Stelle der Talmud (Sota fol. 10), wie folgt, commentirt: Unter dem Mahlen ist immer die Sünde des Beischlafs zu verstehen. Darum standen am Feste der keuschen Vesta in

¹⁰⁸Cf. Plin. n.h. 8,169.

¹⁰⁹F. Nork, Mythologie d. Volkssagen u. Volksmärchen, Vol. 9 of Das Kloster, Weltlich u. geistlich. Meist aus der ältern deutschen Volks-, Wunder-, Curiositäten-, u. vorzugsweise komischen Literatur, etc., 12 vols., ed. J. Scheible, Stuttgart, 1845-49; Vol. 9 (1848), 301 f., quoted by E. Jones, On the Nightmare, o.c., 281.

Rom alle Mühlen still" To grind, from classical myths to modern slang, has always been synonymous with sexual intercourse¹¹⁰ and we are told that the Vestals, when preparing their coarse meal used in sacrifices, ground it on a 'chaste mill' as befits their sexual condition.¹¹¹

The second, or astrological meaning, concerns the concept of the Mill of Heaven, the constellations considered as a celestial mill grinding out man's fate. It is in this connection that Lycophron, that master astrologer, speaks of Zeus Μυλεός (435) and on a more familiar level there is a remark by Trimalchio (Sat. 39): "Sic orbis vertitur tanquam mola, et semper aliquid mali facit." The feast of the Vestalia falls in June 9, approaching the time of the summer solstice. We know from Macrobius and others¹¹² that the summer solstice was one of the 'Gates' of the sun, the 'Gate of Cancer'; this means that the sun's fire has reached its highest point of intensity at this time of year upon entering

¹¹⁰Cf. Lucil. frag. 7,2: "Hunc molere, illam autem ut frumentum vannere cunnis"; Hor. sat. 1,2,33 ff: "nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido, / huc iuvenes aequum est descendere, non alienas / permolere uxores," and cf. as well Auson. epigr. 70,7 ff.

¹¹¹Cf., e.g., such expressions as casta mola in Paul.-Fest. p. 57 L.; an interesting example of the pairing of both asses and chastity is provided by Lact. inst. div. 1,21, 26: "Apud Romanos vero eundem (asinum) Vestalibus sacris in honorem pudicitiae conservatae panibus coronari."

¹¹²Macr. de som. Scip. 1,12,1-8 and cf. my remarks below on 4,1,150.

the sign of Cancer. To be more specific, Macrobius talks of signs; however, the constellation rising at the summer solstice in his time (and still in ours) was Gemini: the 'Gate of Cancer' thus means Gemini and Macrobius explicitly states (1,12,5) that this 'Gate' is "a confinio quo se zodiacus lacteusque contingunt." Thus, the chief festival of Vesta, the sacred fire of the City, is at the same time as the Mill of Heaven reaches its exact mid-point in its revolution, when the fire of heaven is at its greatest intensity and the celestial mill seems to pause, as it were, momentarily before continuing on its course. What more propitious time for celebrations in honour of Vesta than when the City's sacred fire and the fire of heaven are both blazing their brightest, or indeed for stopping the City's mills out of a reverent and homeopathic concern for this one of the two most momentous periods in the revolution of the Mill of Heaven.

It has thus been suggested that the presence of asses at the Vestalia was due to their being sacred to the goddess, possibly because of their proverbial fear of water, a quality which would render them most attractive to the deity of fire; and that the City's mills were stopped on that day because of (a) the connotation of sexual intercourse which accrues to the idea of grinding (most inappropriate for a virgin goddess) and (b) the approach of the Heavenly Mill to the mid-point of its yearly round and the period when the fire of heaven reached its greatest intensity

(i.e., the summer solstice). With the passage of time the original significance of the festival was forgotten and it was only natural that the City's millers, with their mills stopped and work-animals appropriated for the feast, should turn the day into a sort of celebration of their own guild, garlanding their little donkeys with loaves and leading them in processions. Propertius, however, anxious to discover the original rites connected with the feast, accurately portrays it without millers and loaves and the costly celebration which characterized it in his own day.

1.8 The Compitalia

At line 23 Propertius seems to be describing a rustic ceremony as it was in illo tempore during the Compitalia, a feast in honour of the Lares Compitales.¹¹³ These were the divinities of the compitum, i.e., the place where several roads met to form a crossroad, usually in open country (Varro, de l.l. 6,25: "competum ubi viae competunt"). A compitum could also be the meeting-point of two or more adjoining field boundaries (limites), so that one could conceive of the worship of the Lares occurring at the junction point of several farmers' fields. Cicero (de leg. 2,19 cf. 27) places the Larum sedes in the country (in agris) and says that their

¹¹³Cf. Rothstein 2, 196: "Eine bestimmte Einzelfeier braucht Properz hier nicht im Auge zu haben; doch erinnern die parva compita an das Fest der Compitalia."

worship originated "in fundo villaeque in conspectu." At these rural compita then stood the chapels of the Lares, sometimes also called compita,¹¹⁴ at which gathered the country people once a year for a rural community festival, called Compitalia or Laralia,¹¹⁵ which included the familia, i.e., the domestic slaves, who were granted on this day rights similar to those obtained on the Saturnalia, plus an extra ration of wine.¹¹⁶ It was a moveable feast (feriae conceptivae)¹¹⁷ which usually fell shortly after the Saturnalia, celebrated on the 17th of December. We are told by Gellius (10,24,3; cf. Dion. Hal. 4,14,4) that the date each year for its celebration was announced by the Praetor; the calendars of the fourth century A.D. fixed it from the 3rd to the 5th of January (CIL I², p. 305 f.).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴Schol. Pers. 4,28: "Compita sunt loca in quad-riviis quasi turres, ubi sacrificia finita agricultura rustici celebrabant; merito pertusa, quia per omnes quattuor partes pateant."

¹¹⁵Fest., p. 298 L.: "popularia sacra sunt, ut ait Labeo, quae omnes cives faciunt, nec certis familiis adtributa sunt: Fornacalia, Parilia, Laralia, porca praecedania."

¹¹⁶Cato, de agric. 57: "hoc amplius Saturnalibus et Compitalibus in singulos homines congios (vini) 111 S"; cf. Dion. Hal. 4,14,3 and see Wissowa, RuK², 168; for the Saturnalia cf. RuK², 205 ff.

¹¹⁷Varro, de l.l. 6,25,29; Paul., p. 55 L.; Macr. S. 1,16,6; Auson. de fer. 17 f.; cf. Wissowa RuK², 168 and W.F. Otto, "Römische Sagen", WSt 35 (1912), 66.

¹¹⁸Originally, however, the annual fixing of the feast must have depended upon the state of completion of the field work; Gellius is surely speaking of the announcement

According to Tibullus (1,1,20) the Lares worshipped at the compita were "agri custodes" and it could be that originally the Lares Compitales were conceived of as local divinities ("Ortsgottheiten," cf. RuK², 169) who were bound to a fixed place, i.e., the compita,¹¹⁹ just as the Lares Volusiani (CIL VI, 10266 f.) seem to belong to a fixed territory.¹²⁰ From this concept of the Lares being attached to fixed abodes seems to have developed the idea of the Lares of individual homes (CIL III, 4160, "Lares domestici").¹²¹ Finally, not only compita but all roads, streets and pathways in general fall under their protection and travellers setting out on a journey commend themselves to the protection of the Lares viales.¹²²

of the feast for the urbani, not describing the procedure for the rustici.

¹¹⁹ So too Bömer, Fasten 2, 301; for a contrary view cf. Latte, RRG², 91: "die Laren wirklich zunächst die guten Geister des Anwesens waren"; Dumézil dismisses the whole question of origin (RRA, 335): "Sans doute ne faut-il pas chercher, comme l'a fait encore Wissowa, quelle espèce de Lare est primitive: dans la religion publique ou privée, il y a un Lare ou des Lares . . . sur toute partie de terrain dont l'homme, ou un groupe d'hommes, ou la société dans son ensemble, fait un emploi durable, régulier, ou seulement important."

¹²⁰ In this connection one might also mention the Lares hostilii listed by Paul., p. 90 L.: "hostiliis Laribus immolabant, quod ab his hostes arceri putabant."

¹²¹ Cf. Enn. ann. 620: "vosque Lares, tectum nostrum qui funditus curant."

¹²² CIL XI, 3079 (Falerii): "laribus compitalibus, vialibus, semitalibus"; Verg. Catal. 8,20: "semitales dei"; Plaut. Merc. 865: "Lares viales."

That the worship of the Lares is ancient is indisputable, since they appear already in the Arval Hymn,¹²³ and it was under this rural aspect that their worship was most popular and survived the longest. Indeed, so much so, that it was to the cult of the Lares Compitales that Augustus turned as part of his programme to revive the ancient religious spirit of his people.¹²⁴ Propertius, in thus portraying the original worship of the Lares as being that of the Compitales, seems like Tibullus (1,1,19 f.), Horace (c. 4,5, 33 f.) and Ovid (fast. 5,140) alike, to be following the intentions of the Princeps.

It is known from Propertius here and from other sources (e.g., Plaut. Rud. 1208; Tib. 1,10,26; Hor. c. 3,23, 4; sat. 2,3,165) that a pig was most generally offered to the Lares and to their mother and that in such instances the offering of a pig constituted a piaculum (cf. Wissowa, RuK², 411); but in atonement for what transgression of the ius divinum? On the eve of the feast of the Compitalia we are told that the custom was to hang effigies viriles et muliebres ex lana (Paul. Fest. p. 273, 7 L.) as well as woolen balls (pilae) on the compita; following Macrobius (S. 1,7,

¹²³CIL VI, 2104: "enos Lases iuvate" and see A. Ernout, Recueil de Textes Latins archaïques², Paris, 1957 (1916), 107 f.

¹²⁴Suet. Aug. 30; 31; cf. Wissowa, RuK², 172 f. and Bömer, Fasten 2, 301 f.

35), these effigies were set up in place of an ancient human sacrifice Maniae deae, matri Larum. According to Paulus-Festus (p. 273, 10 L.) there were tot pilae, quot capita servorum tot effigies, quot essent liberi. In view of this, it would appear that the custom represents a piaculum in atonement for the ritual flaw involved in the abandonment of an ancient rite of human sacrifice, a tradition which no one has any serious reason to oppose (cf. Radke, p. 169). These considerations, when compared with my remarks above (pp: 52 f.) concerning the ashes of unborn calves at the Fordicidia and their ritual connection with the Parilia, together with my chapter below (pp. 71 ff.) on the piaculum, hopefully provide some new insights into the nature of the Roman piaculum as well as bring to light a curious phenomenon: the obligatory defect which, though obligatory, nonetheless has to be atoned for, i.e., the unborn calf must be killed within its mother's womb; human sacrifices must be renounced; yet both the performance of the one and the renunciation of the other must be atoned for. Both are defects which one must (ex)piare.

1.8.1 Lustratio

Apart from his conception of Lares-worship as stemming originally from the cult of the Lares Compitales, there is one other thing mentioned by Propertius in this connection which is uniquely worthy of note, and that is his statement

that the feast of the Compitalia was a lustratio ("lustrabant"). This is the only evidence we have that such was indeed the case. Since there is obviously no question here of the large communal lustration of the Roman people which

took place in the Field of Mars,¹²⁵ it is to the smaller, less extensive forms of lustration that one must go in an attempt to verify Propertius' statement: to the lustratio agri, carried out privately by a farmer on his land, or to the lustratio pagi, a somewhat larger ceremony involving the magistri pagorum and quite often various members of a local community.

The basic meaning of a lustratio is "to encircle by walking around," i.e., to describe a prophylactic magico-religious circle by circumambulation.¹²⁶ The process of lustration, as originally practiced, seems to have involved two basic tendencies and there is no easy means of separating these. What is meant is that the magic circle was drawn either to protect those who stood within it or to defend them from what was without, or indeed both.¹²⁷ One then

¹²⁵Cf. Varro, de r.r. 2,1,10 and see Wissowa, RuK², 414 f.

¹²⁶Serv. ad Aen. 6,229: "lustratio a circumlacione dicta est"; Nonius, p. 399 (Lind): "circumferre est proprie lustrare"; p. 528: "lustrare est circumire," and cf. Cic. de nat. deor. 2,53: "eaeque [= stella Martis] . . . eundem lustrat orbem," where lustrare = circumire; Lucr. 6,79; Verg. Aen. 3,385; 9,57; 10,224. For the use of the magic circle in Etrusco-Roman ritual, cf. Kerényi, Humanistische Seelenforsch., Darmstadt, 1966, 162-65; among non-technological peoples, A.E. Jensen, Mythos u. Kult bei Naturvölkern. Religionswissensch. Betrachtungen² (Stud. z. Kulturkunde, 10), Wiesbaden, 1960 (1951), 77; its psychological symbolism, C.J. Jung, Aion. Untersuchungen z. Symbolgesch. (Psychologische Abhandlungen, 8), Zürich, 1951, 282 ff.

¹²⁷Cf. Boehm, art. "Lustratio" in RE 13, 2031.

must further determine whether the magic is being invoked upon the subject doing the encircling or the object being encircled, i.e., whether the purpose of the circle is apotropaic or cathartic, and there seems to be no clear means of distinguishing between any or all of these tendencies involved in the lustratio.¹²⁸ The basic purpose of the lustratio, however, is clear: the construction of a magic circle through which no evil can enter; it now remains to consider the two most common means in private Roman ritual of effecting that purpose.

1.8.1.1 Lustratio Agri

Cato is our chief source for the ritual involved in the lustration of the ager:¹²⁹ according to him, the ceremony consisted of (a) a procession of sacrificial animals (piglet, lamb, calf = suovetaurilia lactentia) around the area in question, (b) a prefatory offering (= praefatio sacrorum, cf. Wissowa, RuK², 412) of wine and sacrificial cakes (ferctum and strues, cf. Fest., p. 75 L.) for Ianus and Iuppiter, (c) invocation of Mars pater for the protection of the paterfamilias, his home, property and his

¹²⁸A good example of the commingling of these tendencies is provided by Tib. 2,1,15 f.: "di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes. Vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus."

¹²⁹de agric. 141; cf. Boehm, a.c., 2032 and Dumézil, RRA, 232 ff.

familia (de agric. 141,1: "Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae") against "ills visible and invisible" (= morbos visos invisosque"), and finally there follows (d) the sacrifice of the victims.

1.8.1.2 Lustratio Pagi

This is similar to the preceding, but instead of involving private land, the lustratio pagi concerns the lustration of individual districts or cantons, and apart from its ritual meaning it serves as a religious delineation of the boundaries of a pagus. The old rural calendars (CIL I², p. 280 f.) and notices such as the Menologia rustica (CIL VI, 2305, 2306) stipulate that the segetes lustrantur in May; on May 11 the lustratio pagi occurred in Talentinum (CIL IX, 5565) and on the 5th of June in Beneventum (CIL IX, 1618). Both Tibullus (2,1) and Vergil (georg. 1,338 ff.) provide us with poetic descriptions of such district lustration rituals. The chief change from the description given by Cato which is to be remarked is the substitution of Ceres (and Bacchus) for Mars, possibly, if we follow Wissowa,¹³⁰ due to the learned Hellenism of these two Augustan poets just mentioned. The main section of the ritual, i.e., the leading around of the sacrificial animal(s) in procession, is expressly mentioned

¹³⁰RuK², 143.

by Vergil (line 345: "terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges"); a similar occurrence can be inferred from the opening words of Tibullus ("fruges lustramus et agros") and his further description of a procession (lines 13 ff.). As described by these two writers, the whole ceremony appears to have involved a lot of rustic merrymaking and celebration, resembling nothing so much as a sort of ancient Labour Day, with time off from work, garlanded cattle, a procession of white-clad and olive-crowned domestics, bonfires, the erection of huts out of leafy boughs, picnics under the trees and dancing. Also noteworthy is Vergil's mention of a prefatory offering of milk, honey and wine, which some have seen as having an apotropaic-cathartic significance.¹³¹ As for the sacrifice itself, Vergil mentions only a hostia, while Tibullus speaks of an agnus. Mention must here be made of Ovid's description of the very similar feriae Sementivae (fast. 1,655 ff.) which took place in January. Ovid's outline, though likely influenced greatly by Tibullus' above-mentioned text,¹³² describes what is very likely a lustratio pagi in which there was a celebration involving the canton and a procession around the fields (line 669: "pagus agat festum, pagum lustrate coloni").¹³³ Ovid here

¹³¹Cf. Boehm, a.c., 2033.

¹³²See Bömer, Fasten 2, 74 and Boehn, a.c., 2033.

¹³³Bömer, l.c., compares it to the Paganalia

mentions the sacrifice of a victim (line 672) but does not name it.

It will be noticed that in none of these celebrations is there any mention of the sacrifice of a porcus alone, the offering which Propertius specifically mentions was made in the early days at the lustration of the compita. Where mentioned (e.g., by Cato and Tibullus) the offerings consisted of a suovetaurilia lactentia or an agnus. However, the offering of a pig alone is specified by Cato (de agric. 141,4) as an atonement in case favourable omens were not obtained during the lustratio agri: "Mars pater, quod tibi illoc porco neque satisfactum est, te hoc porco piaculo." It seems then that a ceremony involving the sacrifice of a pig alone was prescribed, and this ceremony was called a piaculum.¹³⁴

1.8.2 Piaculum

Both in aim and in ceremony the piaculum and the lustratio were very similar, but there was one basic difference: while, apart from the magical significance of the circle, the lustration was in essence a prayer for or against something, the piaculum was an offering made in atonement for

(mentioned by Varro, de l.l. 6,26 as paganicae feriae and by Macr. S. 1,16,6 as Paganalia, listing it as a feria conceptiva) and suggests that it corresponded to the urban lustratio vici.

¹³⁴See W. Ehlers, art. "Piaculum" in RE 20, 1179 ff.; RuK², 392 f.; RRA, 47 f.

some fault consciously or unconsciously committed against the gods; a piaculum becomes necessary when the pietas of a man towards the gods is violated through "eine Unterlassung oder einen Verstoss gegen die Sätze des ius sacrum" (RuK², 392).¹³⁵

The oldest surviving literary examples of the word seem to yield the meaning 'to purify' or 'to atone for', with man as the object of the expiation,¹³⁶ and this sense of piaculum = pacem deum petere, exposcere is retained by Livy in passages dealing specifically with the ius sacrum.¹³⁷ The usual animal for sacrifice was the pig,¹³⁸ but in certain cases involving a specific god the animal was also specified, so that Juppiter received an ox (Macr. S. 1,16,10), Mars the

¹³⁵See too Ehlers, a.c., 1181, and cf. Serv. ad. Aen. 4,644: "et sciendum, si quid caerimoniis non fuerit observatum, piaculum admitti."

¹³⁶Cf. Plaut. Men. 291; 517; Most. 465. Macrobius (S. 1,16,10) also uses the word in its original sense when he says that "qui talibus diebus [= diebus feriis] imprudens aliquid egisset porco piaculum dare debere"; the similarity of the phrasing to that of Cato would indicate a set religious formula. A strikingly similar formula (for presumably similar intentions) is found outside of Latium in the Tab. Iguv. VIa 25 ff.: "di grabovie pihatu ocrer fisier totar iouinar nome nerf arsmo veiro pequo castruo fri pihatu. futu fos pacer pase tua ocre fisi tote iiouine" (= "Di Grabovie piato arcis Fisiae, civitatis Iguvinae nomen, principes ritus, viros pecua fundos fruges piato. Esto favens propitius pace tua arcis Fisiae civitati Iguvinae"); cf. with this Cato's formula, de agric. 139.

¹³⁷Livy, 1,31,7; 3,5,14; 42,2,3.

¹³⁸Cato, de agric. 139; Cic. de leg. 2,57; Act. Arv. passim; Macr. S. 1,16,10; see too Ehlers, a.c., 1184.

suovetaurilia (Livy 8,10,14), the Manes a black sheep (CIL X, 8259) and so on.

In the time of the Augustan poets the original sense of the word, '(ex)piare', is altered to mean something approaching 'to venerate' or 'to worship' the gods.¹³⁹ This shift in meaning from 'to atone for' to something akin to 'to worship' seems to correspond with a similar development with the meaning of lustratio. In Augustan times the meaning 'to encircle' receded and the word took on the further meaning of purgare or piare.¹⁴⁰

It would then seem that we have before us the interesting situation in which the word lustrare gradually lost the meaning 'to encircle' and came to mean something closely related to the original meaning of piare, while (ex)piare itself went on to denote the meaning 'to worship', 'to venerate ritually'. If we are thus faced with a seeming confusion, in Augustan times, between the meanings of lustrare and piare, could that argue for a corresponding confusion between the two words by Propertius? Might what he describes as a lustrum be in reality a piaculum? Certainly the piaculum is the one rite generally specifying the

¹³⁹Hor. epist. 2,1,143: "Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabunt"; Ovid, ars amat. 1,649; fast. 1,318; Prop. 4,7,34. Cf. Ehlers, a.c. 1180.

¹⁴⁰Ovid, fast. 2,32: "omne solum lustrant idque piamen habent"; cf. Boehm, a.c., 2031.

sacrifice of a pig, and some of our sources mention it being made to the Lares.¹⁴¹ It will be noticed that each of the five lines of verse from lines 20-24 terminate with the name of an animal, e.g., horse, ass, cattle, pigs, sheep. These may be considered the animals most common to early Rome, indeed to the Rome of the poet's day as well, while the three last-named animals, 'boves', 'porci', 'oves', are the three most commonly used animals for sacrifice, i.e., the three kinds of pecora, and constitute, significantly enough, the elements of the great sacrifice of the suovetaurilia, offered to Mars at the procession round the fields during the Ambarvalia and the lustrum. Might Propertius thus be suggesting, by

¹⁴¹Varro, de r.r. 2,4,9-10 mentions that among the Greeks and Latins the pig was the most commonly sacrificed domesticated animal. For a pig being sacrificed to the Lares and to their mother, cf. above, p. 66 and cf. the piaculum to the mater Larum offered by the fratres Arvales (Henzen, Acta fr. Arv., 145). With all of this, cf. my remarks above on pp. 52 f. (the piaculum of the Vestals at the Parilia) and 66 (the piaculum of effigies and pilae on the eve of the Compitalia).

surrounding the humble pig offered at the compita with its two companions, the cow and the sheep, that out of such humble beginnings grew the great and impressive public rite of the suovetaurilia? I offer this not as a statement of fact but merely suggest that the possibility is there, keeping in mind the poet's well-known visual method of composition¹⁴² and his tendency toward suggestion rather than statement.¹⁴³ It is quite in keeping with the poet's techniques at any rate to suggest the development of the suovetaurilia from such early peasant offerings by giving the reader a visual image of it rather than by making an outright statement. Further, it is most probable that such was indeed the origin of the sacrifice of the suovetaurilia;

¹⁴²Cf. J.P. Boucher, Etudes sur Properce. Problèmes d'Inspiration et d'Art, Paris, 1965, 63: "L'importance de tous ces éléments visuels dans la sensibilité et le style du poète entraîne une réflexion sur le problème de la composition des élégies. Les images n'ont pas l'enchaînement logique des idées: elles disposent d'une certaine autonomie par rapport à celles-ci et possèdent des liens avec d'autres images, et ainsi une puissance d'évocation qui a plus de lien avec la sensibilité qu'avec la logique."

¹⁴³See G. Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford, 1968, p. 768: "words are used with such freedom or imprecision that they are liberated from the tyranny of a context which demands a single sense on a single occasion They suggest more than they ever precisely express"; also Tränkle, Sprachkunst d. Prop., 96: "Dazu kommt die Neigung, bei der Schilderung eines Geschehens eine möglichst grosse Anzahl von Nebenvorstellungen durch knappe Andeutung in der Phantasie des Lesers zu wecken und das Ereignis in der ganzen Fülle der verschiedenartigen Eindrücke aufstehen zu lassen."

at least Varro claimed that it originated from the fact that the early Romans were of shepherd stock¹⁴⁴ and such animals (i.e., all forms of pecora) were best known and easiest at hand; which explanation, if the conjecture I have made is acceptable, is precisely that offered by Propertius.

1.9 Venus Erycina

vexit et ipsa sui Caesaris arma Venus,
arma resurgentis portans victricia Troiae
(46 f.).

This distich has provoked varied comment. Shackleton Bailey,¹⁴⁵ for instance, says that "It is hard to see in what sense Venus carried the arms of the Dictator or of Augustus The usual view that they, together with Decius' courage and Brutus' axes, are conveyed in the fleet which bears Aeneas to Italy, is implausible in itself and does not satisfactorily account for vexit and portans." Grassmann-Fischer,¹⁴⁶ on the other hand, sees in the Venus here mentioned the figure of Victrix who "die Idee des Sieges verkörpert." Now the former view is altogether too literal while the latter confuses the divine mother of the Aeneadae with the mystique of victory and politico-religious

¹⁴⁴de r.r. 2,1,9-10.

¹⁴⁵o.c., 218.

¹⁴⁶Prodigia in Vergils Aeneis (Stud. et Test. antiqua 3), Munich, 1966, 37.

propaganda with which Sulla and Pompey surrounded the goddess in the first century B.C.¹⁴⁷ For it must not be forgotten that Propertius is here referring to Aeneas as he sets out from burning Troy with his father on his back and carrying his household gods (43 f.). There is no question here of Venus literally carrying the arms of Caesar; what is meant is that the goddess, in bestowing her divine protection upon Aeneas and his band, is guiding the seeds of what will in time be the future greatness of Rome. This is what the poet means by the lines which follow (49-52); out of her heroic son shall spring the race which will eventually father the Decii, the Bruti, even great Caesar himself. But then how did the mother of the Aeneadae, the μήτηρ θηρῶν who made love to Anchises the βοῦτης on Mount Ida¹⁴⁸ and whose cult is found later on Mount Eryx,¹⁴⁹ guide Aeneas on his

¹⁴⁷Sulla dreamt that Venus promised him her aid (Plut. Sull. 9,6), in response to which he sent to the goddess a golden crown and axe with the following dedication: Τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη. ὡς εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσας τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον, and then proceeded to found the cult of Venus Felix, cf. Schilling, La Religion romaine de Vénus depuis les Origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste, Paris, 1954, 272 ff.; this precedent found notable imitators: Lucullus (Plut. Luc. 12,2-4), Pompey with his new cult of Venus Victrix (Schilling, o.c., 299), and Caesar with Venus Genetrix (RuK², 292).

¹⁴⁸Hom. h. Aphrodite (5), 53-55; 68 ff.; cf. Appendix, p. 462.

¹⁴⁹Malten, "Aineias", a.c., 46: "Die Göttin am Eryx war also dieselbe wie die Stammutter der Aineiaden, Aphrodite Aineias, d.h. die mater Idaea, eine Spielform der grossen kleinasiatischen Mutter."

way to Latium? According to a legend which is surely older than Varro who recorded it,¹⁵⁰ this will have been accomplished in much the same way as the Lord guided the Israelites out of Egypt and through Sinai:¹⁵¹ in the form of a star.¹⁵² Venus is the guiding light for Aeneas as he sought his escape from a ruined Troy, matre dea monstrante viam (Aen. 1,382). The star of Venus, which shed its protective light upon the Aeneadae at the very beginning of Rome's adventure with destiny, will again in the future signal the apotheosis of Aeneas' greatest ancestor. The star which here guides Aeneas is a prefiguration of the Idalio . . . astro of 4,6,59 where, at a critical moment in the City's history, she again manifests herself to rally the forces of her descendants and grant them victory. Similarly, at another fateful moment for Rome during the second Punic War, it was this same Venus who was called upon as Erycina, the divine

¹⁵⁰Cf. Serv. ad Aen. 1,382; cf. below, Chapter 5, 219 f.

¹⁵¹Exod. 13,21: "Dominus autem praecedebat eos ad ostendendam viam per diem in columna nubis et per noctem in columna ignis."

¹⁵²Cf. the Bk. of Wisdom, 10,17:
 et deduxit illos in via mirabili
 et fuit illis in velamento diei et in luce stellarum per
 noctem;
 et transtulit illos per mare Rubrum
 et transvexit illos per aquam nimiam.
 It is interesting to note that the light which guides the Israelites by night is here attributed to a star and that the word -vehere is used by Jerome in almost the same way in which Propertius uses it at line 46.

mother of the Roman People, to assist the City and reverse disaster.¹⁵³ Vergil is quite careful to stress the close connection between the Venus of Mt. Eryx and Aeneas, even going so far as to make Aeneas the founder of the cult and a heroon for his father Anchises.¹⁵⁴

The city of Eryx, lying along the flank of the mountain in west Sicily, was one of the cities founded by the mysterious Elymoi, a people who thought of themselves as the descendents of Trojan colonizers.¹⁵⁵ Their political capital was Segesta. Thucydides (6,2,3) lists Segesta and Eryx together as two cities founded by the Elymoi and Cicero (Verr. 4,72) states that "Segesta est oppidum pervetus in Sicilia, iudices, quod ab Aenea fugiente a Troia atque in

¹⁵³In 217 B.C. Fabius Cunctator began construction of a temple to the Venus of Mt. Eryx to atone for neglegentia and repair the reversals suffered at the hands of Hannibal; cf. Livy 22,9,8 ff. and see the Appendix, 460 ff. In A.D. 20 the young L. Apronius Caesianus, the future consul of 39, gave thanks to Venus Erycina for a victory over the Numidians (cf. Tac. ann. 3,21,5), invoking the goddess as Aeneadum alma parens (CIL X, 7257).

¹⁵⁴Aen. 5,759 ff.; cf. Serv. ad. Aen. 1,570; Dion. Hal. 1,53; Fest. p. 458 L.; Hyg. fab. 260. The cult was otherwise founded by Eryx, a son of Aphrodite and Butes the Argonaut (Diod. Sic. 4,83,1; cf. Aphrodite and Anchises, the βοῦρην of Mt. Ida, above p. 77 and see Bérard, La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité (Biblio. des Ecoles fran. d'Athènes et de Rome, 150), Paris, 1941, 409 for further references) or by the daughters of the Trojan Phaenodamus (Lycoph. 951-70).

¹⁵⁵They were the "rätselhafter Völkerspitter" according to H. Nissen, Ital. Landeskunde 1, Amsterdam, 1967 (Berlin, 1883-1902), 469; cf. Schulze, ZGLE, 596 and Bérard, o.c., 370 f.

haec loca veniente conditum esse demonstrant."¹⁵⁶ It was due to their common descent from Aeneas that Rome, who in the third century B.C. was in the infancy of her imperialistic career, first came into contact with western Sicily. In 263, the second year of the first Punic War, Segesta, which was in charge of the temple of Aphrodite on Mt. Eryx, took the side of Rome after having put to death the Carthaginian garrison.¹⁵⁷ Afterward, strong ties of friendship and common heritage linked the two cities;¹⁵⁸ when the Segestani asked Tiberius to repair the temple of Erycina, which by that time was "vetustate dilapsam" (Tac. ann. 4,43), the Emperor willingly accepted because he and the goddess were consanguinei, alluding thereby to the Trojan traditions which had introduced Venus Erycina to Rome.

Eryx, as cult-centre for the mother of the Roman People, received very special attention. Aeneas had landed at Mt. Eryx, the final stop before Latium, and had placed offerings there in honour of his mother.¹⁵⁹ In recognition of these close ties Roman magistrates, each time they

¹⁵⁶Cf. Tac. ann. 4,43,6 and Suet. Claud. 25,5; Aeneas himself had a temple in Segesta, cf. Dion. Hal. 1,53.

¹⁵⁷Diod. Sic. 23,5.

¹⁵⁸Cic. Verr. 4,72: "Itaque Segestani non solum perpetua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam cognatione se cum populo Romano coniunctos esse arbitrantur."

¹⁵⁹Diod. Sic. 4,83,4.

arrived on the island, remembered to honour the goddess of Mt. Eryx with sacrifices and solemn rites, though as Diodorus mischievously adds, in order to please the goddess they forgot for a moment the dignity of their office to amuse themselves in the company of certain women.¹⁶⁰

Venus Erycina, divine mother of the Aeneadae, was thus accorded special favour at Rome because of the protection which she had granted the City from the beginning. This feeling of affection and loyalty was something uniquely Roman and is best expressed by Diodorus (4,83,5): Τὸ γὰρ γένος εἰς ταίτην ἀναπέμποντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπιτυχεῖς ὄντες, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς αὐξήσεως ἡμεῖβοντο ταῖς προσηκούσαις χάρισι καὶ τιμαῖς. It was, simply stated, the relationship which exists between a mother and her children for, as Tacitus said, the Romans and Venus Erycina were consanguinei. This then was the goddess who, in the form of a star, guided Aeneas and the seeds of future greatness to Latium and the unfolding of a glorious history, who again and again at critical moments in that history returned to bestow her favour, and who granted astral immortality to the greatest of Aeneas' descendants as a symbol of her abiding grace and a promise that under her protection the new Troy, Troica Roma, will everlastingly prevail.

¹⁶⁰4,83,6: πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς ἂν ἰδίᾳς μητρὸς ὑπαρχόν, ἐκόσμησε.

1.10 The Sibyl of Avernus

si modo Avernalis tremulae cortina Sibyllae
 dixit Aventino rura pianda Remo,
 aut si Pergameae sero rata carmine vatis
 longaevum ad Priami vera fuere caput
 (49 ff.).

It is difficult to know exactly what the poet is referring to in the first two lines. It appears to concern a prophecy made to Aeneas after he had reached Italy which had a bearing on the future site of Rome and the slaying of Remus by Romulus, while the word 'pianda' in line 50 would indicate a piaculum of some sort. Mention is specifically made of the Sibyl of Lake Avernus and it will be remembered that it was there that the Sibyl, in company with Aeneas, performed the νεκυομαντεῖα preparatory to conducting him to the Underworld.¹⁶¹ Significantly, a piaculum was connected with Aeneas' visit to the Sibyl of Avernus.¹⁶²

There is a very deep symbolism connected with any western land that represents a journey's end, and so it is with Cumae, Avernus and environs in connection with Aeneas. Avernus represents the western land of death and rebirth which is now reached, the final goal at whose attainment the old is stripped away and a new order begins. So it is with Avernus. Here was reputed to be the entrance to the

¹⁶¹Aen. 6,239.

¹⁶²Aen. 6,153: "duc nigras pecudes, ea prima piacula sunt"; cf. Od. 10,517 ff.

Underworld;¹⁶³ in the cave on the shore of Avernus there was an ancient oracle of the dead.¹⁶⁴ This is doubtless not the cave which one can see today. In 1967 I visited the site of L. Avernus, a circular volcanic lake about 3 kms in diameter. On the west shore of the lake there is the so-called 'grotta della Sibilla', a tunnel approximately 200 m in length, 3.70-3.80 m in width and 4 m high carved into the hill which separates L. Avernus from the Lucrine Lake. In all probability this tunnel was a passageway constructed during the military and naval operations conducted by Agrippa in order to link the two lakes,¹⁶⁵ but the immemorial associations of the lake with the Sibyl and with the Underworld are reflected in this pseudo-cave 'della Sibilla'.

The association of the Sibyl of Avernus with death and the Underworld is further heightened by the existence of a nearby grove to the Mighty Maid (= Core Obrimo): χωστᾶς Ὀβριμοῦς τ' ἄλσος οὐδαίας Κόρης;¹⁶⁶ the presence of Core in the area recalls the trilogy of Core, Demeter and Hecate, and it will be remembered that Vergil connects his Cumaean

¹⁶³"ianua Ditis," Aen. 6,127; "Ditis tamen ante / infernas accede domos," Aen. 5,731 f.; "deorum tristium atque infernum ianua," Varro in Macr. S. 1,16,18; "ianua Leti," Lucr. 1,112; "ianua Orci," Lucr. 6,762.

¹⁶⁴Strab. 5,244; Timaios in Antigonos hist. mir. 152: συνδεύδρων τόπων ἐπικειμένων αὐτῇ (= τῇ Ἀορνίτιδι).

¹⁶⁵See Verg. georg. 2,164; Cass. Dio 48,50.

¹⁶⁶Lycoph. 697; cf. Strab. 5,245 and Od. 10,509.

Sibyl most closely with Hecate;¹⁶⁷ further, it is to Persephone that Aeneas bears the golden bough.¹⁶⁸ The funereal atmosphere of the area is illustrated through the fact that the lake was enclosed by cypress trees,¹⁶⁹ which for the ancients were a symbol of death.¹⁷⁰ But the Sibyl too is connected with cypress trees. Lycophron at line 1278 calls the Cumaean Sibyl παρθένος and Pausanias (8,24,7) tells of the shrine of Alcmaeon in Psophis, about which grow huge cypresses. These the inhabitants, who will not cut them down, call παρθένοι. A further connection between cypresses and the Underworld is evidenced from the sanctuary of Eurynome above Phigalia in Arcadia which is ringed with cypresses (Paus. 8,41,4); now Pausanias alone preserves the name of a certain Eurynomos whom he says the guides at Delphi explained as a demon of Hades who devoured the flesh of the dead, leaving only the bones.¹⁷¹ Eurynome was reputed by some to

¹⁶⁷Aen. 6,13: "iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta"; 6,247: "voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem"; 6,35: "Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos"; and see Norden, *Aeneis*³, o.c., 118.

¹⁶⁸Aen. 6,142 f.: "hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus / instituit."

¹⁶⁹Peter, art. "Avernus" in *Myth. Lex.* 1,1 739, 36 f.

¹⁷⁰Serv. ad Aen. 2,714; Plin. n.h. 16,60; Fest. p. 56 L. s.v. 'cypressi'; cf. Mannhardt, *WuFk*² 2, 124: "die Cypresse den Alten nach ein Symbol der Trauer war und vor dem Sterbehause aufgepflanzt wurde."

¹⁷¹Paus. 10,28,7: δαίμονα εἶναι τῶν ἐν "Αἰδου φασὶν οἱ Δελφῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν Εὐρύνομον, καὶ ὡς τὰς σάρκας περιεσθίει τῶν νεκρῶν, μὲν σφίσι ἀπολείπων τὰ ὅσα.

be the mother of the Erinyes,¹⁷² while the disciples of Orpheus claimed that the parents of the Erinyes were Hades and Persephone (Orph. Hymn. 69,8; 70,2). This has interesting, if somewhat tenuous, connections with Avernus, as can be seen first of all through the above-mentioned grove of Persephone, and secondly from the Feriale Capuanum (CIL X, 3792) which lists for July 27: "profectio ad i[n]fer[ias] Avernī, obviously in connection with some Underworld rites. At just about this time in Rome (July 25) occurred the Furrinalia in honour of Furrina, a very ancient deity of some importance (she merited her own flamen) who by Varro's day had practically disappeared in all but name: "Furrinalia a Furrina, quod ei deae feriae publicae dies is; cuius deae honos apud antiquos: nam ei sacra instituta annua et flamen attributus; nunc vix nomen notum paucis" (de l.l. 6,19).¹⁷³ She had a grove opposite the Janiculum called the lucus Furinae which Plutarch (Gracch. 17) says is ἱερὸν ἄλσος Ἐρινύων; similarly, Cicero (de nat. deor. 3,46) identifies Furina with the Eumenides.

We have succeeded so far in fastening the connection of Avernus securely to the concept of a western land of death and rebirth and in tying in the Sibyl as the guide who leads Aeneas through the final stage in his process of psychic

¹⁷²Cf. Kerényi, Gods of the Greeks, tr. N. Cameron, London, 1961 (1951), 47.

¹⁷³Cf. Paul., p. 78,29 L.; CIL I², p. 323.

individuation. This is merely stating that Propertius here is in complete accord with Vergil's presentation. But the idea of the piaculum is more difficult. As stated earlier (p. 71f), Roman ritual demanded a piaculum in those cases where the pietas of man towards the gods has been violated.¹⁷⁴ Yet it is hard to see why a piaculum should be connected with Aeneas' visit to the Sibyl at Avernus which relates so far into the future: in effect, to the slaying of Remus by Romulus. Indeed, I wonder whether the idea of a piaculum might not rather be related to Cassandra, the 'Pergamea vatis' of line 51. She was called a Sibyl (cf. Suid. s.v.) and there was a legend about the burial of Cassandra and her twin sons at Mycenae in connection probably with a wall sanctity.¹⁷⁵ The presence of Cassandra's twin sons here is striking when compared to the legend of Romulus and Remus in connection with the ritual purification of the future walls of Rome. That such a ritual was anciently thought to hallow the undertaking at hand is seen from Lycophron 232 ff. who mentions that the slaughter of Cycnus, together with his two children Tennes and Hemithea, by Achilles was an auspicious omen for the success of the Greeks at Troy. Perhaps what is meant by the reference to a piaculum and Cassandra's prophecy

¹⁷⁴Cf. Livy 4,30,10: "piacula pacis deum exposcendae."

¹⁷⁵Paus. 2,16,6-7.

of the future greatness of Rome¹⁷⁶ is that Rome must cancel in blood the contravention of the pax deorum which was the cause of Troy's downfall. Only when such damage is repaired will Troy, in its guise of Troica Roma, arise from the ashes and live again.

1.11 An Astrological Chart

The astrologer Horos who appears in the second half of Elegy 1 has long been considered a figure of ridicule who prattles meaningless mumbo-jumbo. This unfortunate state of affairs is the result of the ignorance of astrological matters on the part of modern commentators. The poetry of the ancients (and a good deal of the prose) paid considerable attention to astrology, but modern critics who through laziness or prejudice or both are unaware of much of the specialized astrological lore contained in this literature consequently are unable to comment on it and thus confine themselves to discoursing upon the grammatical peculiarities of a given passage. The references to astrology which it contains are all too often overlooked. Our poet too was extremely well-versed in astrological lore,¹⁷⁷ which was

¹⁷⁶Cf. Lycoph. 1226 ff.

¹⁷⁷Cf. Bouché-Leclercq's remarks, L'Astrologie Grecque, o.c., 552,1: "Properce suppose intelligibles pour ses lecteurs des expressions qui étaient de véritables énigmes pour les profanes."

enjoying a period of renascent popularity in his own day.¹⁷⁸

After first introducing himself to the poet (lines 77-80), whom Horos has presumably never met, the astrologer then goes on to utter six supposedly enigmatic lines (lines 81-86) and then proceeds (lines 119-150) to describe the poet's past life as well as utter a prophetic warning for the future. Concerning the astrologer's utterance at lines 81-86, a sampling of opinions should serve to illustrate the general tone taken by commentators on this passage. Butler and Barber (328) state that these lines "present an almost insoluble problem,"¹⁷⁹ while Shackleton Bailey (222) remarks that "Of the problem presented by the rest of the couplet (i.e., 83 f.) no satisfactory solution is available," and Tränkle (169,3) too is of the opinion that "Der Text bereitet hier grosse, unlösbare Schwierigkeiten." Camps (63) is somewhat better and acknowledges that lines 81-86 and 119-150 represent some sort of astrological signature, but only "as a means of conveying some brief personal particulars about himself to posterity, and in particular identifying his birthplace." C. Becker ("Horos Redselig? Zu Properz IV 1," WSt 79 (1966), 450) goes so far as to state that since lines 81-86 are a "Mangel" this proves that Propertius did not edit

¹⁷⁸Heinze, Die Augusteische Kultur³, ed. A. Körte, Darmstadt, 1960 (Stuttgart, 1933), 60 f.

¹⁷⁹Cf. their remarks on lines 107 f. at p. 331: "But Propertius shows no real acquaintance with astrology in this poem"!!

the Book himself, and finally, on the person of the astrologer Horos generally, E. Pasoli¹⁸⁰ talks about "la caricatura che ha preso indubbiamente la mano al poeta nella raffigurazione del carattere dell' astrologo Horos."

Now it would seem that from a methodological viewpoint at least it is absolutely incumbent upon the scholarly researcher to make every attempt to shed his own personal prejudices and bias in an attempt to meet a classical author on his own footing: if astrology plays an important role in the literature under consideration, then the critic must of necessity endeavour to acquaint himself with that discipline. Only thus will he be able to comment intelligently upon the matter before him. Nothing, it seems to me, is gained by stating that the text is an insoluble jumble or that the words of Horos are meant as a caricature of the astrologer-type. If Propertius presents us with an astrologer who talks of signs, planets and ecliptics and who, as a result of his astrological deliberations, not only describes the poet's past but foretells his future, then we as responsible critics must assume that Propertius means astrology to play an important role in the second half of Elegy 1 and make every attempt to understand the text on its own merits. This is

¹⁸⁰S. Properzio. Il Libro Quarto delle Elegie. Saggio Introduttivo Testo e Traduzione (Ediz. e Saggi univ. di filologia classica, 6), Bologna, 1967, 28. I shall have more to say about this general view of Horos as a figure of ridicule in the next section of Chapter 1.

what I shall here attempt to do. I shall in fact invite the reader to assume that the words of the astrologer Horos make good astrological sense and mean something more to the context of the poem than a mere identification of the poet's birthplace. It is surely time that this were done.

For what is to follow, I certainly make no absolute claims; it will surely not be the last word in this matter and the accuracy of some of the details may be in question. But I should like strongly to state that this is the right direction in this case, and if I merely point the way I should feel that I have made a definite contribution to Propertian studies. My thesis then is that in this second half of Elegy 1 the astrologer Horos is casting an astrological chart for Propertius, on the basis of which he is able, as an expert at his craft, to tell the poet of his past. But the horoscope is not only a natal one, it is also a progressed chart, thus enabling Horos to predict correctly the poet's future. Since I am not a professional astrologer and cannot be considered thoroughly acquainted with the art and science of this discipline, I have for the purposes of accuracy and expertise consulted with my good friend and colleague Dr. F. Bliven, whose work on astrology in English Renaissance literature earned him a doctorate from the University of Ottawa¹⁸¹ and who, apart from his scholarly

¹⁸¹F. Bliven, The Occult Tradition in English Renaissance Drama, diss. Ottawa, 1971. It was during a

pursuits, is also a professional astrologer. Of course, I have attempted as much as possible to familiarize myself with classical astrology by reading, not only the ancients themselves, such as Manilius and Firmicus Maternus, but also the works of influential moderns such as Fr. Boll, Fr. Cumont, A. Bouché-Leclercq and W. Gundel. However, sound technical assistance was needed in the preparation and interpretation of a natal horoscope for Propertius based on Horos' words in Elegy 1, and it is for this assistance, freely and promptly given, that I would most sincerely like to thank Dr. Bliven.

1.11.1 The Horoscope

At lines 81-86 the astrologer Horos makes a statement which, I would argue, effectively serves as the description of a natal horoscope for Propertius:

nunc pretium fecere deos et fallitur auro
 Iuppiter, obliquae signa iterata rotae,
 felicesque Iovis stellas Martisque rapaces
 et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput;
 quid moveant Pisces animosaque signa Leonis,
 lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.

[Nowadays people make a profit on the gods
 and, for money, pretend to reveal (the will
 of) Juppiter and the signs of the ecliptic

pleasant two days at Dr. Bliven's cottage on Clear Lake near Theresa, New York that the astrological chart shown at Figure 1 was completed. For her great kindness and hospitality offered to my family and myself during this most delightful period I would most especially like to thank Mrs. Bliven.

traversed by the sun. (But I will tell you of) Juppiter's auspicious star and violent Mars and that of Saturn which influences all of us; how Pisces and the passionate sign of Leo influence you and how too Capricorn, washed in the waters of the West.]

Several things had first to be determined before the astrological signs and planets mentioned by Horos could be fitted into a horoscope valid for Propertius. These included (a) fixing the latitude and longitude of the approximate area of the poet's birth; (b) deciding as closely as possible upon the date and the time of the poet's birth. When this was accomplished an ephemeris had next to be consulted in order to fix the planets mentioned in the positions in which they appeared for the year and the month decided upon in (b). I shall now describe how the horoscope in my Figure 1 was arrived at.

Determining the longitude and latitude of the poet's birthplace was relatively easy. According to information supplied us by the poet himself, he was born in Umbria near the plain lying beneath Perusia (cf. 1,22,3-10), close to Mevania and the lacus UMBER (4,1,124: this lake was in Propertius' day in the valley below Assisi). It would thus seem quite difficult indeed to identify his birthplace with any town other than Assisi, where a number of inscriptions have been found containing the name of the gens.¹⁸² Taking

¹⁸²Cf. CIL XI, 5376, 5389, 5405, 5406, 5516-5522; see Butler and Barber, Intro. xviii f. and cf. 4,1,125; cf. R. Helm, art. "Propertius (2)", RE 23,758.

Assisi then as his place of birth, the corresponding latitude would be 43° N and the longitude 13° E.

Clues for determining the information needed for the season and approximate time of the poet's birth are also provided by Propertius. When Horos proceeds to tell Propertius of his past life, he begins with his birth and says (lines 121 ff.):

Umbria te notis antiqua penatibus edit--
 mentior? an patriae tangitur ora tuae?--
 cum¹⁸³ nebulosa cavo rorat Mevania campo,
 et lacus aestivis intepet Umber aquis.

A note which Butler and Barber received on this passage from a certain H.E. Goad is of vital importance here. The note is as follows (p. 331): "The lake [sc. lacus Umber] probably extended over all the land where the Chiascio, the Topino and the Ose join, between Bastia and Beltona. Bevagna is still misty and rather unhealthy. You can see the mist over that part of the country from Assisi any early morning or afternoon." Now this information is extremely valuable to our efforts at fixing the time of Propertius' birth. I

"scandentisque Asisi [emend. Lachmann] consurgit vertice murus."

¹⁸³Most modern editions give qua in line 123, while the majority of codices have quam. The astrologer, after having first cast the poet's horoscope at lines 81-86, is here attempting to demonstrate his skill and accuracy to an amazed Propertius by pinning down the exact location and time of the poet's birth; consequently he would as much be concerned with 'when' as he would with 'where' and I have accordingly taken the liberty of emending the qua to a cum (qum). This is more easily understood if we recall the practice of writing MSS. in majuscules: it would be a simple matter to confuse an a with an m.

have decided upon early morning (6:00-8:00 a.m.) as the likely time of birth due to my personal experience with mist and fog conditions prevalent near lakes. As a boy I lived on the shores of Lake Huron and I have also lived for a year near Lac Léman in Switzerland; in both cases occurrences of mist over the lakes were most consistently pronounced during the early morning hours and this has influenced my decision with reference to Propertius. From this passage too the time of year becomes abundantly clear: the poet's birth occurred when the summer heat ('aestivis') reduced the swampy Umbrian lake to a stagnant, marshy pool. This would seem to indicate either June or July. We have thus arrived at early morning in the summer as the approximate time and season of the poet's birth.

The next step was to consult a Table of Houses and an ephemeris to determine where the zodiacal Houses and planets could be positioned in a manner consistent with the latitude and longitude of Assisi, the information concerning the time and season of the poet's birth and the words of Horos at lines 81-86. The result is the horoscope shown at Figure 1. The lines on the horoscope represent the cusps of the zodiacal Houses as they appeared between June 8 and July 1 of the year 48 B.C. for latitude 43° N and longitude 13° E. These represent the only possible zodiacal positions for the approximate district of Assisi during the period of June 8-July 1. The date June 24 was arrived at as a representation

of the mean date between the sidereal times of June 8-July 1 which approximate the nearest seasonal period as determined through the words of Horos concerning sign and planet position and the autobiographical information provided by the poet and examined above.¹⁸⁴ There is only a variance of some 5° between the cusps of the Houses for this period, during which time the chart is 90% accurate. The year of Propertius' birth is most problematical; after careful consideration of all biographical information provided by Propertius and others, Butler and Barber (Intro, xx) state that Propertius was probably born between 54 and 48 B.C. I have accordingly chosen 48 for the purpose of this chart since the planets are then alligned on June 24 in a position to make astrological sense of the words of Horos at lines 81-86. I should like finally to stress that the period between 6:00-8:00 a.m. on June 24 in 48 B.C. is by no means a fixed date. There is still much work to be done in this regard. It must, however, be stated that this time and date are quite consistent with the biographical information which we have just examined and serve to explain in a remarkably

¹⁸⁴The time of year in which bodies of water are reduced to swampy stagna is the season of the rising of the Little Dog star, cf. Plin. n.h. 2,107: "nam caniculae exortu accendi solis vapores quis ignorat . . . exoriente eo . . . moventur stagna"; canicula was the star Procyon (ibid., 18, 268) which rose nearly a fortnight before the Dog-star. Consequently I have chosen June 24, the summer solstice (ibid., 18,264) as the date most in keeping with the rising of this star and with other elements within the poem. See further H. Gundel, art. "Prokyon", RE 23, 613 ff.

satisfactory manner the astrological data supplied by the astrologer. I offer then this horoscope and the accompanying interpretation to my readers as a viable working hypothesis in the hope that it will lead to a more complete knowledge of the poet than we presently possess.

1.11.2 The Interpretation

It will be seen that for latitude 43° N and longitude 13° E on the morning of June 24 in 48 B.C. the cusp of the First House (Propertius' ascendant or ortus) falls at 20° Cancer (♋) and the First House itself extends to 11° Leo (♌). After consulting an ephemeris,¹⁸⁵ the positions of the three planets mentioned by Horos (Juppiter, Mars, Saturn) were placed as follows: Juppiter (♃) is at 16° Virgo (♍; Third House), Mars (♂) is at 20° Pisces (♓; Ninth House) and Saturn (♄) is at 27° Libra (♎; Fourth House). What is the significance of this? Horos says that for Propertius Juppiter is auspicious ('felices', line 83); it will be seen from the chart that Juppiter is rising in Virgo and is what astrologers call the lord of the nativity (dominus geniturae); this means that Propertius will desire greatness, be trustworthy, inclined to magnanimity, noble in deed, a lover of order and neatness, delighting in

¹⁸⁵B. Tuckerman, Planetary, Lunar, and Solar Positions 601 B.C. to A.D. 1 at Five-day and Ten-day Intervals, Philadelphia, 1962, 309.

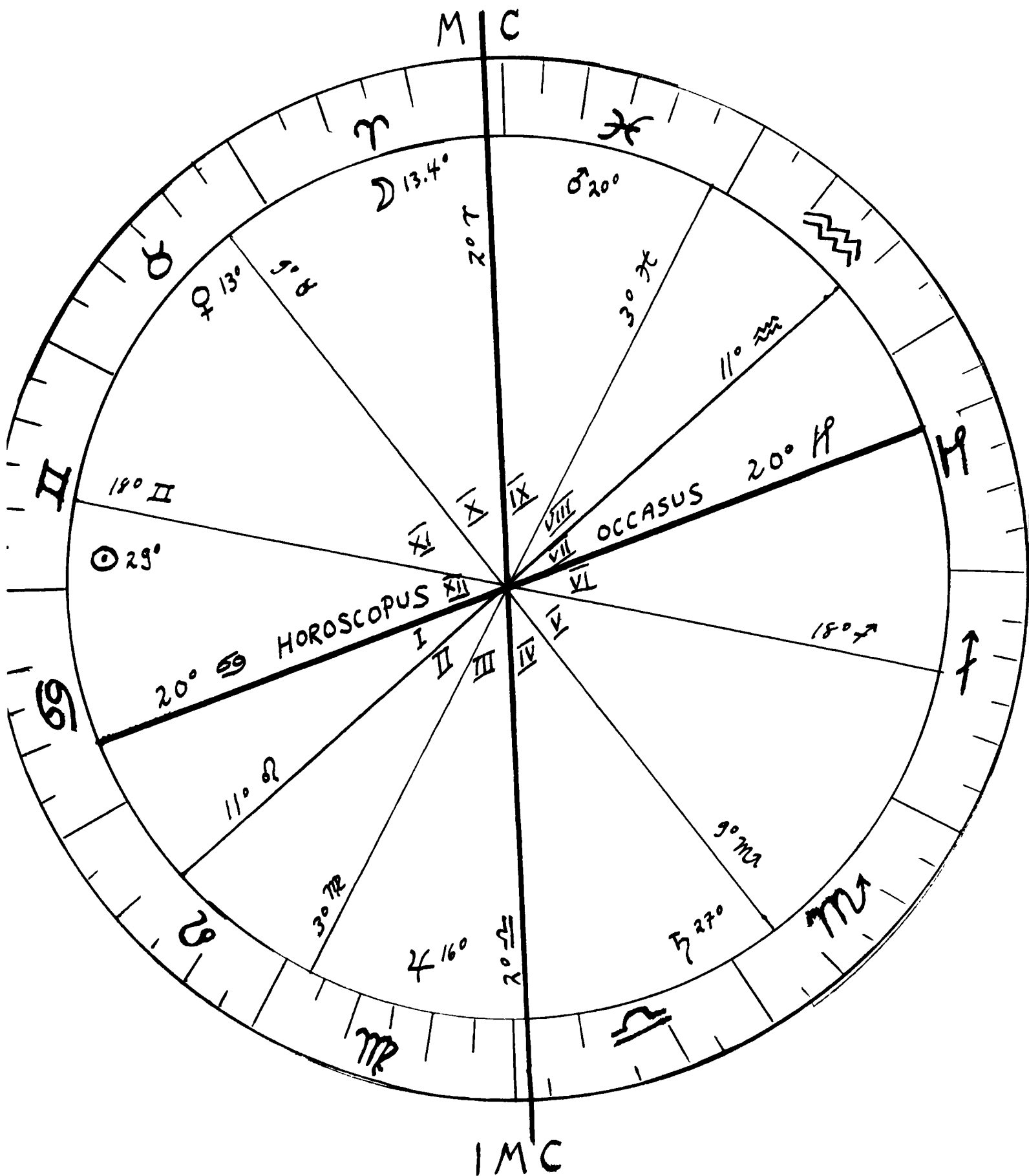


FIG. 1

An Astrological Chart for Propertius

pleasure, become famous and achieve his heart's desire.¹⁸⁶ Further, it is to be remarked that Juppiter (♃) rules Pisces (♓),¹⁸⁷ thus making Pisces prominent in the horoscope; in Propertius' horoscope, Pisces is in the Ninth House (the House of journeys, publishing, religion, the life of the mind; cf. Firm. Matern. 2,19,10 and 3,4,26); thus it is that Horos mentions Pisces as the first of the signs which influence Propertius. Pisces in the Ninth House of journeys sets the poet on his course and determines that he will not only be involved in publishing and the life of the mind, but that his scholarly publication will involve matters of religion as well, including aetiological poetry. All of this is most positively reinforced by the presence of Mars (♂) in Pisces, making Propertius introspective, brooding and fearful of the unknown. Mars in Pisces also strengthens his tendency to be philosophical and a deep thinker.¹⁸⁸

The dominant features of any horoscope are the

¹⁸⁶Cf. Firm. Matern. 4,19,9: "Si Iuppiter dominus geniturae fuerit, faciet homines magni animi magna appetentes et quibus fides semper habeatur et qui ad magnos actus semper inflenter et qui plus sibi dent, quam patrimonii vel potentiae facultas exposcat, imperiosos et in omnibus actibus suis nobiles gloriosos honestos, amatores munditiarum, laetos et qui omni ratione delectari desiderent . . . vita vero eorum erit gloriosa notabilis, plena fide felicitatis, omnia sane quaecunque cupierint consecuntur."

¹⁸⁷Firm. Matern. 2,2,5.

¹⁸⁸Cf. J. Stearn, A Time for Astrology (Signet W 5199), New York, 1972, 88.

ascendant (horoscopus), the descendant (occasus), the mid-heaven (medium caelum or MC) and the nadir (imum caelum or IMC), all of which represent the four cardinal points. It will be remarked from the chart that Propertius' horoscope is in Cancer (♋), his occasus in Capricorn (♑), the MC in Aries (♈) and the IMC in Libra (♎), all of which indicates that he will be of high intelligence but of a serious nature, quick to anger but also easily mollified. He will mingle with the great, even practice his profession among them. He will know many ups and downs regarding his personal wealth and property, and will be racked by jealousies, hiding many personal hurts and pains. He will have a great aptitude for literature and will reveal deep secrets through this medium, finally reaching a ripe old age, after which he will be buried with honour.¹⁸⁹

Let us now turn to a discussion of the significance of the various Houses in Propertius' horoscope and the planets which they contain. First, it is to be noticed that ♋ is in the Third House, the House of the conscious mind; this indicates calmness and moderation (Firm. Matern. 2,19,4): further, the Third House in Propertius' chart is also Virgo

¹⁸⁹ Although difficult to believe, I did not invent this almost perfect description of Propertius: it may be read in Firm. Matern. 5,1,10 ff.

(♊), one of Jupiter's best positions.¹⁹⁰

Next, we note that Saturn (♄) is in Propertius' Fourth House, the House of domestic affairs (Firm. Matern. 2,19,5) and also, in this case, the IMC. This makes the poet anxious about money matters. The fact that the Fourth House is also Libra (♎) makes the poet well-balanced; here Saturn, a baleful planet, is at its best.

Third, we come to the Seventh House, the House of partnerships and marriage (Firm. Matern. 2,19,8); this is also here the sign of Capricorn (♑) and is the descendant sign (occasus), thus making the opposing sign most unfavourable as a marriage partner: this opposing sign is Cancer, about which more will be said in the following section (1.12). The fact that the Seventh House is in Capricorn and on the descendant was indicated by Horos at line 86 where he speaks of Capricorn being "washed in the waters of the West"; this refers to the Western Gate of Capricorn, the descendant sign of the zodiac (cf. below, Chapter 1.12).

Lastly, we come to the Twelfth House, the House of hidden sorrows (vitia et aegritudines, Firm. Matern. 2,19,13), called the malus daemon by the Romans. Though Horos does not mention this at lines 81-86, he alludes to it later on when he describes the poet's past life, for Propertius has the Sun

¹⁹⁰Cf. Firm. Matern. 5,4,14: "Quicumque Iovem in Virgine habuerint, mundi honesti bene nutriti erunt et pudici, efficaces fideles, semper amicos bono diligentes affectu."

in his Twelfth House, indicating the untimely death of his father, the total loss of his patrimony, illness and grave misfortunes.¹⁹¹ Now at lines 127 ff., projecting on the horoscope he has just cast, Horos tells Propertius:

ossaque legisti non illa aetate legenda
 patris et in tenues cogeris ipse Lares:
 nam tua cum multi versarent rura iuveni,
 abstulit excultas pertica tristes opes,

all of which Horos could foretell from the fact that Propertius had the Sun in his Twelfth House.

When at lines 135 ff. Horos begins to discuss the poet's love life, he shows us what a competent astrologer he really is, for he has not only cast a natal chart for Propertius but has progressed it as well. The chart in fact represents a Time-Space astrological correlation. A glance at Propertius' horoscope will show that his ascendant is at 20° ♒. Following the Biblical maxim of a day for a year, one degree of the horoscope equals one year in the poet's life. A chart thus treated is called a progressed chart.¹⁹² Proceeding in this manner then with Propertius' chart, at 20 years of age his ascendant would be at 10° ♍. This would be the age when Propertius would begin to become interested in

¹⁹¹Firm. Matern. 3,5,39: "In duodecimo loco Sol ab horoscopo constitutus . . . faciet et patris citam mortem et totius patrimonii iacturam decernit, etiam vitia et aegritudines graves."

¹⁹²See Stearn, o.c., 292 f. for an explanation of this procedure.

romance and matters of an amatory nature rise to prominence. Each zodiacal sign has 30° and astrologers have long since allotted each degree of each sign its special purpose and function. Interestingly, degrees 9-11 of Leo are attributed to the heart (Firm. Matern. 8,4,5), ideal for questions of romantic involvement. Further, Leos consider themselves great lovers and like to talk about their exploits; they are also dramatically inclined.¹⁹³ In setting up a progressed chart Horos is able to foretell the romantic involvements of the poet in addition to demonstrating his professional expertise, ending with the dramatic announcement at line 150 to "beware the Crab!"

Thus we have what I feel to be a sound working hypothesis toward a better understanding of the astrological implications of the second half of Elegy 1. Clearly, more needs to be done in this area, but I do think that what has been discussed above is a step in the right direction. I at least hope that the above will afford both inspiration and material for others to continue in our attempts to appreciate fully the wealth of meaning and esoteric compactness of Propertian verse.

¹⁹³Cf. Stearn, o.c., 56.

1.12 The Gate of Cancer

That line 150 contains an astrological reference has long been recognized (indeed, the fact that the speaker is a 'Babylonian' astrologer¹⁹⁴ makes this seemingly self-evident), although to make sense of this enigmatic line is admittedly no easy task.¹⁹⁵ Yet this difficulty has been further compounded by what has almost amounted to a scholarly consensus to treat Horos as a laughable figure and his words as nonsense. No amount of official scoffing, however, can obliterate the fact that line 150 ("octipedis Cancrī terga sinistra time") represents the astrologer's pregnant and incisive warning resulting from the examination he has just completed of the poet's life based on astrological data he had earlier announced. The words are a warning and are meant to be taken seriously.

To begin our look at modern attempts to comment on Propertius 4,1,150 there are the studies of E. Reisch,¹⁹⁶ in which he freely confessed that he was unable to make any

¹⁹⁴See Fr. Boll, Sphaera. Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder, Hildesheim, 1967 (Leipzig, 1903), 158: "Schon Properz lässt sich von einem Sterndeuter belehren, der von dem Babylonier Horops abzustammen behauptet und den ägyptischen Namen Horos trägt."

¹⁹⁵Burck, "Zur Komposition . . .", a.c., 409 called 4,1 "eine der schwierigsten des Properz."

¹⁹⁶E. Reisch, "Properz-Studien", WSt 9 (1887), 123 ff. On pp. 128-29 he states: "es geht nicht an, das Prooemium . . . mit den unverständlichen Mahnworten schliessen zu lassen."

sense whatever out of the admonition spoken by Horos. Rothstein's edition and commentary on Book IV came not long after (1898) and with him we get the view that Horos was intended as a ridiculous figure whose prophecy is quite meaningless.¹⁹⁷ Then followed A. Dieterich's (1900)¹⁹⁸ impressive and important interpretation of 4,1 which (with the help of Fr. Boll) make the first serious attempt to understand line 150 in astrological terms; the attempt succeeded in totally mystifying subsequent commentators. He first spoke of the "γένος des grotesken Propheten,"¹⁹⁹ an idea which later commentators were to incorporate. Freely acknowledging his debt to Boll,²⁰⁰ he attempted to show, by citing Firmicus Maternus 2,4, that the reference to the terga sinistra of the constellation Cancer points to the first decan of the sign Cancer, which Firmicus tells us belongs to Venus; Dieterich thus sees in line 150 an oblique reference, not only to Venus, but ultimately to Cynthia

¹⁹⁷From his comments to 4,1,147 I quote the following: ". . . durch ihre gänzliche Inhaltlosigkeit die Prophezeiung des Astrologen und seine Persönlichkeit mit derbem Humor vollends lächerlich machen soll."

¹⁹⁸A. Dieterich, "Die Widmungselegie des letzten Buches des Properz," Rh. Mus. 55 (1900), 191 ff.

¹⁹⁹Dieterich, a.c., 212.

²⁰⁰Referred to by Boll himself in Sphaera, o.c., 394, n. 2.

herself,²⁰¹ and Horos in effect is telling Propertius to "beware a former lover." Here at last was a commentator who not only did not dismiss Propertius out of hand but even consented to meet him half way. His sanguine influence was not long felt, however, for in the edition of Butler and Barber (1933) we return once more to the same inability (or disinclination) to see the words of Horos for what they are: an astrological code. On page 322 of their commentary Butler and Barber tell us that "Horos is a grotesque and unconvincing figure" and in support of this statement they cite Housman,²⁰² who confidently tells us that "terga Cancri, i.e. testudo Cancri, is probably a periphrasis for the whole sign, and sinistra means 'ominous' without any reference to such subdivision of the back as you may find in Firmicus (VIII.4)." He concludes this with the meaningful insight that "Propertius had no definite idea what he meant." All of which proves, I suppose, that great men may sometimes err.

L. Alfonsi (1945)²⁰³ continued the idea that the figure of Horos (and thus what he says) was intended as a

²⁰¹Dieterich, a.c., 219: "der Einfluss seines Geburtsgestirnes unterwirft ihn der Herrschaft der Venus, diesem Schicksal kann er nicht entfliehen."

²⁰²o.c., 333. Cf. as well D.R. Shackleton Bailey, o.c., 226.

²⁰³L. Alfonsi, L'elegia de Properzio (Vita e Pensiero), Milan, 1945, 81: "Il tono generale della seconda parte della prima elegia è quindi il ridicolo."

caricature, as does Tränkle (1960),²⁰⁴ Suerbaum (1964)²⁰⁵ and E.V. D'Arbela (1964).²⁰⁶ With the publication of Lefèvre's article (1966)²⁰⁷ we once more have a commentator who attempts to place Horos' words in their appropriate astrological setting. He views 4,1,150 "als Warnung von der neuen Dichtung (sc. aitia) zu verstehen,"²⁰⁸ and argues against "diese allgemein von der Forschung vertretene These, die Figur des Horos sei vor allem ironisch und ohne eigentliche Funktion innerhalb der Elegie gezeichnet."²⁰⁹ Lefèvre identifies the constellation Cancer with the "Wendepunkt"²¹⁰ of the sun and he connects this with the idea of the metae

²⁰⁴H. Tränkle, Sprachkunst d. Prop., 73, n. 5 (on 4,1,77): "Im Munde des geschwätzigen Astrologen soll diese pathetisch selbstgefällige Erklärung seiner Herkunft lächerlich wirken."

²⁰⁵W. Suerbaum, "Der Schluss der Einleitungselegie zum 4. Properzbuch," Rh. Mus. 107 (1964), 359: "Das groteske Missverhältnis, das zwischen dem vorbereitenden Teil der Horos-Rede und der eigentlichen Verkündigung besteht, kann kaum anders als ironisch gemeint sein."

²⁰⁶Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV, ediz. crit. con intro. e note a cura di E.V. D'Arbela, Milan, 1964. In vol. 3, 241, commenting on 4,1,150, he says: "parole che non rispondono ad alcuna precisa teoria astrologica, ma sono messe in bocca all'astrologo per farsi beffe di lui."

²⁰⁷E. Lefèvre, "Form und Funktion der Einleitungselegie des 4. Buches des Properz," WSt 79 (1966), 427 ff.

²⁰⁸Lefèvre, a.c., 437.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 429.

²¹⁰Ibid., 438.

mentioned by Propertius at 4,1,70, thereby seeking to explain the mysterious mention of the constellation as a warning to the poet as he nears a turning-point (meta) in his career.

We are on the right track here at least in trying to interpret the line by applying astrological frames of reference, but we have not yet gone far enough. E. Burck (1966)²¹¹ sees in Horos' warning a reflection of Propertius' own internal conflict as he sets out in the field of aetiological poetry,²¹² but Burck too still views the astrologer's words as being full of "banaler Angeberei und Scheinwissen."²¹³ Most recently W. Nethercut (1970),²¹⁴ returning to the earlier methodology and approach of Dieterich, wrote an impressive little article bringing astrological lore into his attempt to interpret Horos' meaning. "We need no longer dismiss Horos' reference to the Crab as sheer foolishness,"²¹⁵ he states at the outset, and then goes on to pick up on Lefèvre's suggestion that the Cancri terga is in reference

²¹¹E. Burck, a.c., 405 ff.

²¹²Ibid., 410-11: ". . . Properz mit der Warnung des Horos vor aitiologischer Dichtung und mit seiner Mahnung zur Rückkehr zu erotischen Elegien seinem innern Zweifel an der Berufung zu dieser neuen Art seiner Dichtung Ausdruck geben will."

²¹³Ibid., 410.

²¹⁴W. Nethercut, "The Astrological Significance of Propertius 4,1,150," WSt 83 (1970), 110 ff.

²¹⁵Ibid., 110.

to Propertius' equestrian image in 4,1,70. Earlier Dieterich, quoting Boll, had stated that at 10° Cancer (on the left of the constellation as it ascends) are to be found the two stars known as 'Asses' and designated 'North' and 'South' (ὄνος βορείος--νότιος).²¹⁶ Nethercut takes this information, translates sinistra literally as 'left', relates it to Lefèvre's suggestion that the sign of Cancer is to be understood in an equestrian context, and thus, as one possible interpretation of the line, has Horos saying: "If you have decided to stray into battle where you don't belong, beware the Asses!"²¹⁷ Instead of our earlier (line 70) image of Propertius astride a race-horse and straining for victory in his new pursuit, we now see him plodding along on the back of an ass, and Nethercut regards this switch as "a masterful touch of Propertian wit."²¹⁸

It seems obvious that the heart of the problem is contained in the phrase Cancri terga sinistra. Those commentators who have taken the phrase seriously persist in

²¹⁶Dieterich, a.c., 219; for the 'Asses', cf. Theoph. 23; Arat, 898; Hyg. astr. 3,22; Plin. N.H. 18,353.

²¹⁷Nethercut, a.c., 115.

²¹⁸This appears plausible enough, though perhaps somewhat demanding on the reader's good will. I should, however, have preferred to have this (possible) reference to the Asses connected with Callimachus' famous comparison of the writers of epic to asses who bray their verse (Aetia 1, 30 ff.), thus making Horos tell Propertius to stick to elegies and avoid the raucous donkey-path of longer poems.

treating Cancri terga as the literal Crab's back and proceed either to look in the first decan (the 'left' of the constellation as it rises) of Cancer for some clue or else to seek out star clusters on the 'left' of the constellation itself. Now any astrologer worth his charts would know that when we look up at the constellation of the Crab we see, not its back, but its belly. Manilius, a noted astronomer and contemporary of Propertius, told us as much.²¹⁹ So the Cancri terga sinistra would mean beyond or behind the constellation or, to be precise (reading sinistra literally), to the north of it. The significance of this will hopefully become clearer in what follows.

At the end of the Odyssey²²⁰ Hermes conducts the souls of the slain suitors ἡδὲ παρ' ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνειρώων ἦισαν. Now Proclus (In Platonis Remp. 2,129,23) reports that Numenius called these 'gates of the sun' very simply Cancer and Capricorn,²²¹ and Porphyrius does the same.²²² This means that at the summer solstice, when the

²¹⁹The Crab is viewed with its belly towards us, patulam distentus in alvum (Manil. 2,253).

²²⁰Od. 24,12.

²²¹τὰ μὲν δύο τροπικὰ ζῷδια πύλας ἡλίου προσαγορεύσασαν.

²²²Prophyrius, De antro Nympharum, 21 (ed. Nauck):
Νουμήνιος καὶ ὁ τοῦτου ἑταῖρος Κρόνιος δύο εἶναι ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄκρα, ὧν οὔτε νοτιώτερόν ἐστι τοῦ χειμερινοῦ οὔτε βορειότερον τοῦ θερινοῦ. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν θερινὸς κατὰ καρκίνον, ὁ δὲ χειμερινὸς κατ' αἰγόκερων.

sun rises in the constellation of Cancer, it has attained its farthest northerly position. From here it seems to make a turn (i.e. 'solstice') and subsequently rise farther and farther south until, at the winter solstice, it reaches its farthest southern point.²²³ These two 'gates' of the sun play an important role in eschatology. Men's souls were thought to dwell in the Milky Way between incarnations. Macrobius reported widely on this and stated that souls ascend by way of Capricorn and, in order to be reborn, descend through the Gate of Cancer,²²⁴ while Manilius (1,672) simply says: "zodiacum tenet a summo Cancer, Capricornus ab imo." According to Porphyrius,²²⁵ the two entrances to Homer's cave of the Nymphs,²²⁶ where Odysseus hid his treasures, symbolize these two heavenly gates.

Plato too has preserved this belief in his myth of Er, the Pamphilian, recounted in the tenth Book of the Republic. Er, killed on the field of battle, came to life on his pyre on the twelfth day and proceeded to relate what he had seen of the afterlife. His soul, along with those of the other dead, arrived in a marvellous field to await

²²³Cf. F. Buffière, Les Mythes d'Homère et la Pensée grecque (Coll. d'Etudes anc. de l'Assoc. Budé), Paris, 1956, 438-49 for further references and illustrations, and see Roscher's Myth. Lex. 6, col. 952 (Fr. Boll and W. Gundel).

²²⁴Macrobius, De Som. Scip. 1,12,1-8.

²²⁵De Antro Nymph., 22.

²²⁶Od. 13,109-110.

judgement. There were two holes in the ground and in the sky two others, directly opposite them. Between these double apertures sat the judges. Now what Plato calls 'sky' is, according to Numenius, the sphere of the fixed stars and the two 'holes' in the sky are simply Cancer and Capricorn.²²⁷ Similarly, the ancient Polynesians asserted that only at the evening of solstitial days can souls gain entrance to heaven, those who live in the north at one solstice, the dwellers in the south at the other.²²⁸

The idea that the abode of the dead occupies one of the two hemispheres is a conception of the Chaldeo-Egyptian astrologers. This conception appears in its earliest form in the "Circle of Petosiris," a magico-mathematical instrument of divination.²²⁹ As this idea was subsequently adapted and developed (see Figure 2), the median line which separates the upper from the lower world is the 'limit of life and death' (ὅροι ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου). The circle

²²⁷Numenius in Proclus, *In Plat. Remp.* 2, 128, 26 ff. (ed. Kroll): οὐρανὸν μὲν τῇν ἀπλανῆ λέγων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ δύο χάσματα, τὸν αἰγόκερω καὶ τὸν καρκίνον.

²²⁸G. de Santillana and H. von Dechend, *Hamlet's Mill. An Essay on Myth and the Frame of Time*, Boston, 1969, 243, where (n. 3) is quoted W.W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, London, 1876, 156 ff., 185 ff.

²²⁹Cf. Fr. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme funéraire des Romains*² (Bibl. archéol. et hist., t. xxxv), Paris, 1966 (1942), 36-40, and the sources there quoted. A Latin type of this circle is to be found in the works attributed to Bede, *Patr. Lat.*, xc, 965.

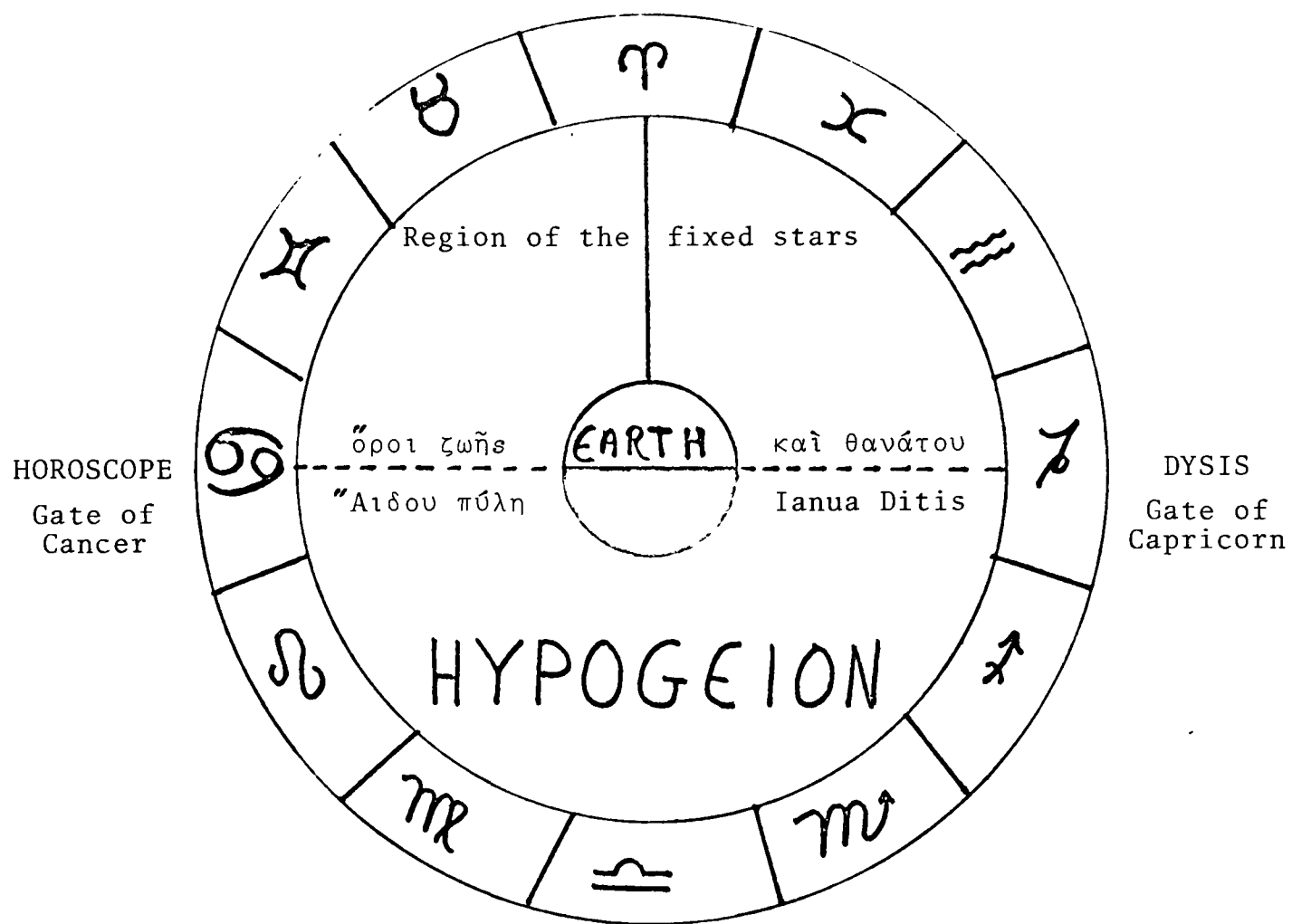


FIG. 2

The Gates of Cancer and Capricorn

represents the celestial sphere of the zodiacal signs and extends from the zodiacal 'ascendant' (horoscopus), which is in Cancer, through the centre of the earth, to the 'descendant' sign (dysis), or Capricorn.²³⁰ Similar to the median which extends from the horoscope to the dysis, dividing the world in two equal halves, the lower hemisphere (ὕπογειον) is always invisible to men; naturally, then, the hypogeion was designated as the abode of Hades, conforming to popular etymology ("Αἰδης < ἀειδής).²³¹ Of the constellations on the zodiacal belt, the one which is found immediately under the horoscope was designated the "Gate of Hades" ("Αἰδου πύλη).²³² It is through this gate that one enters into Pluto's realm. But the dysis is also designated Ditis ianua,²³³ the point at which both sun and human life are extinguished. The gates of hell are in fact two in number, these two openings in the firmament being placed in Cancer and Capricorn because the one was the "horoscope of the world"--of the world at its inception (ὥροσκοπος κόσμου)--and the other the "setting of the world" (δύσις

²³⁰Cancer is the 'ascendant' sign of the horoscope because all of the planets were aligned in it at the world's inception; cf. Seneca, Nat. Quaest. 3,29 as well as Firmicus 3,1 and Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie grecque, o.c., 185 ff.

²³¹"Αἰδης < ἀειδής already in Plato, Phaedo, 80,D; 81,D. Cf. Cumont, o.c., 39 and 125.

²³²Translated by Firmicus 2,17; 19,3 as inferna porta.

²³³Manilius, 2,950 f.

κόσμου).²³⁴

As I see it then, the meaning of Horos' mystic warning is twofold: first, there is the meaning of the Gate of Cancer itself, the entrance into this world of dross sensibilities and lowered psychic awareness (cf. Chap. 6.5, pp. 250 ff. and Figure 6). This is the Gate of conscious life, of day-to-day existence. But a poet derives inspiration from the vast reservoir of the unconscious, from the world of heightened spiritual and psychic awareness, the dream-like world of the beyond, the Gate of Capricorn. Thus, as a poet, Propertius would do well to shun the light of Cancer's Gate, so inimical to the creative poetic imagination.

The second, and probably more immediate meaning of Horos' warning, would reflect the contents of the horoscope which he has just cast for the poet. As a result of this chart, Horos tells the poet (147-49) that he will have no difficulty in love,²³⁵ but makes one proviso: 'Beware the Crab!' We have seen in the preceding Section (and cf. Figure 1) that Propertius' Seventh House, the House of

²³⁴Cf. Cumont, o.c., 40.

²³⁵For the sense of line 147, "nunc tua vel mediis puppis luctetur in undis," cf. the Chaldean proverb, discussed by the Stoic Chrysippus (Cic. de fato cap. 12 ff.); "si quis oriente canicula natus est, in mari non morietur"; according to Pliny, Canicula = Procyon (n.h. 18,268) and is found in the 3rd decan (i.e., in degrees 20-30) of Cancer (see Gundel, Dekane u. Dekansternbilder², Darmstadt, 1969 [London, 1936], 127); now according to our chart, Propertius' ascendant is at 20° .

marriage, is directly opposite his First House, representing the worst possible sign in a marriage partner. Propertius' First House extends from 20° ♋ to 11° ♏. Horos warns specifically against the four left feet of the sign Cancer (.e., "octipedis Cancrī terga sinistra time"); this is an astrologically coded way of indicating degrees 26 and 27 ♋. Each sign is composed of 30° and each degree (pars) has its attribute. According to Firm. Matern. 8,4,4, degrees 26-27 ♋ are located in sinistris Cancrī . . . pedibus, i.e., in the four feet on the left side of the sign. Horos then is very specifically warning Propertius against marriage with anyone whose First House includes degrees 26-27 ♋. Now, interestingly, Cancer is a σύμβολον of the moon.²³⁶ This makes it very tempting indeed to identify the Moon-dominated Cancerian against whom Horos warns Propertius as Cynthia, the poet's celebrated mistress. I say this because Cynthia was an epithet of Artemis in her epiphany as Moon-goddess²³⁷ and ♋ is the feminine sign par excellence. It would then appear that Horos is warning Propertius against marriage with a Cancer, the sign directly opposite the poet's Seventh House, that of marriage. By so precisely and exactly

²³⁶Cf. Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. die antike Zauberei. Beiträge z. Erläuterung der Schrift de magia (RGVV 4,2), Berlin, 1967 (Giessen, 1909), 146.

²³⁷Cf. Eurip. Iph. Taur. 1098; Lucan. 1,213; Hor. c. 3,28,12; Ovid, metam. 2,464 f.; Petron. Sat. 122; Mart. Cap. 9,912 and see Prehn, art. 'Kynthia' in RE 12,1,41,36 ff.

identifying that Cancer as one who has her ascendant on the 26th or 27th degree ♋, it would further seem that Horos has someone very definite in mind, a someone whom I would argue is most likely Cynthia.

Note

Prof. Hans Georg Gundel of the Univ. of Giessen has very kindly sent me a letter in which are included his most thorough and scholarly criticisms of the above pp. 87-116. He points out the difficulty in knowing precisely what astrological theories were current in Propertius' own day, adding "Die Frage ist natürlich, ob eine solche Kombination für die Zeit des Prop. anzunehmen ist." He further suggest that instead of a progressed chart, a Revolutions-Horoskop might prove more fruitful and advises me to underline even more forecully the hypothetical nature of the material presented in the above chapter. For his invaluable criticisms and selfless endeavours on my behalf, I should like to extend to Prof. Gundel my most profound thanks.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 VERTUMNUS

This second poem is the first of the aition-poems per se and deals with the origin, derivation and omniform nature of the god Vertumnus. The god (or rather, an image of him in the vicus Tuscus) is represented as directly addressing a passerby; after a brief introduction (lines 1-2) the god relates his origin (lines 3-6) and then goes into the several variations on the derivation of his name: (a) from VERT-AMNIS (lines 7-10; cf. Ovid, fast. 6,410: "nomen ab averso ceperat amne deus"), (b) from VERT-ANNUS (lines 11-18) and (c) from VERTO alone (lines 19-22), the derivation which the poet holds to be the correct one; then follows, in illustration of the validity of derivation (c), a list of the god's characteristics (lines 23-46), a brief illustration from ancient history in explanation of the offerings of first-fruits and flowers at the god's statue (lines 47-54) and lastly (lines 61-64), a short encomium on the artist, Mamurrius Veturius, who cast the statue in bronze.

The artistic method of having the god directly address the reader (or a 'passerby') is one often applied by

Ovid¹ who seems to have derived it from Propertius. Propertius himself probably borrowed it from Callimachus,² thus partially justifying his claim to being the 'Callimachus Romanus'.

References to Vertumnus in our literary sources are unfortunately few; Varro (de l.l. 5,46) and Ovid (fast. 6,410) make very brief mention of him, listing little more than his name, while Ovid in his Metamorphoses (14,643 ff.) relates the god's wooing of the goddess POMONA, clearly a piece of romance based upon Hellenistic models and designed to illustrate the god's ability to transform himself into any shape whatever (cf. Prop. 4,2,22 ff.). Remarkably enough, then, almost all we know of Vertumnus is contained in this elegy by Propertius,³ and so the poem becomes a very important document indeed in our knowledge of early Roman religion. A

¹Cf. Ovid, fast. 1,65 ff. for Janus; Mars, 3,167 ff.; Vesta, 3,697 ff.; the Muses, 5,9 ff.; Flora, 5,183 ff., and see Heinze, "Ovid's elegische Dichtung," in Vom Geist des Römertums⁴, Darmstadt, 1972 (Stuttgart, 1960), 364.

²Cf. Aitia, frag. 114 (Loeb ed.), where the statue of the Delian Apollo responds to questions from the poet; cf. further Iambus 7, in which Hermes addresses us directly, and Iambus 9, where a youth addresses a statue of an ithyphallic Hermes and the god (presumably, for this is a fragment) responds.

³Cf. the remark by Eisenhut, art. "Vertumnus" in RE 8A,2 (1958), 1671: "Als ausführlichstes Zeugnis über den Gott V. haben wir des Properz aetiologische Elegie IV 2," and that of Bömer, Fasti, 367: "Nahezu alles, was sonst über den Gott überliefert ist, steht bei Prop. IV,2," as well as Camps, Bk. IV, 72: "We know hardly anything of Vertumnus beyond what we read in the present poem."

very close examination of the poem thus becomes necessary, not only to see whether we might thereby arrive at a more complete knowledge of the nature and function of this deity, but also to ascertain, if possible, the reasons why Proper-tius would choose to make this rather obscure and unimportant god the subject of an entire poem. Out of eleven poems in Book 4, one is devoted completely to Vertumnus; the allotment of 1/11 of a book of poetry to such a relatively insignificant deity raises many questions and while no definite answers shall be forthcoming, it is to be hoped that in what follows there might emerge several plausible suggestions.

2.1 Introduction (lines 1-2)

In response to the passerby's bewilderment (line 1-- 'mirare') over the facility with which the statue of the god can assume apparently innumerable shapes, the god shall undertake an explanation, giving his pedigree and attributes. Housman's emendation of 'signa' in line 2 to 'regna' is both unnecessary and irrelevant, despite Butler and Barber's contention (p. 334) that it "makes all clear," and I can make little sense out of Shackleton Bailey's remarks on the line (p. 227), together with his inference that the more non-sensical the emendation, the nearer the original! 'Signa paterna' (consensus codd.) makes very good sense indeed: it

is the poetic plural,⁴ and represents the statue of the god explaining why he appears as he does now (i.e. in Rome); he was not always thus. That the statue of Vertumnus in the vicus Tuscus was called a signum is known from Cic.Verr. 11, 1,54 ('signum Vertumni') and from Livy 44,16,10. The adj. 'paterna' is used by the god in oblique reference to the passerby who is urged to stay awhile and listen ('accipe') as the god explains how he has acquired his present

⁴See Tränkle, Sprachkunst d. Prop., 174; Housman's emendation has now been thoroughly rejected; it no longer appears in Barber's edition (Oxford, 1953) and Camps has signa paterna as well, although he translates it "the particulars of origin (ancestry)"; signa too in M. Schuster's edition (Lpz. 1954); D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Propertiana, Amsterdam, 1967 (Cambridge, 1956), 227. T.A. Suits, "The Vertumnus Elegy of Propertius," TAPhA 100 (1969), 481, translates signa paterna as "the approximate equivalent of 'indicia patris vel patriae'." In a footnote to this (p. 481, n. 24) he states that signa could not be referring to the statue of the god because "the awkward poetic plural, the weakened sense of paterna, and the forced construction given to accipe all combine to rule out this explanation." While giving us the benefit of this insight, he nevertheless fails to explain exactly why, all of a sudden, in this context, the poetic plural should become "awkward" (it is surely needless at this point to go into a lengthy digression on the quite valid use of the poetic plural throughout Latin literature); as for the "weakened sense" of the adj. paterna, there would doubtless be few of us so willing to claim such intimate knowledge of the uses to which a Latin poet may put his own language; lastly, with regard to the "forced construction" with the verb accipe, we should like to ask to whom does the use of accipere = "to hear", "to listen to" seem forced: certainly not to Propertius (cf. 2,13,18: "accipe, quae serves funeris acta mei"); certainly not to Vergil (Aen. 2,65: "accipite nunc Danaum insidias"), nor to Cicero (CM 39: "accipite . . . veterem orationem Archytæ"); not to Terence (And. 367: "non recte accipis"), nor to Sallust (73,3: "volenti animo de ambobus acceperant"). One could prolong the list ad ludicrum, but the point hardly wants such labouring.

appearance: "Listen," he says, "to the statue of the god V., fashioned by your ancestors" (with 'paterna' here alluding to the patres of the passerby).

2.2 Origin (lines 3-6; 49-54; 59-60)

Propertius tells us that the god was originally Etruscan and that he came from Volsinii:

Tuscus ego: Tuscis orior: nec paenitet inter
proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos.
(lines 3-4)

This is in agreement with Varro (de l.l. 5,46) who says that Vertumnus was "deus Etruriae princeps," and Eisenhut's statement⁵ that the god is "generally recognized" to have originated in Etruria is further qualified by Radke (p. 318), who states: "Die--wie es scheint, heute allgemein angenommene--Herkunft des V. aus Etrurien gründet sich auf Propert. a.O. 3.49 und Varro, l.l. V 46." Yet if our sources agree about the Etruscan origin of Vertumnus, there is considerable variance of opinion as to the date of the god's entry into Rome. The earliest of these places the date in the time of Romulus and his struggle with T. Tatius, the latest in the year 264 B.C., the year of the fall of Volsinii to the Romans, and since Propertius states that the entry of the god into Rome took place during Romulus' struggles with T.

⁵a.c., 170,50 ff.: "Allgemein anerkannt ist, dass der Gott aus Etrurien nach Rom kam . . . Wenig bezweifelt wird auch die Uebernahme aus Volsinii, die Properz an der Gleichen Stelle bezeugt."

Tatius (lines 49-54), it becomes apparent that this whole question depends upon the interpretation of the present poem. Wissowa (RuK², 287) conjectured that lines 3 f. make one think of the siege of Volsinii ("inter proelia") and a consequent evocatio;⁶ on page 49 he further elaborates: "In ähnlicher Weise folgt im Jahr 490=264 dem Triumphe über Volsinii die Aufnahme des dort heimischen Gottes Vortumnus unter die römischen Staatsgötter." Apart from presuming, entirely on his own authority, to include Vertumnus among Rome's "national gods", he lists in support of his statement Propertius 4,2,3 f., failing however to quote the poet further on at lines 49-54, where Propertius places the entrance of the god into the City in a much earlier time. The god states that he himself saw ("vidi ego", line 53) how, with the help of the Etruscans under Lycomedius,⁷ the Sabines of T. Tatius were routed by Romulus and the Romans. In gratitude for this timely assistance, the vicus in which the god's signum now stands received the name Tuscus; it is further stated (lines 59 f.) that before the time of Numa the signum consisted merely of wood ("stipes acernus"). The god is thus represented by Propertius as having received

⁶M. Le Glay, La Religion Romaine (Collection U₂, 168), Paris, 1971, 29, also lists the entry of Vertumnus into Rome in 264 B.C., "évoqué de Volsinies," as a statement of fact, without further elaboration or references.

⁷Lycomedius = Etr. lucumo; cf. Prop. 4,1,29 for which see Butler and Barber's note, s.v.

worship in the vicus Tuscus from the very beginning of the City's history. In response to Wissowa's assertion that the entrance of the god dates only from the possible evocatio of 264 B.C., it may be stated that there was a temple of Vertumnus on the Aventine⁸ in which stood a statue of M. Fulvius Flaccus in a toga picta;⁹ since it is known that Flaccus triumphed de Volsiniensibus in 264 B.C. (CIL 1², p. 172), it might plausibly be argued that the temple was built in fulfillment of a vow made at an evocatio,¹⁰ and since one only practiced the rite of evocatio with the chief deities of a city, this would confirm the statement of Propertius that Vertumnus "Volsinios deseruisse focos" and that of Varro calling the god "deus Etruriae princeps." However, it must not be forgotten in all of this that 4,2 is an aition about the origin of the Roman worship of Vertumnus, an originally Etruscan god. Might not Propertius be saying that the god became formally Roman in name ("patria lingua" line 48) and adoption after the evocatio; that before 264 B.C. the cult had been exclusively Etruscan, brought to Rome by the Etruscan contingent which assisted Romulus and which

⁸Known to us from the calenders; cf. Eisenhut, a.c., 1674 ff. and the literature there quoted.

⁹Fest. p. 228 L.

¹⁰The use of the verb "deseruisse" does in fact suggest an evocatio, for it seems to have been used in the evocatio-formula; cf. Macr. Sat. 3,9,7-8.

was given, in recompense, the vicus Tuscus, where they settled down and became one of the three founding peoples of the City?¹¹ The verb "deseruisse" could plausibly be read in this light. The god had come to the City willingly in the time of Romulus and had become so naturalized (and even Romanized) in the succeeding ages that it was no disgrace ("nec paenitet") to have left Volsinii altogether and have become thoroughly Roman; this might also be reflected in the god's insistence on his total happiness at Rome (line 5: "haec me turba iuvat"; line 60: "grata . . . in urbe deus").

An account of the origin of the god very similar to that of Propertius is given by Varro: at de l.l. 5,74 he states: "et arae Sabinum linguam olent quae Tati regis voto sunt Romae dedicatae: nam, ut annales dicunt, vovit Opi, Florae, Vediovi Saturnoque . . . itemque Larundae, Termino, Quirino, Vortumno." We see here, apart from the fact that there was an annalistic tradition from which Varro drew his information, that Varro too places the arrival of Vertumnus at the very beginning of Roman history, although he reckons him among those gods introduced by T. Tatius. Another Varronian notice, however, found in Servius ad. Aen. 5,560,

¹¹Cf. Propertius' description of the division of the City into the three original tribes called Tities, Ramnes and Luceres (4,1,31); that these names, which designated the three original founding peoples of Rome, i.e. Sabines, Romans and Etruscans, are in themselves Etruscan words is signaled by Schulze, ZGLE, 218: "titie ramne luxre sind nichts anderes als die Bezeichnungen etruskischer gentes," and see C.O. Thulin, Die etruskische Disciplin³, Darmstadt, 1968 (1909), 48.

reads: "Varro tamen dicit Romulum dimicantem contra Titum Tatium a Lucumonibus, hoc est Tuscis, auxilia postulavisse. unde quidam venit cum exercitu, cui recepto iam Tatio pars urbis est data, a quo in urbe Tuscus dictus est vicus."¹²

Here the accounts of both agree as to the origin of the vicus Tuscus; Servius (or rather Varro) however continues:

"in Suburbanae regionis parte princeps est Caelius mons a Caele Vibenna, Tusco duce nobili, qui cum sua manu dicitur Romulo venisse auxilio contra Tatinum regem. hinc post Caelis obitum, quod nimis munita loca tenerent neque sine suspicione essent, deducti dicuntur in planum. ab eis dicitur vicus Tuscus, et ideo ibi Vortumnus stare, quod is deus Etruriae princeps; de Caelianis qui a suspicione liberi essent, traductos in eum locum qui vocatur Caeliolum."

Propertius makes no mention of Caele Vibenna, but both he and Varro are in agreement that the vicus Tuscus was named after the Etruscans who came to the aid of Romulus against the Sabines.

Festus, p. 38 L., has a somewhat similar notice:

"Caelius mons dictus est a Caele quodam ex Etruria, qui Romulo auxilium adversum Sabinos praebuit, eo quod in eo domicilium habuit"; but further on (p. 487 L.) he places the vicus Tuscus in the time of the Tarquins: "Tuscus vicus

¹²Cf. also Cic. rep. 2,14; Liv. 1,10-13; Plut. Rom. 17 ff.; the accounts of Livy and Plutarch make no mention of the assistance afforded by the Etruscans.

Romae est dictus, quod ibi habitaverunt Tusci, qui recedente ab obsidione Porsena remanserunt." This seems to derive from the account given by Tacitus (ann. 4,65), who records: "(montem) Caelium appellitatum a Caele Vibenna, qui dux gentis Etruscae cum auxilium tulisset sedem eam acceperat a Tarquinio Prisco, seu quis alius regum dedit: nam scriptores in eo dissentiunt." As was the case with Varro, so here too Tacitus seems to have known several conflicting traditions, one of which was the speech made by the Emperor Claudius¹³ (CIL 13,1668) who states that Mastarna,¹⁴ the companion of Caele Vibenna, brought the rest of the Caelian army to Rome and later, under the name of Servius Tullius, became king. Thus, according to this account, the naming of the vicus Tuscus and (probably also) the entry of Vertumnus into Rome took place during the reign of Servius Tullius. It would then appear that on whatever side of the question one looked, it would be impossible for the date of the god's entry into the City to have occurred as late as 264 B.C.

¹³ Referred to by Tac. ann. 11,24 who makes no mention of Mastarna and Caele Vibenna.

¹⁴ For Mastarna (= Macstrna) see O.v. Vacano, Die Etrusker in der Welt der Antike ("Rowahlt's deutsche enzycl." 54), Hamburg, 1964 (1957), 136; M. Pallottino, The Etruscans, trans. by J. Cremona (Penguin A 310), Harmondsworth, 1956, 89 ff.

2.3 Etymology

The name appears as either Vertumnus or Vortumnus; in literary sources, both Propertius and Ovid call him Vertumnus, while the earlier Varro styles the god Vortumnus. The same duality appears in the inscriptions: those which list him as Vortumnus are CIL 6,803,804; 9,327,2320; Vertumnus is found in CIL 3,14206¹⁰; 5,7235; 9,5892; 11,4644^a.

Eisenhut muses that the name "klingt indogermanisch, ja lateinisch" and quotes Fowler (Rom. Fest. 201: "his name like Picumnus, is beyond doubt Latin") in support.¹⁵ Schulze (ZGLE, 252), on the other hand, connects the name with the Etruscan clan name ultimni and the nomen gentilicum *vertimna; this last appeals so strongly to Walde-Hofmann (2,766) that they conclude the name could possibly be Etruscan "auf Grund eines Gentiliziums *vertimna"; Radke, however (p. 318) points out that "das Gentiliz *vertumna ist von Schulze hypothetisch gebildet." Yet it is perfectly feasible to regard the word as formed from an obsolete participle of verto in -om(e)nos (cf. Walde-Hofmann, loc. cit.). Devoto¹⁶ listed a number of Etruscan proper names with the -mn- suffix and concluded that, given a choice between (a) a non-Indo-European suffix and (b) an Indo-European suffix combined

¹⁵a.c., 1669,35 ff.

¹⁶Studi Etruschi 14 (1940), 275 ff.

with the well-known Indo-European root *WERT, the word was probably 'proto-Latin'. Dumézil (RRA, 333) says that "son nom paraît bien latin: il est à vorti 'se tourner, se transformer' ce qu'alumnus 'nourrisson' est à ali 'être nourri'. Et pourtant les Romains eux-mêmes insistaient sur son origine étrusque, dont les modernes ne veulent pas douter." Radke (p. 319) also makes his contribution: "V. gehört kaum zu vertere, sondern zu *vorta *ur-tē bzw. zu einem synonymen *vortus . . . wie Vitumnus zu vita."

Clearly, the efforts of the linguists have resulted in some confusion. There is a vague uneasiness among them which one can almost feel; the name Ver(Vor)tumnus surely is good Latin, yet what are we to do with Varro's "deus Etruriae princeps" and Propertius' "Tuscis orior"? And further, if Vertumnus is indeed an originally Etruscan deity, how do we account for the fact that "weder der Name des Gottes noch ein nach ihm gebildeter Personen- oder Ortsname noch überhaupt eine Spur seiner Existence in Etrurien nachweisbar ist" (Radke, 318), or that "L'Etrurie, en effet, ne connaît pas Vortumnus" (Dumézil, RRA, 334), or that outside of Rome, Vertumnus is only mentioned very rarely in inscriptions and never in Etruria (Wissowa, RuK², 287)? Yet is this not precisely the point of Propertius' elegy? Is he not there telling us that a naturalized Roman deity was given the specifically Latin name of Vertumnus (line 48: "nomen ab eventu patria lingua dedit") in explanation of his

omniform nature (line 47: "quod formas unus vertebar in omnes"), and that this very omniformity was the god's original (i.e. Etruscan) characteristic, which Propertius suggests by the use of the imperfect tense? Of course the name Vertumnus sounds Latin: it is Latin. And of course it is difficult to find any traces of a god named Vertumnus in Etruria: Vertumnus was not the god's Etruscan name. Propertius tell us as much. What then was Vertumnus before his emigration to and naturalization in Rome?

Varro has told us that Vertumnus was the "deus Etruriae princeps"¹⁷ and Propertius that he was the god of the Etruscans who assisted Romulus against T. Tatius. If there were a chief Etruscan god, he could reasonably be assumed to have received honour from all the Etruscan states in common, much as the worship of Juppiter was common to all the Italic peoples.¹⁸ The closest thing to a "United States of Etruria" (= mexl rašnal?) would be what Livy termed the "Etruriae concilium" (4,22,5), a politico-religious union of

¹⁷The operative word here is princeps and a distinction must be made as to whether it relates to function or to position in the divine hierarchy; in other words, was V. the 'first' god to be addressed in religious invocations, or was he the 'first' or 'chief' god among the Etruscans? Cicero, e.g., uses the same word with reference to Janus (de nat. deor. 2,67: "Principem in sacrificando Ianum esse voluerunt"), where it is clear that he means the god is first in terms of function; similarly Paul. Fest. p. 45, 24 f. L.: "et a quo (sc. Iano) rerum omnium factum putabant initium."

¹⁸See Koch, Der Röm. Juppiter, o.c., 45 ff., Wissowa, RuK², 113 ff., Dumézil, RRA, 206 f.

the twelve leading states which met once a year "ad Voltumnae fanum." This shrine of Voltumna, the spiritual centre of the entire nation, stood in the neighbourhood of Volsinii (Etr. Velzna)¹⁹ and we know that Voltumna was "der Schutzgott des Zwölferbandes und Herr des heiligen Haines, in dem sich jährlich die Zusammengehörigkeit der Etrusker, ihnen selbst wie der Umwelt sichtbar, manifestierte."²⁰

This god who presided over the sacred League of Etruria was called, in his own tongue, Velθα, or Veltune; his Latinized name is Voltumna or Vertumnus.²¹ It is to Veltune then, the presiding god of the Etruscan League who had his shrine near Velzna, that we must look to find the Etruscan original of the naturalized Vertumnus; there is no mention of Vertumnus in Etruria because in his homeland he was called Veltune, and under that name he is readily apparent. He is mentioned, for instance, in the Etruscan Book of the Dead;²² on an engraved bronze mirror from Tuscania (see illus.) are figured five personages, four of whom are intently watching the actions

¹⁹M. Pallottino, o.c., 118; cf. Vacano, o.c., 42: "Hain des Gottes Voltumna im Gebiet von Bolsena, das die Römer Volsinii, die Etrusker selbst Velzna nannten."

²⁰Vacano, o.c., 49.

²¹Pallottino, o.c., 159 and see Latte, RRG², 191: "eine Bundesversammlung der Etrusker ad fanum Voltumnae, was schwerlich mehr ist als eine andere Form des gleichen Namens" (i.e. Vortumnus); but cf. Radke, 347, who lists Voltumna as a "Göttin"; so too Wissowa, RuK², 287,2.

²²Lib. Linteus Zagradiensis, vol. 11 of the CIE, col. 9,8;10;15.

of a fifth, a young beardless man, clad in a garment closed at the neck which recalls the Roman tunica, and over his shoulders and back he wears a garment which falls in graceful folds below his knees, while on his head he wears the conical hat of the haruspex; we should have known he was this type of priest in any case, for in his left hand he holds a liver which he is carefully examining with the fingers of the right; over the young haruspex is written pavata tarchies. To his immediate left stands a bearded man leaning on a spear, heroically naked save for a mantle about his left arm; just above his head, on the edge of the mirror, is written his name: Veltune.²³ Veltune then presided over the Etruscan League of twelve cities: the number twelve is important here, for it symbolizes the Cosmos, the twelve signs of the Zodiac;²⁴ Volsinii (or rather the shrine of Voltumna) was the axis mundi, the omphalos of the orbis terrarum.²⁵ This much can be gathered from what Propertius

²³Cf. Vacano, o.c., 49: "aber der mächtige Mann mit dem Speer rechts ist veltune, Vertumnus-Voltumna, der Schutzgott des Zwölferbundes," and cf. E. Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, 5 vols., Berlin, 1884-97, vol. 2, 223. As for his spear, cf. Prop. at line 27: "arma tuli quondam et, memini, laudabar in illis"--note here again the use of the imperfect to denote the god's former (i.e. Etruscan) attributes.

²⁴For the League as a symbol of the Cosmos, cf. Vacano, o.c., 27 ff.

²⁵Cf. Paul. p. 144 L., s.v. mundus: "mundo nomen inpositum est ab eo mundo, qui supra nos est." The shrine of Veltune has ceased being the centre of the earth, since the number of saecula allotted to Etruria by Fate (= Nortia) have expired; cf. Thulin, o.c., 3, 64 ff. In his Roman guise

tells us of the god's name which, he says, comes from a word in Etruscan similar in meaning to the Latin vertere, also written vortere; now another word which has a meaning quite close to vortere is volvere, p.p. volutum, 'to roll around' (as in the course of years): hypothetically, Veltun-/Voltun- could represent an Umbrian element related to Latin volvere. The Vertumnus of Umbrian Tuder (cf. below, p. 135, n. 28) might be the Roman adaptation of an Umbro-Etruscan *Veldomenos/*Veltomenos or of a *Volt-unus; cf. Lat. fort-una and the Ciceronian expression "volubilisque fortuna" (pro Mil. 26). The Umbrian intermedium is likely, since the very name of Tuder means 'boundary', 'limit' (cf. Tab. Iquv. 4a, 10: "todcome tuder" = "usque ad civitatis finem") and constitutes an Umbro-Etruscan isogloss (Etr. tular, 'border', 'limit', cf. Pallottino, The Etruscans, o.c., 278), even though Ernout (Le Dialecte Ombrien, Paris, 1961, 100) claims that the meaning of tular is unknown.

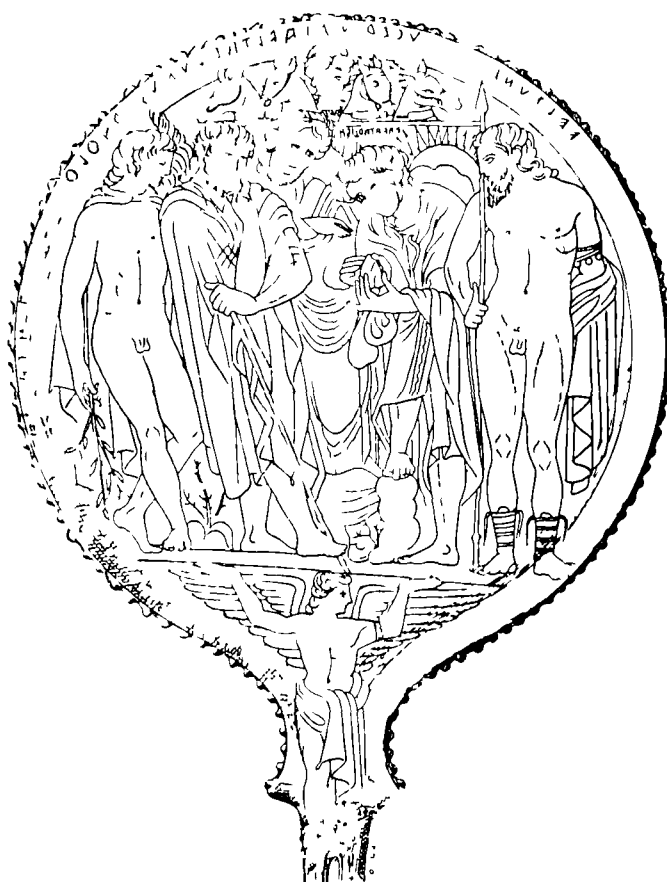
The name Vertumnus is of the same morphological type (the middle or passive participle of thematic tenses of the I.E. verb) as the I.E. alumnus, 'nursling' < *alomenos, and perhaps autumnus as well, of uncertain origin. Its root would be *uort_omo- and is the basis of many I.E. words: Skr.

however Vertumnus stands again at the axis mundi, for Rome is now the mundus and the vicus Tuscus is at its centre; cf. lines 55 f.: "sed facies, divum Sator, ut Romana per aevum / transeat ante meos turba togata pedes."

vártate (= vrt, 'to turn'), Goth. wairþan, AHG. werden, Eng. to writhe, Wel. gwarthaf, 'summit' (cf. Walde-Hofmann, s.v. verto). As the cosmic god of the changing course of the seasons, Veltun-/Voltun- is also linked with the Germanic vuldor, which Grimm says (DM 2,583) originally meant 'caelum' (cf. Cic. Tim. 6, 'volubile caelum'). There is as well the word voltr, 'unbeständig', 'qui roule partout' < *wold-os which, when combined with an Umbrian element -unus, could give *Wold-unus, *Wolt-unus. Related too is the name of the SE wind, Volturnus, which Livy himself derives from volvare (22,46,9): "ventus - Volturnum regionis incolae - vocant adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit"; the Volturnus would then be the rolling, twisting, changing wind (cf. Radke, art. 'Volturnus' in RE 9A,1 861, 58 ff.). Volturnus is also the name of a Roman god (RuK², 224 f.; Radke, a.c., 863, 35 ff.), as well as of a river in Campania (Livy 8,11; 10,20,31; 23,14; 19,36; Verg. Aen. 7,728 f.). The shrine of Voltumna then would be the place around which the earth turns, where the revolving course of years begins a new saeculum and Vel(Vol)-tune the god who presides over these cyclical revolutions. The statement of Propertius, that Etruscan possessed a word vol-, vel- similar in meaning to Latin ver-tere, would accordingly appear to be borne out.

Twelve is also the number of the months in the year, so that the one shape of Veltune can be said to contain all

Tav. XXIX



*Pai Tarchies (Tarchies) in atto di insegnare l'aruspina all'eroe
Tarchunus (Tarchunus) nel quadro di uno specchio inciso*

(Firenze, Museo Archeologico da Toscana)

FIG. 3

The God Veltune

shapes (cf. line 47: "formas unus vertebar in omnes"). The number twelve is the product of 3×4 , symbolically expressed in the circle and the square respectively: the circle stands for completeness, the square for totality, so again the god can be said to represent all things in one, unity in diversity, psychic completeness, the Cosmos eternally the same but ever changing, ultimately the Self, a true "complexis oppositorum."²⁶

2.4 Veltune, God of Beginnings

We come now to the question, Why?: why did Propertius choose to write of the once-proud god of a now dead civilization, whose worship in his day comprised but a tiny signum in the vicus Tuscus? The poem is one of transformations; it is entirely appropriate that this god who, in another culture, was the symbol of the all-embracing Cosmic unity should have settled in Rome as a new saeculum dawns and revolves upon this City as its focal point. This god of

²⁶The principle of $3 \times 4 =$ perfection is found symbolized in the founding, Etrusco ritu, of Rome itself; the setting of Roma quadrata within the sacred circle of the pomoerium represents in fact the squaring of the circle; cf. Kerényi, "Mythologie und Gnosis" and "Das Geheimnis der hohen Städte" in Humanistische Seelenforschung, Darmstadt, 1966, 162 ff. and 220 ff.; for the city as sacred centre, cf. Eliade, Le Sacré et le Profane (Coll. Idées, 76), Paris, 1965, 40 ff.; for the symbolism of the number twelve, called an "ordnendes Prinzip", cf. O. Weinreich, art. "Zwölfgötter" in Myth. Lex. 6,767 ff.; for its psychological-religious symbolism, cf. Jung, Aion. Untersuchungen z. Symbolgesch., Zürich, 1951, 324 f.

beginnings and endings was present at Rome's inception (cf. lines 51 ff.), is witness to the triple composition of the populus Romanus, and expresses the hope that he should continue to be present in Rome "per aevum" (line 55). Appropriate too that the theme of the naturalization of this deeply symbolic god should preside over the beginning of a series of Roman aetiological elegies.²⁷ Finally, it is difficult to shake the conviction that the god, in some mystical manner, represents the poet as well. They are very similar: both are naturalized Roman, both have Etrusco-Umbrian affinities,²⁸ and both are intensely proud of their adoptive homeland.²⁹ What caps the identification is the seeming pun on his own name which Propertius makes at line 59: "properanti falce dolatus." Is he saying that, like the god, he too, formerly a member of a once-great past and now belonging to an even greater present, was rough-hewn and unpolished, but now through the magic of art he has been formed into something more magnificent who in gratitude is proud to give all honour to his adoptive City (cf. line 64)? Whether or not this is in fact the case, certain clues do

²⁷This fact has also been noticed by Suits, a.c., 486,40.

²⁸An inscription to Vertumnus in Tuder (Umbria), CIL 11, 4644^a.

²⁹Cf. Prop. 4,1,64: "Umbria Romani patria Callimachi."

suggest it, and in any event it is a pleasant thought which does no harm. So here, standing at the head of a series of aetiological elegies in honour of Rome, we have Vertumnus, ever-changing yet eternally the same, like his native Etruria; now male, now female; now dignified and solemn, now a reveller; now a fisherman, now a shepherd, infinitely adaptable, like his adoptive Rome--all in all, a perfect representative of the pageantry which Propertius will now unfold before us.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 TARPEIA

This second of the aetiological poems concerns Tarpeia, after whom were named the nemus Tarpeium¹ and the mons Tarpeius. However, Propertius intends the poem to be much more than a simple aition recounting how the Tarpeian rock got its name; more importantly, the poem shall concern itself with (a) the connection of Vesta and the Parilia with the Tarpeia legend, (b) the connection between the foundation legend concerning T. Tatius and the gens Fabia,² and (c) the betrayal of the arx by the maid Tarpeia out of love for the Sabine enemy commander, T. Tatius. This theme of the love of Tarpeia for Tatius has been considered the free

¹The word nemus in line 1 is that of the codices. I disagree with Camps' emendation : : scelus (Elegies, Bk. 4, 87), for which the following explanation is given: "Propertius says nothing about a nemus in his conclusion in lines 93-4 below, nor has any reference to a Tarpeium nemus been found in any other author." If the repetition at the end of a poem of a word used at its beginning is to be the standard for emendation, it would seem that future philologists have their work cut out for them; further, while the exact word nemus is not used elsewhere in connection with the saxum Tarpeium, there is other evidence that in earliest times the Capitolium did possess a grove; cf. Verg. Aen. 8,347: "hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit, aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis."

²See my remarks on this and other examples of what appears to be a connection between certain religious elements mentioned in Bk. 4 and the gens Fabia in the Appendix.

invention of Propertius³ and his style in the narration of this theme has been likened to that of the erotic Hellenistic epyllion.⁴ This may indeed be the case, but questions of literary style and poetic methodology are beyond the scope of the present work, as are researches of the Quellenforschung-type into the many variations in other literatures on the basic Tarpeia motif: i.e., the betrayal by a girl of her homeland and/or loved one out of (a) greed or (b) love. This has been quite fully dealt with hitherto by others⁵ which the interested reader may readily consult. The business of this work is to comment on various elements of Roman religion as they appear in the fourth Book of Propertius and it is to El. 4 itself and the legend which it contains that we shall now turn.

The oldest recorder of the Tarpeia legend seems to have been Qu. Fabius Pictor⁶ and, following him, L. Cincius

³Cf. Butler and Barber, p. 343 and H.A. Sanders, Roman Historical Sources and Institutions (Univ. of Michigan Humanist. Ser., 1), New York, 1967 (1904), 15.

⁴Cf., e.g., Rothstein 11, p. 243; Mielentz, RE 4 A, 2337, 19 ff.; U. Hetzner, Andromeda und Tarpeia (Beiträge z. klass. Philol., Heft 8), Meisenheim a. Glan, 1963, 65; G. Campagna, "Elementi del mito di Tarpea in Properzio," Riv. Fil. n.s. 4(54), 1926, 364 called the elegy "un vero dramma d'amore."

⁵Cf. Sanders, o.c., 1 ff.; Mielentz, a.c., 2337, 59 ff.; Höfer, Myth. Lex., 5, 111 ff.; A.H. Krappe, "Die Sage von der Tarpeja," Rh. Mus. 78 (1929), 249 ff.; Hetzner, o.c., 57 ff.

⁶See HRR 1², p. 41, 13 ff. (Peter) and Mielentz, a.c., 2336, 12 ff.

Alimentus,⁷ in both of whom the legend is already in an advanced state.⁸ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2,38-40) these two earliest annalists agreed in their account of the legend, which was that the maiden Tarpeia was seized with greed for the rings and bracelets which the Sabines wore on their left arms. Accordingly she arranged for a meeting with Tatius and agreed that, if they would come at night, she would betray the citadel to the Sabines in return for all the ornaments which they wore. However, angered at the amount of the pay, the Sabines instead threw their shields upon her, saying that in effect they had promised to give her these. Of this version Dionysius says (2,39,1): Μέχει μὲν δὴ τούτων συμφέρονται πάντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς. Dionysius does, however, contrast the versions of Fabius and Cincius with the later one of Piso⁹ and says that, according to Piso, Tarpeia wanted to perform a noble deed and deprive the enemy of their defensive armour; it was for this reason that she sent a messenger to Romulus to inform him of her plan and to request reinforcements for the fortress. The messenger to Romulus, however, deserted to the Sabines and when the girl demanded from them, not

⁷HRR, 1.c.; Mielentz, 1.c.

⁸Cf. Bömer, Fasti 11,34: "Die Sage von Tarpeia gehört zum alten Bestand der römischen Geschichtsschreibung."

⁹HRR 1², p. 121, 8 ff.

their gold ornaments, but their shields, they, in anger at her deceit, hurled all the shields upon her and so fulfilled their part of the bargain.

It is on Piso's authority too that we have the information that Tarpeia's grave was on the Capitoline near the Tarpeian rock, and that there the Romans made yearly libations.¹⁰ It is because of this fact that Dionysius tends to give more credence to Piso's account, though he is aware that in this matter no final answer is possible and wisely says (2,40,3): ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων κρινέτω τις ὡς βούλεται. The burial of Tarpeia on the Capitoline is also mentioned by Varro, but with the addition that she was a Vestal, de l.l. 5,41: "Hic mons ante Tarpeius dictus a virgine Vestale Tarpeia, quae ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta, cuius nominis monimentum relictum, quod etiam nunc eius rupes Tarpeium appellatur saxum."¹¹ In the most familiar form of the legend,¹² that of Livy at 1,11, these various threads

¹⁰Dion. Hal. 2,40,3: τάφου τε γὰρ ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἡξιώται τὸν ἱερῶτατον τῆς πόλεως κατέχουσα λόφον, καὶ χοὰς αὐτῇ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦσι (λέγω δὲ ἅ Πείσων γράφει).

¹¹The same statement as Varro's, with minor additions, is repeated by Plut. Rom. 18: Τῆς μέντοι Ταρπηίας ἐκεῖ ταρφείστης ὁ λόφος ὠνομαζέτο Ταρπήιος, ἄχρι οὗ Ταρκυνίου βασιλέως διὰ τὸν τόπου καθιεροῦντος ἅμα τε τὰ λείψανα μετηνέχθη καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς Ταρπηίας ἐξέλιπε. Πλὴν πέτραν ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Ταρπηίαν καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρίππουν τοὺς κακούργους. Servius also bears witness to the burial of Tarpeia on the hill (ad. Aen. 8,348 (1st Vat. Myth. 155); Sch. ad Lucan Phars. I,196; 3,154.

¹²Grimal, p. 437, in summarizing "La forme la plus ordinaire" of the legend, gives essentially the version contained in Propertius!

are pulled together into a more or less 'vulgate': Tarpeia, a Vestal (filiam virginem) was bribed with gold by T. Tatius; she entered into a pact to betray the citadel, if the Sabines would give her "quod in sinistris manibus haberent"; Tatius accordingly rewarded her treachery by crushing her beneath the Sabine shields. Livy presents several additions to the earlier form of the myth. Tarpeia meets Tatius when she goes 'extra moenia' to gather water for the sacred rites, and in common with Varro he makes her a Vestal; although he does not use the adjective Vestalis, as Varro had done, there is ample literary evidence for the word virgo alone, especially in connection with sacred rites, meaning a Vestal.¹³

It thus becomes obvious that the version of the legend as given by Propertius, where the Vestal's passion for Tatius provides the motive for her betrayal of the citadel, represents a significant departure from the traditional accounts; as far as is known from surviving literary sources, Propertius was the only one who made Tarpeia's love for Tatius the effective cause of her treachery. That he most probably did not originate the love-motif in explanation of Tarpeia's betrayal, but took it over from the poet

¹³See Sanders, o.c., 9, who gives a long list of references in support of this.

Simylos, is suggested by Krappe.¹⁴ We are on very dubious ground here; Simylos--an otherwise unknown poet--is mentioned only by Plutarch (Rom. 17 f.) and his dates are highly uncertain:¹⁵ he wrote a poem on the Tarpeia legend in which the heroine was portrayed as surrendering the citadel out of love, not for the Sabine king, but for the leader of the Gauls.¹⁶ Whatever the facts may be in all of this (and it is well to keep in mind the words of Dionysius, quoted above), in commenting on the presentation of the legend as it is

¹⁴a.c., 250: "Diesse Version findet sich im Properz, der sie jedoch sicherlich nicht erfunden hat, da schon der griechische Dichter Simylos nach einem Zitate Plutarchs sie kannte." Cf. as well Mielentz, a.c., 2337,25 f., who is of a similar opinion.

¹⁵Diehl, RE 3A, 217,11 ff., in his article on Simylos, gives no dates whatever; nor does E. Rohde, Die griech. Roman u. seine Vorläufer³, Hildesheim, 1970 (Lzg. 1914), 103 and n. 1; J. Beaujeu, "L'enigme de Tarpeia," Inform. litt. 21 (1969), 169, calls the version of Simylos "aberrante, apparemment très tardive--Simylos n'est mentionné que par Plutarque, à la fin du 1^{er} siècle de notre ère."

¹⁶See K. Müller, "Zu Plutarch, Romulus 17,7," Mus. Helv. 20 (1963), 114 ff. Tuerk's assertion (De Propertii carm. auctor., Halle, 1888,26) that Propertius modeled his El. 4 on a poem of Callimachus on Scylla, based on a comparison of Ovid's treatment of the Scylla legend in Met. 8,1-151, is without foundation, since we know of no poem by Callimachus on this topic. The truth is more likely to be the other way about, i.e., that Ovid imitated Propertius' treatment of Tarpeia in writing about Scylla; cf. Sanders, o.c., 18. Butler and Barber (p. 343) consider Propertius' version a possible adaptation of the story of Scylla and Nisus, or of the legend of Achilles and Pisidice (Parthen. 21); this is also the view of Heinze, "Ovids elegische Dichtung," o.c. 366; on p. 365 he says that the Tarpeia saga is for Propertius an ἱστορικὸν πᾶθημα: "Das Historische tritt ganz in den Hintergrund."

found in Propertius one must be aware of the fact that one is dealing with the artistic production of a creative poet and that certain chosen themes or motifs, whether drawn from myth, legend or early religion, must of necessity be subjected to the poet's literary and creative amplification. There can hardly be a work of art which does not express, in whatever manner, a relation between its creator and its source; hence the question of whether or not Propertius invented or borrowed the love-motif for his presentation of the Tarpeia legend becomes, in this context, irrelevant. There is no intention to imply by this that Propertius' treatment of religion in any given poem is unimportant--that would be absurd. But what one is dealing with in Elegy 4 is not religion per se, it is legend, and what is of interest, in the present context, is how Propertius selects, adapts and amplifies this particular legend to produce the poem's particular effects. In Elegy 4 the student of Roman religion should be concerned with the attempt at discovering why the goddess Vesta is the all-pervading symbol or spiritual presence that she is, what significance should be attached to the infatuation of a Vestal for the enemy king, and why the Parilia is important as the day on which the treachery occurred.¹⁷ It is to the study of these and related questions

¹⁷ Though the story of Tarpeia as we have it is of the stuff from which legends are made, there are undeniably elements of religion concealed within it. A great many

that attention shall now be focused.

The time element in Elegy 4, i.e., the struggle between the Romans and the Sabines after the rape of the Sabine women, is the same as that referred to in parts of Elegy 1 (line 29), as well as in Elegy 2 (lines 51-54), and

modern commentators have in fact seen in Tarpeia the figure of a divinity, whether local (A. Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.*, Tübingen, 1867, 486), or eponymous (W.F. Otto, "Röm. Sondergötter," *Rh. Mus.* 64 (1909), 465; Wissowa, *RuK*², 233), or Sabine (B.G. Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* edit. Isler, 1873, 188), or indeed a local water sprite transformed into an historical personage (L. Preller-H. Jordan, *Röm. Myth.* 23, Berlin, 1883, 351,1). She has even been called a localization of the Mediterranean *Magna Mater*, having affinities with Juno-Tanit (Z. Ganszyniec, "Tarpeia. The Making of a Myth," *Acta soc. Arch. Polon.* 1, Wroclaw, 1949); her crushing death beneath the Sabine shields has been explained as the myth illustrative of a pre-Hellenic *pharmacos*-ritual (G. Radke, *RE* 21, art. "Polykrite," 1755 ff.); Reinach (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, t. 3, Paris, 1908, 248 ff.) explains the phenomenon of her tomb on the Capitoline and the yearly offerings paid there as the result of a fusion between the primitive Latin practice of erecting a *tropaeum* made of captured enemy arms on the Capitoline and the cult of a *numen loci*, the eponymous divinity Tarpeia. Finally, Dumézil (*Tarpeia. Essais de philol. comp. indo-européenne*, Paris, 1947, 254 ff.; cf. *RRA*, 77 ff.) sees in Tarpeia the Latin equivalent of the sorceress Gullveig (= "drunk with gold") as presented in the *Völuspâ Edda*; like Gullveig, Tarpeia also represents the "puissance affolante de l'or" (*Tarpeia, o.c.*, 271) and is instrumental in effecting a reconciliation between the representatives of the first and second (= Romulus and the Romans) and those of the third (= Tatius and the Sabines) functions of Indo-European society as found in primitive Rome.

Further, we have Corn. Piso's word (= *Dion. Hal.* 2, 40,3) for it that Tarpeia was rendered yearly libations, a notice one is free to accept or reject, since any other corroborating evidence is lacking--for surely one must regard Mommsen's identification (*CIL* 1², p. 309) of these libations (if such indeed there were) with those which, following the notice of the calendar of Philocalus (c. 354 AD; cf. Wissowa, *RuK*², 3), were carried out on the 13th of February by the Vestals (*virgo Vesta[lis] parentat*) as

it is a time to which the poet will refer again.¹⁸ The poem may be broken down in various ways but the following division appears especially advantageous in our discussion of the poem: (1) lines 1-8: introduction, the announcement of the theme and description of the setting; (2) lines 9-14: an aside by the poet, similar to his schema in the first part of Elegy 1, in order to contrast the size and importance of Rome in illo tempore with what it has become in his own day; (3) lines 15-20: starting point for the betrayal--Tarpeia's visit to the fountain and the introduction of the love-motif; (4) lines 21-30: description of the first stage of her passion for Tatius; (5) lines 31-66: Tarpeia's monologue; a plan for betrayal is worked out; she abandons herself completely to her passion; (6) lines 67-72: her passion is heightened by Vesta and she becomes maddened in her love-frenzy; (7) lines 73-80: the next day dawns on the Parilia, Rome's dies

highly conjectural at best; Wissowa however (RuK², 233) remarks that Mommsen's assertion has "grossen Wahrscheinlichkeit," and Sanders (o.c., 6), with obvious dependence on Mommsen, remarks that by these libations to Tarpeia mentioned by Piso we must understand public yearly offerings to the dead, "such as those made on the occasion of the Parentalia or Feralia in February." As ingenious and indeed original as the above interpretations are, they must nevertheless be considered strictly conjectural, each one as arbitrary as the next. Whether the story of Tarpeia does in fact represent the legendary or Märchen-like residue of some primordial Latin (or indeed Indo-European) myth is as likely as not, but our poet presents her solely as a figure of legend and romance. For a complete discussion of all the many variations on a theme outlined above, see J. Beaujeu, "L'énigme de Tarpéia," a.c., 163 ff.

¹⁸Cf. Elegy 10, lines 5-16.

natalis; a description of the feast; (8) lines 81-94: completion of the description of the betrayal and its consequences. It will be seen from this division that over one-third of the poem is devoted to Tarpeia's monologue, with its description of her ever more delusive passion and the coming to fruition of her traitorous schemes; this monologue (lines 31-66) forms as it were the central panel in a kind of literary tryptich, flanked on either side by the remaining two sections, each of approximately the same length (lines 1-30 and 67-94), the one setting the scene and describing the events which lead up to the central monologue, the other telling of its aftermath and the consequent results of the Vestal's decision. I should now like to look at each of these main sections in turn, commenting on the various religious elements which Propertius utilizes in his version of the legend.

3.1 The Grove (lines 1-30)

A description of the lucus, comprising lines 3-8, marks the opening of the story; the passage itself is an extremely difficult one which, despite the ingenuity of various commentators, has found no certain explanation.¹⁹ The problem concerns the identification of the springs

¹⁹Cf. the various attempts at explanation listed by Butler and Barber, pp. 344 f.

mentioned at lines 7, 14 and 15. Camps has attempted to obviate part of the difficulty by suggesting the emendation 'contra' instead of 'fontem' (consensus codd.) in line 7. Yet part of the solution is surely to be sought in the fact that it is a question here of two springs, not one, and in recognizing that lines 9-14 constitute an aside by the poet, in apposition to lines 3-8 and 15 ff., where the narrative is again picked up. Once this has been recognized, one immediately sees that two springs are involved, the one in the lucus Silvani (lines 3-6) and the other in the forum Romanum near the Curia. This last was palisaded by Tatius (line 7) to provide fresh water for his men and horses. The reason for Camps' emendation in this line was that "Tatius cannot have set a palisade either partly or wholly around the copse and spring, for that would be incompatible with Tarpeia going (as she will) to the spring to draw water" (p. 88), and it becomes readily apparent that Camps' difficulty arises from his failure to distinguish between two springs. Tarpeia would scarcely visit an enemy camp in order to draw water, even if destined for religious rites, and further, the practice of building a military camp near fresh water is, as Camps himself admits, quite in accordance with sound military tactics.²⁰ Thus, once the existence of two distinct

²⁰Cf. Livy, 9,2,14: "castra propter aquam vallo circumdant," and see Tib. 4,1,82-87.

springs is recognized (and the appositional nature of lines 9-14 can be only perversely denied), the emendation seems hardly necessary.

If Camps confused the spring in the lucus . . . Silvani with the fons from which the Sabine horses drank, Rothstein did not. According to him (Elegien 11, pp. 246 f.) "Die Quelle, die Tarpeia für ihren heiligen Dienst benutzt, ist nicht die eben erwähnte, aus der die Rosse der Sabiner trinken." Rothstein also places the location of the lucus "in der Senkung vom Capitol zum Forum" (p. 245). This seems to be in accord with Butler and Barber (p. 345) who state that "The spring from which Tarpeia draws water is located near the curia Iulia (13), i.e. in the NW. corner of the Forum, not far from the Capitoline escarpment. It might perhaps be identified with the spring (tullius) which gave its name to the Tullianum close by."²¹ P. Grimal²² also, on the basis of topographical clues cleverly extrapolated from the poem, accepts the underground springs beneath the Tullianum as the fons from which Tarpeia drew her water. Some have also postulated that it was the fons Iuturnae under the Palatine which is meant.²³ Yet, if it is accepted

²¹See Fest., s.v. 'Tullios', p. 483 L.

²²"Etudes sur Properce, 11. César et la légende de Tarpéia," REA 29 (1951), 205 ff.

²³See Camps, p. 88.

that we are dealing with two springs, one of which is located in the forum and used by the Sabines (line 14) and the other the spring of the lucus in line 3 from which Tarpeia draws the water for the rites of Vesta, where should this latter be placed? The exigencies of the text seem to require that it be located on or near the arx; it was from a height that Tarpeia sees Tatius exercising in the forum, it is while sitting on the arx that she begins her complaint (line 29); her instructions for a rendezvous to her unwilling lover require that he ascend by way of a winding, torturous and slippery path (lines 48-50). Further, Propertius designates the lucus of line 3 as the "Silvani ramosa domus" (line 8). This grove sacred to Silvanus either no longer existed in the poet's own day or, if it did, we know too little to be able to locate it with precision. Plautus, however, does tell us that "Silvani lucus extra murum est avius" (Aul. 676 ff.).²⁴ That description fits very nicely with the lucus here under consideration; the fact that Plautus places it extra murum also tallies with the description which Livy gives of Tarpeia fetching water (1,11,6):

²⁴Cf. CIL 6,610 for a later notice of a grove of Silvanus and see Klotz, art. "Silvanus," in RE 3A, 1,121, 16 ff. The question is further complicated by the existence of a lucus Vestae "qui a Palatio radice in novam viam devexus est" (Cic. de div. 1,101). Its exact location has yet to be determined; see the literature cited in M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione, ed. A.S. Pease, Darmstadt, 1963 (Urbana, 1920), 280.

"Sp. Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatus ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petitum ierat." We thus have Propertius' statement that the lucus was under the tutelage of Silvanus, that of Plautus that the lucus Silvani was "extra murum," and Livy's description of Tarpeia fetching her water "extra moenia." A bit circumstantial perhaps, yet when one considers the alternative, rather compelling. In historical times the Vestals drew their water for the rites from the spring of Egeria and the Camenae in the temple near the Porta Capena;²⁵ but surely this fountain, situated so far from the arx and the forum, could not have been the one which is meant; of the remaining two suggestions, the underground springs of the Tullianum and the fons Iuturnae, it may be objected that, in the light of the (admittedly somewhat circumstantial) evidence outlined above, the former was not extra moenia, while the latter, situated in the forum near the temple of Vesta, would require that Tarpeia cross through enemy territory to reach it, nor again was it extra moenia.²⁶

²⁵ See Plut. Numa 13; Livy 1,21,3; Fest. p. 152 L.; Wissowa, RuK², 160; 219; Bömer, Fasti 11, 141; Latte, RRG², 77; Butler and Barber, p. 345.

²⁶ For the fons Iuturnae, which belonged originally to a "fons saluberrimus iuxta Numicum fluvium" (Serv. ad. Aen. 12,139) from which water was drawn for rites ("ad omnia sacrificia") at Rome, see Latte, art. "Iuturna," in RE 10,2, 1348 f.; Wissowa, art. "Iuturna," in Myth Lex. 11,1,762 ff.

To add further to the confusion, it also appears that we have not only two fontes with which to contend, but also two luci; Propertius, at 4,8,31 mentions the residence of a certain young lady of pliant charm as being "Tarpeios inter lucos"; our commentators reach near unanimity in locating this, Rothstein (p. 314) identifying it with the area known as inter duos lucos (Livy 1,8,5) and taking the adjective Tarpeios in its wider meaning of Capitolinos which, according to Varro, de l.l. 5,41, was the original name of the hill;²⁷ Butler and Barber (p. 367) also identify it with the district known as inter duos lucos, adding: "It can scarcely be connected with the Tarpeium nemus of IV. iv. 1." Camps (p. 129) too locates it in this area and Bömer (Fasti 11, 172 f.), in discussing the temple of Veiovis inter duos lucos, locates this "im Sattel zwischen den Höhen der Arx und des Capitols (Gell. V 12, if.)."²⁸ If then the temple of Veiovis was located in Capitolio (Livy 35,21,12), in arce

Grimal, "César et la légende de Tarpéia," a.c., 206 f., while identifying Tarpeia's spring with that of the Tullianum, after a series of arguments very different from mine, manages to locate the lucus Silvani "sur les dernières pentes de l'Arx, dans les anfractuosités de la falaise, en un endroit où aujourd'hui encore les herbes folles et les broussailles poussent librement."

²⁷Cf. Rothstein's remarks on Prop. 3,11,45 (p. 95).

²⁸Ch. Picard, discussing A.M. Colini's Il tempio di Vejove: Aedes Vejovis inter arcem et Capitolium in Rev. Arch. 25 (1946), 70 ff., places the temple as follows (p. 71): "Voisin au N. du Clivus capitolinus, il occupe l'angle N.-O. du massif du Tabularium."

(Plin. n.h. 16,216) or, more rightly, inter arcem et Capitolium (Gell. 5,12,2) = inter duos lucos (Vitruv. 4,8,4), might it be reasonable to assume that the two groves in question would be located on the arx and the Capitolinus respectively, and that the one on the arx was the Silvani lucus to which Propertius refers, while the one on the Capitolinus (previously called Tarpeius, as Varro informs us) was named after the traitoress who was buried there (cf. line 1, "Tarpeium nemus et Tarpeiae turpe sepulcrum")? The existence of two groves in the immediate vicinity with which the poem is concerned would also account for the confusion, on the part of the commentators, in placing the lucus of line 3, Rothstein (p. 245) for instance placing it "in der Senkung vom Capitol zum Forum," while Camps is convinced of the existence of only one spring.²⁹

By having Tarpeia fetch water for Vesta's rites from a spring in a sacred grove, Propertius is following an important religious tradition, for the first Vestal, Rhea Silvia,³⁰ drew water for the rites in a grove sacred to Mars.³¹ That the grove from which Tarpeia draws her water

²⁹Rothstein (p. 246) too thinks that the spring of line 14 is the invention of the poet.

³⁰For Rhea Silvia as a Vestal, cf. Enn. ann. 35 ff.; Cic. de div. 1,40; Livy 1,3,11; Ovid, fast. 3,11.

³¹Cf. Ovid, fast. 3,12; Dion. Hal. 1,77; orig. gent. Rom. 20. Dionysius (1,76,4) makes clear that this grove was in Alba Longa and Livy (1,20,3) states that the Vestals

is sacred to Silvanus is also fraught with special implications in the context of the poem. One hesitates to dare even to suggest that the name of the god was meant, at least in part, to recall just this similarity between Rhea Silvia and Tarpeia.³² Yet without discussing the similarity between the names Silvia and Silvanus, there is much more tangible evidence for the importance of Silvanus to the poem. The god has a sacrifice conjointly with Mars (Cato, de agric. 83),³³ a fact which further heightens the comparison between Rhea Silvia and Tarpeia; he was known as custos (CIL 6,640), as conservator (CIL 9,3076); Horace (Ep. 2,22) calls him "tutor finium"; he also appears in connection with the Penates and Lares (CIL 3,3491; 6,582; 10,1114), and the anniversary of the founding of his temple in Rome (June 27) is the same as that of the aedes Larum publicorum (CIL 10, 444). It becomes apparent that the role of Silvanus as

originated in Alba. See further, A. Alföldi, "Die Geburt der kaiserlichen Bildsymbolik," Mus. Helv. 7 (1950), 2 ff.

³²It is possible that a legend, similar to the one involving Mars and Rhea Silvia and the birth of Romulus and Remus, could have existed about Lavinia and the birth of Silvius, founder of the royal Alban line and ancestor of Rhea Silvia, and who was said to have been born in silvis due to casu quodam (Livy 1,3,6); it is not inconceivable that Silvanus was looked upon as the divine eponym of the entire Alban royal line; cf. Vergil, Aen. 6,763 f.

³³See Dumézil, RRA, 236: "la secteur de Mars est ici coextensif à celui de Silvanus: d'où l'étroite association des deux dieux"; see too Latte, RRG², 83.

guardian and protector, and his association with the Lares and Penates (in common with Vesta, whose immensely symbolic importance to the poem shall be shortly discussed) who are also protectors of the Roman state, is quite vital to Propertius' conception of the Tarpeia legend.

3.2 Vesta

Her symbolic presence animates the poem;³⁴ it is against her that Tarpeia sins by her love for Tatius (lines 17 f.; 36); it is Vesta's eternal fire which is in danger of being extinguished through the inattention of her servant (lines 45 f.), and it is Vesta, "Iliacae felix tutela favillae" (line 69) who sets in motion the destruction of her faithless priestess. Heinze's opinion that Vesta was angered because of Tarpeia's disregard for her vow of chastity,³⁵ while true enough and greatly important to the legend as Propertius conceives it, does not in itself explain the importance of the goddess to the poem; Vesta was much more than merely the guardian of chastity (cf. my remarks above on 4,1,21). The sacred and eternal flame of Vesta was the most ancient guarantee of the power and

³⁴Cf. Grimal, a.c., 209: "Et voici que Vesta apparaît comme l'instigatrice de tout le drame."

³⁵"Ovids elegische Dichtung," o.c., 366: "Dass Tarpeia durch ihre Liebe das Keuschheitsgelübde verletzt, ist die wichtigste und folgenschwerste ihrer Verfehlungen."

permanence of the City;³⁶ the mother of the founder himself was a Vestal. In her round temple, which symbolized alike the cosmos and the orbis terrarum,³⁷ Vesta was the "guardian of the innermost things,"³⁸ i.e. the pignora fatalia (Ovid, fast. 6,445), the cult objects upon which depended the security of the populus Romanus.³⁹ The prayers and ceremonies performed at her temple in the middle of the forum were offered on behalf of the State as a whole,⁴⁰ and as was Janus at the beginning, so Vesta was addressed at the end of

³⁶Cf. the words of Camillus in Livy 5,52,7: "Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque quod imperii pignus custodis eius templi tenetur loquar?"

³⁷Cf. Ovid, fast. 6,267: "Vesta eadem est et terra" and see Varro in August. civ. dei, 7,24; for the aedes Vestae, cf. Bömer, Fasti 11, 356 f. and the references there quoted; the circle, with its attendant number three, represents the union of the three cosmic spheres of heaven, earth and underworld; cf. Macr. sat. 1,16,18 and see Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, tr. by R. Sheed, New York, 1958, 374 ff.; the use of the word aedes to designate Vesta's temple is instructive: it means "hearth", i.e. the enclosure of the sacred fire, *a₂ei-dh- = "to burn" (Gk. αἵθω = "to kindle", Sk. edha- and edhas- = "that which is burnable").

³⁸Cic. de nat. deor. 2,67: "rerum custos intumarum"; cf. Vell. Pat. 2,131,1: "perpetuorum custos Vesta ignium."

³⁹Cf. Livy 26,27,14: "conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperii Romani"; Cic. Scaur. 48: "Palladium, quod quasi pignus nostrae salutis atque imperii custodiis Vestae continetur."

⁴⁰See C. Koch, "Drei Skizzen zur Vesta-Religion" in Religio. Studien z. Kult u. Glauben d. Römer, ed. by O. Seel, Nürnberg (Erlanger Beiträge z. Sprach- u. Kunstwissenschaft., 7), 1960, 14.

every prayer and sacrifice.⁴¹ Her prime function then, it seems, was before all to assure the continued well-being and safety of the Roman people,⁴² and when Tarpeia's treachery is looked at in this light, it will be seen that she merited the goddess' vengeful wrath not once, but three times over. In the first place, Tarpeia was a priestess of Vesta; as such, she was sacra Vestae, a fact which entailed castitas which "apparaît en d'autres termes comme la vertu propre du sacerdos et pour ainsi dire sa marque constitutionnelle."⁴³ By betraying her priestly vows she has thus been effectively rendered incesta and to the Roman mind, a sacerdos who was not castus was scarcely conceivable. It must also be remembered that castus has a primary and a secondary meaning, both of which pertain to our understanding of Vesta's concern with Tarpeia; primarily, castus = "one who is knowledgeable (in religious matters)"⁴⁴ and secondarily it means "rein",

⁴¹Cic. de nat. deor. 2,67; cf. Verg. geor. 1,498; Ovid, fast. 4,827; Juv. 6,386; Serv. ad Aen. 1,292; see Wissowa in Myth. Lex. 6,257, Bömer, Fasti II, 360 and Dumézil, RRA, 317 f.

⁴²Cf. Koch, Religio, o.c., 16: "die Sorge um die Kontinuität der salus publica."

⁴³H. Fugier, Recherches sur l'expression du sacré dans la langue latine (Publ. de la Fac. des lettres de l'Univ. Strasbourg, fasc. 146), Paris, 1963, 24.

⁴⁴Ibid., 25.

"enthaltsam (von Liebesgenuss)," "fromm, keusch,"⁴⁵ and this leads us into the second point: her willingness to allow the sacred fire to go unattended means that Tarpeia was delinquent in the religious duties owed the goddess by a Vestal, and this lack of scruple renders her doubly incesta, for according to Aulus Gellius castus = "exact in the practice of religious observances."⁴⁶ Third and last, Tarpeia's lack of sexual abstinence puts the entire community in jeopardy; in the cult of Vesta no male (save the pontifex maximus, and even he is excluded from the penus) is allowed entry into the aedes Vestae;⁴⁷ by planning to allow a male to enter her res intuma Tarpeia has broken the magic bond (symbolized by her virginitas) by which was guaranteed the salus p. R.: in other words, she would no longer be intacta and thus she threatens the stability both of the cosmic and

⁴⁵Walde-Hofmann³, s.v. careo. This meaning of castus applies strictly to the cult of Vesta; cf. Bömer, Fasti 11, 171, and Thes. Ling. Lat. 111,568,50 ff.

⁴⁶2,28,2: "Veteres Romani cum in omnibus aliis vitae officiis tum in constituendis religionibus atque in dis immortalibus animadvertendis castissimi cautissimique," and see Cic., de div. 2,85 where castissime = "with proper observance of the ritual"; at de nat. deor. 2,71 he says: "Cultus autem deorum est optumus, idemque castissimus atque sanctissimus plenissimusque pietatis, ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et voce veneremur," and again at de leg. 2,10. See also Fugier, o.c., 26.

⁴⁷Cf. Dumézil, RRA, 319; Koch, Religio, 15; Wissowa, RuK², 159 with n. 6.

the social order.⁴⁸ It would then seem that Grimal's thesis,⁴⁹ in which Vesta is portrayed as willing the treachery of her priestess in order to set in motion a new founding of the City, is a priori at odds both with the nature and function of the goddess. Rather, it is the incestum of her priestess and the dangerous imbalance in space and time which this represents which motivates the goddess. She intervenes to save the new State from its first assailants and restore the pax deorum; Tarpeia's spark of passion has set itself against the pure and eternal flame of Vesta, τὸ

⁴⁸Fugier, o.c., 30 f.: "A Rome enfin, les vestales sont à ce point définies par leur virginité que l'incestum annule leur qualification religieuse . . . : mais ici, comme il en va toujours quand il s'agit de Rome, sacré et politique se rencontrent si étroitement dans l'affaire qu'à chaque fois le fait religieux est inséparable de tout son contexte d'événements . . . : alors la castitas, puisqu'elle l'habilite à cette activité, joue comme une condition d'où dépend tout le juste fonctionnement--et donc toute l'efficacité--de son sacerdoce." It is worthy of note that, while Tarpeia schemes to break the magic band of her sacerdotal castitas and thus expose the community to an imbalance in the cosmic order, her would-be paramour has constructed a magic circle around his encampment (lines 7 f.). Tatius, like Romulus, is by virtue of his kingship also a priest, and the ritual correctness of his action here is adroitly contrasted with the irresponsibility of Tarpeia in the performance of her ritual acts; thus the inevitable consequences of her insane passion are suggested from the very first. For the idea of maidenhood standing, in terms of homoeopathic magic, for defence, cf. W.F.J. Knight, Vergil. Epic and Anthropology, ed. by V.D. Christie, London, 1967, 265; cf. the symbolism of Brünhild's virginity in the Nibelungenlied: "liegt ihre Stärke in der Magie ihrer Jungfräulichkeit," H. de Boor, intro. to Das Nibelungenlied in Urtext u. Uebersetzung (Sammlung Dieterich, Bd. 250), Bremen, 1959, p. xi.

⁴⁹a.c., 209 f.

ἀγυνῶτατον θεῶν⁵⁰ and threatened Rome's very existence. For that she is damned and becomes an accursed example, for no mere human force can threaten this infant State which the gods have marked for greatness.⁵¹ But we are not yet finished; fire, Vesta's own fire,⁵² has still a further role to play.

3.3 The Role of the Parilia

The use of fire to represent (a) purity, divinity and (b) ungovernable passion is employed extensively by Propertius throughout the poem, e.g., at line 5 the sheep go to the spring in the Silvani lucus to find relief ab aestu: but aestus can also mean duplici sensu, "sexual heat," and it is precisely when Tarpeia is returning from this spring that she experiences her first feelings of passion for Tatius; at line 18 the reference is to the pure and eternal flame of Vesta, while at line 31, "ignes castrorum," Tarpeia projects her 'ignes' onto the camp of her beloved; with line 44,

⁵⁰Dion. Hal. 11,66; cf. Dumézil, Tarpeia, o.c., 107.

⁵¹Cf. Livy, praef. 6 f.; see too Altheim, "Von den Ursachen der Grösse Roms" in Römertum (WdF, Bd. 18), ed. H. Oppermann, Darmstadt, 1970, 419, and the statement of Wissowa, RuK², 387: "diese nie unterbrochenen suspicia populi Romani, d.h. Zustimmungserklärungen der Gottheit zu den öffentlichen Handlungen des Staates, eine einheitliche dauernde Garantie der Gottheit für Bestand und Wohlergehen der Gemeinde."

⁵²Cf. lines 69 f.: "nam Vesta . . . plures condit in ossa faces."

"improba virgineo lecta ministra foco," we are again given the contrast between the purity of Vesta's fire and the unworthiness of her priestess; immediately following in line 45 the Vestal's utter worthlessness is dramatically underlined when she contemplates leaving the sacred fire unattended; in lines 69 f. the contrast between the fire of Vesta and the torches of passion are clearly brought out and in line 77 we are given the image of the purifying lustral bonfires of the Parilia, in stark contrast to the sacrilegious passion of Tarpeia. There is one final allegorical use of the fire-image at line 20, where Tarpeia is struck by the "flavas . . . iubas" of Tatius: the golden, fiery plumes of the enemy king serve to fan the flames of her fatal infatuation.

Propertius uses other images as well to suggest the sensuality, even lust, of the Vestal: at line 25 she makes an offering of argentea lilia to the nymphs of a stream, ostensibly to secure protection for Tatius (line 26: "Romula ne faciem laederet hasta Tati"). The choice of a lily is significant here for its pistil contains a symbol of phallic potency.⁵³ Tarpeia, in offering a lily containing

⁵³V. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland u. Italien sowie in das übrige Europa (Hist.- ling.- Stud., ed. O. Schrader), Hildesheim, 1963 (Berlin, 1911), 225: "Von der Lilie, der rosa Iunonis, wurde gefabelt, sie sei aus der Milch der Hera entstanden, als diese schlafend den Herakles säugte (Gespon. 11, 19); mit der Aphrodite war die Lilie der reinen

the phallic yellow pistil, is in reality practicing a bit of sympathetic magic in order to increase the sexual desire of Tatius (cf. line 51: "o utinam magicae nossem cantamina Musae"). The comparison in the myth of the pistil with the phallus of an ass is especially significant also, for it will be remembered (cf. above, Chapter 1, p. 57f) that the ass is the sacred animal of Vesta; but here a function of that animal quite foreign to Vesta-worship is recalled by Tarpeia, thus reinforcing her utter unworthiness as a member of the sanctissimum sacerdotium. Again, the very figure of Tatius himself suggests the erect phallus;⁵⁴ but while Tatius/phallus represents "la troisième fonction (richesse rurale, fécondité)" (RRA, 266), Tarpeia wishes to divert that fecundating energy away from the community and onto herself. An explanation for Tarpeia's concern with fertility and sexuality could lie in the possibility that originally she was a Moon goddess. Several have previously made

unbefleckten Farbe wegen in Streit: um die keusche Blume zu beschämen, setzte die Göttin ihr das gelbe Pistill ein, welches an den brünstigen Esel erinnerte (Nik. Alexiph. 406 ff.)."

⁵⁴See Kerényi, "Pannonia," GLOTTA 22 (1934), 40: "In diesem Zusammenhang wurzelt Τίτυπος sicher nicht griechischen Ursprungs--und auch der römische Pn. Titus. Die mit ihm verbundene Vorstellung ist aus einen Persiusscholion (ad 1 20) bekannt: a membri virilis magnitudine dicti Titi."

this suggestion⁵⁵ and Propertius here appears to provide some basis for it: at line 23, in order to conceal her passion, Tarpeia says that her distraught condition is caused by the moon ("saepe illa immeritae causata est omina lunae"), and what Tib. 1,5,13 f. calls saeva somnia and attributes to Trivia could well equal Propertius' omina lunae; in any case, the common treatment for moon-madness was ritual lustration in running water, as Tarpeia correctly does (cf. Verg. Aen. 8,67 ff.; Juv. 6,522). This by itself is certainly not sufficient to connect Tarpeia with the moon, but it is curious that the first representation of the heroine on coins, issued by L. Titurius Sabinus (c. 80 BC), who came originally, as his name suggests, from a Sabine tribe whose eponym was no doubt T. Tatius, shows the head of Tatius on the obverse, while on the reverse is figured Tarpeia with loosened hair and raised arms, half-buried beneath a pile of shields; above the heroine's head is a crescent moon and star; this same device of moon and star appears on the coins of the gens Petronia (c. 20 BC), which was also of Sabine origin.⁵⁶

⁵⁵E.g., E. Siecke, C. Fries, Th. Mommsen; cf. Mielentz, a.c., 2339,61 ff. for references.

⁵⁶See H. Mattingly, Coins of the Rom. Empire in the Brit. Mus. 1, London, 1923, p. C111, 2; H.A. Grueber, Coins of Rom. Republic in the Brit. Mus. 1, London, 1910, 298 nos. 2326-29; Höfer, art. "Tarpeia" in Myth. Lex. 5,115 f.; Beaujeu, a.c., 170, figs. 1 and 2.

A

FIG. 1. — Denier de L. Titurius Sabinus
(vers 80 av. J.-C.)

B

FIG. 2. — Denier de Petronius Turpilianus
(vers 20 av. J.-C.)

FIG. 4 (a) and (b)

Coins Showing the Death of Tarpeia

It can thus be seen how the allegorical use of fire finally reaches a climax during the ritual of the Parilia: for on this day Tarpeia, who has by now been completely possessed by her mad passion, shall betray Rome to the Sabines and the intensity of her flames of passion is matched, indeed even overcome, by the roaring, leaping flames from the pile of straw kindled for the feast. On this day while the entire City is otiosa (cf. line 79: Romulus has even suspended all military operations so that the feast, during which no blood may be shed, will not be profaned) and all are being ritually purified, Tarpeia has set herself against the pax deorum and has irrevocably damned herself in the sight of both gods and men by (a) renouncing her sacerdotal castitas and (b) plotting to overthrow her patria: far from being made pure and whole by the fires of the Parilia, Tarpeia's soul has been burned black; and the flames which destroyed Tarpeia and those which purify the community were

both kindled by Vesta--a goddess whose cult involves castitas and virginitas is quite naturally, mutatis mutandis, concerned also with its opposite, just as Apollo, for instance, is at once a god of healing and of destruction, and we have already seen above⁵⁷ Vesta's connection with the rites of the Parilia. The flames of the Parilia, presided over by Vesta, have indeed rid the City of all corruption, purifying those who piously are performing the prescribed rites while at the same time destroying the traitoress. At the very inception of the Roman State then Vesta has manifested her power and vouchsafed her protection. Rome need only remain as true now to her religion and her gods as she was in illo tempore in order to ensure that Vesta's flame remains forever unquenched: "dis te minorem quod geris, imperas," a contemporary said,⁵⁸ and what Propertius states here is that each new era mirrors itself in the active mythology of its past. In this highly structured and selective recreation of the Tarpeia legend Propertius is holding up a mirror to his generation through which it can test its own sense of identity, its natural grain of being. What he

⁵⁷Cf. my remarks on 4,1,26 above.

⁵⁸Hor. carm. 3,6,5; for similar claims of the superior piety of the Romans, cf. Cic. de nat. deor. 2,8; 3,5; Har. Resp. 19; Polyb. 6,56,6-7; Sall. Cat. 12,3; Dion. Hal. 2,18,1-3; 68,2; 73,4; Livy 6,41,8; 44,1,11; 45,39,10; Val. Max. 1,1,8; Plut. Coriol. 25,3; Tert. Apol. 25; Aug. civ. dei 4,8.

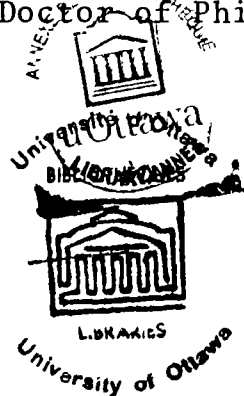
gives the Romans of his day is an allegory, perhaps even a warning, which states that a society can be cohesive (for Romulus and Tatius do reach an accord, giving birth to a new and stronger Rome)⁵⁹ provided its people remain true to those ideals of piety and duty which were present at its inception. Propertius has created a poem in which ideals and actions which occurred in illo tempore are palpably felt to influence the actions and ideals of men living hic et nunc, and it is through this subtle fusion of mythological and actual time into purely historical time (i.e. the historical present, to use a grammar of myth) that we are allowed to experience the truly Roman religious spirit of the poet.

⁵⁹Cf. Beaujeu, a.c., 171: "l'aventure de Tarpéia, venant après l'enlèvement des Sabines, symbolise l'alliance qui se cherche entre les deux peuples: la défaite de l'amour, terminé par la violence, précède la victoire de l'amour, qui efface la violence."

ELEMENTS OF ROMAN RELIGION IN
THE FOURTH BOOK OF PROPERTIUS

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CHAPTER 4

4.0 ACANTHIS

4.1 Magic and Religion

There are no peoples however primitive without religion and magic. Nor are there, it must be added at once, any savage races lacking either in the scientific attitude or in science In every primitive community . . . there have been found two clearly distinguishable domains, the Sacred and the Profane; in other words, the domain of Magic and Religion and that of Science.¹

Thus did Malinowski, both forcefully and with considerable authority, state clearly the inseparable link between magic and religion. To some, perhaps, a discussion of magic in a work dealing strictly with religion would seem, if not improper, at least a little out of place; yet the edifices of both rest ultimately upon the same foundation and one cannot discuss magic without bringing in elements of religion. The object of magic is to control one's environment and this aim is pursued by means of spells, incantations and rites: it is only when the limitations of such procedures become apparent that man has recourse to higher powers, in which case religion might then be described as a

¹B. Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion and other Essays (= Science, Religion and Reality, ed. J. Needham, 1925), Doubleday Anchor Books A 23, Garden City, 1954, 17.

confession of human impotence in the face of certain phenomena. There are those who would have us believe that witchcraft and magic are the remains of what once was the dominant religion of palaeolithic Europe, what Miss Murray has called the Dianic Cult.² Pagan ideas and customs did survive in Europe, as can be seen from Christianity itself, yet this hardly constitutes the survival of a particular cult. Further, the witches were regarded by the Christian community as heretics, not pagans.³ Most anthropologists who have worked in communities where witchcraft and magic are still practiced would, as can be seen from Malinowski's remarks, be extremely hesitant about accepting Miss Murray's thesis. Rather, religion and magic are seen to operate side by side since both have a similar view of man and his ability to effect changes in his environment by correctly marshalling those psychic powers which put him in touch with the spiritual world within and without him. Indeed, as

²See M.A. Murray, The Witch-cult in Western Europe, Oxford, 1921; G. Luck, Hexen u. Zauberei in den röm. Dichtung (Lebendige Antike), Zürich, 1962, 60 f., is obviously echoing these ideas when he states: "Die Magie ist ursprünglich die Religion eines besiegten, unterdrückten Volkes gewesen, eine Religion, die entthront wurde, die gleichsam illegal und vielfach verfolgt, im Versteckten wiederlebte, aber die Erinnerung daran, das sie einst eine grosse, die grösste Religion gewesen war, niemals völlig verlor."

³For further criticism of Miss Murray's views cf. R. Cavendish, The Black Arts, London, 1967, 337 f.; G. Parrinder, Witchcraft: European and African, London, 1963 (1958), 103 ff.

Dumézil has shown,⁴ one of the most outstanding qualities of Juppiter was that he was the complete magician; similarly Odin, the ancient Germanic skygod, often conquers due to his proficiency in magic. In fact, the Indo-European conception of the supreme god carried within itself this dual image of a god of magic and a god of battles, of a deity who was at one and the same time both spiritually and physically supreme.⁵ If then the image of the gods themselves reflected both magical and religious properties, it is not to be wondered at that these two levels of psychic consciousness could exist side by side among the worshippers of these gods. Another very compelling (and, to some, disturbing) explanation for the persistence of the belief in magic and witchcraft could very simply be that in certain cases and under certain conditions it has proven its efficacy; in short, magic does work, often enough to be impressive, at any rate. Ad. E. Jensen, in his now classic work on the religious practices of non-technological cultures, put the matter in perspective:⁶

⁴Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, Paris, 1941, 81.

⁵Dumézil, Mythes et dieux des Germains, Paris, 1939, 19 ff.

⁶Mythos u. Kult bei Naturvölkern. Religionswissensch. Betrachtungen² (Stud. z. Kulturkunde, 10), Wiesbaden, 1960 (1951), 272 f.

[True magic] ist die Erkenntnis, dass der Mensch als spirituelles Wesen und als ein Glied in den Kette der geistigen Prozesse . . . die Fähigkeit besitzt, auf diese geistige Vorgänge durch psychische Konzentration einzuwirken Es kann kein Zweifel sein, dass der Mensch tatsächlich solche Fähigkeiten besitzt. Allein die Möglichkeit der suggestiven Einwirkung auf den Ablauf irgendeines Geschehens macht es unbezweifelbar, dass psychische Konzentrationen wenigstens unter bestimmten Umständen Wirkungen ohne ein handgreifliches Tun hervorrufen können.

That creatures such as Propertius describes in Elegy 5 did (and still do!) exist is demonstrably true and they elicited fear and awe for reasons which Western technological man, steeped in logos but abysmally ignorant of mythos, has almost ceased to understand.⁷ The ontology of this entire phenomenon has nevertheless been feelingly described by Pechuël-Loesche as follows:

⁷Cf. the remark by Jung in Modern Man in Search of a Soul, trans. by W. Dell and C. Baynes, New York, 1933, 130: "It is a rational presupposition of ours that everything has a natural and perceptible cause. We are convinced of this. Causality, so understood, is one of our most sacred dogmas. There is no place in our world for invisible, arbitrary and so-called supernatural forces We are now surrounded by a world that is obedient to rational laws." That this attitude, largely the result of 19th century scientism, is today changing can be gathered from a remark made by Wolfgang Pauli, quoted by L. Pauvels and J. Bergier in The Morning of the Magicians, trans. by R. Myers, London, 1972 (Paris, 1960), 32: "In view of the division of the activities of the human mind into different compartments which have been strictly maintained for centuries . . . I envisage a method whose aim would be to reconcile contraries in a synthesis incorporating a rational understanding and a mystical experience of their unity. No other objective would be in harmony with the mythology, whether avowed or not, of our epoch."

Ueber das Hexenwesen, über die alle Gemüter mit Grauen und Abscheu erfüllenden menschlichen Unholde und Schwarzkünstler . . . über deren Fähigkeiten und Schliche, weiss man, ohne einmütig zu sein, sehr viel zu berichten. Es ist zweifellos das Unheimlichste und Fürchterlichste, das man kennt Wir dürfen kaum bezweifeln, dass es in der Tat Personen gibt, die sich selbst für Hexen im schlimmsten Sinne des Wortes halten und sich sogar als solche bekennen. Es genügt ja schon die feindselige Gesinnung, um vielleicht zu schaden, zu töten. Der böse Wille ist so gut wie die böse Tat. Er wirkt, wie die Sonnenstrahlen wärmen, wie die Winde kühlen ⁸

Hence the appearance of a poem of this sort in a Book dealing with religious matters should surprise no one; the very fact of its inclusion shows how closely Propertius regarded the connection between magic and religion. Although it is true, as Rothstein states (11,260), that a good deal of the poem could be termed "eine ars amandi im kleinen für das weibliche Geschlecht," it is also more than that, and it is with this something more, i.e. the elements of magic and witchcraft contained in the poem, that the rest of this chapter shall concern itself.

4.2 The Powers of the Witch

The figure of Acanthis is powerfully drawn: she is a lena (line 1)⁹ and later (line 17) is associated with the

⁸E. Pechuël-Loesche, Volkskunde von Loango, Stuttgart, 1907, 335, quoted by Jensen, o.c., 283.

⁹K.F. Smith, Studies in Honour of B.L. Gildersleeve, Baltimore, 1902, 287, maintains that the lenae as a class

striges--vampire-like creatures much feared as witches.¹⁰

She is now dead and the poem is really an elaborate curse against the witch for having turned the affections of the poet's mistress against him: now that she is dead (though one senses that the poet dimly fears his old antagonist might possess the magic to remedy even that situation) he feels brave enough to approach her grave and hurl insults at it, an affront he would never have dared while she lived, for her powers were formidable: she could reverse the magnetic field of a loadstone¹¹ (line 9); she was adept at the

were generally believed to have magic power; cf. E. Tavenner, Studies in Magic from Latin Literature (Columbia Univ. Stud. in class. Philol.), New York, 1916, 34.

¹⁰Cf. Paul. Fest. 314 M.: "Strigem, ut ait Verrius, Graeci στρίγγα appellant, quod maleficis mulieribus nomen inditum est, quas volaticas etiam vocant." Cf. Porf. ad Hor. ep. 5,20: "nocturnae striges: sic dicitur, non ut vulgo strigae." From the vulgar striga > It. strega, stregona, which served as the basis for a similar appellation in other IE languages, e.g., Old Fr. estrie (in the Roman de la Rose, line 18625); Swiss sträggele (cf. Grimm, DM⁴, 2 Bd., 779: "An andern orten der Schweiz, spukt in der fronfastnacht mittwoch vor weihnachten die Sträggele und plagt die mädchen, wenn sie ihr tagwerk nicht gesponnen haben."). Pol. strxyga, strxygonia; Rum. strigoj; Slav. strija; cf. Boehm, art. 'striges' in RE 4A, 1,363,7 ff., and see Richter, art. 'strigae' in Myth. Lex. 4,1552,53 f.: "vampirartige Wesen des römischen Volksglaubens."

¹¹For magnets used in occult practices, see F. Hartmann, Paracelsus, London (sine dato), 185 f., and cf. the experiments of Fr. Mesmer in the 18th century, described in P. Janet, Psychological Healing, 2 vols., trans. E. and C. Paul, New York, 1925, vol. 1,30 ff. A. Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. die antike Zauberei. Beiträge z. Erläuterung der Schrift de magia (RGVV 4,2), Berlin, 1967 (Giessen, 1909), 121 f., lists from a magical papyrus a spell dedicated to Venus which serves as a love charm; it is

necromantic use of special herbs¹² (line 11), specified by Propertius as Collinas, i.e., gathered near the porta Collina on the Quirinal (cf. Fest. p. 436 L.). Nearby was the campus sceleratus where Vestals who had broken their vow of chastity were inhumed alive (cf. Livy 8,15,7; Dion. Hal. 2,67; Plut. Num. 10; Serv. ad Aen. 11,206). The use of plants growing in a graveyard for magical purposes seems to have been a sacrilege (Ovid, fast. 4,750); plants from the grave of a woman sworn to chastity by a sacred oath, and yet whose sexual appetites drove her to break that oath, would be very powerful magic indeed in the preparation of a love philtre. She could further cause flash-floods which swept away crops¹³ (line 12), and was able to charm the

interesting both in that Venus is not often mentioned in magic (cf. Abt, o.c., ibid.) and for its illustration of the magical use of the magnet: λαβὼν λίθον μάγνητα τὸν πνεόντα γλύψον Ἀφροδίτην ἱππιστὶ καθημένην ἐπὶ Ψυχῆς, τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ κρατοῦσαν τοῦς βοστρύχους ἀναδεσμευομένην· καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς· ἀχμαγεραρπέσει. ὑποκάτω δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆς Ψυχῆς Ἑρωτα ἐπὶ πόλον ἐστῶτα λαμπάδα κρατοῦντα καομένην, φλέγοντα τὴν Ψυχὴν· ὑποκάτω δὲ τοῦ Ἑρωτος τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· ἀχαπα ἀδωναιε βασμα χαρακω· ιακωβ ιαωη φαρφαρηῖ· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ λίθου Ψυχὴν καὶ Ἑρωτα περιπεπλεγμένους ἑαυτοῦς καὶ ὑπὸ πόδας τοῦ Ἑρωτος ταῦτα· σσσσασσσ, ὑποκάτω δὲ τῇ Ψυχῆς· ηηηηηηηη.

¹²Cf. the κακὰ φάρμακα of Od. 10,213 (Circe); Medea παμφάρμακος (Pind. Pyth. 4,233) is the prototype of the sorceress adept at the magical use of herbs; cf. too Hor. ep. 5,61; Tib. 1,2,51; Ovid, ars. amat. 2,101; amor. 1,8,5; for the most famous instances of necromancy in literature, cf. Od. 11; 1 Samuel, 28,7 (the witch of Endor); Shakespeare, Macbeth 4,1.

¹³One of the many instances of the timeless belief-- as common in Africa and Australia as it was in Greece and

moon¹⁴ (line 13). The purpose of charming the moon (i.e. Hecate) down from the sky could be (a) in relation to necromancy, to compel the goddess to leave the moon, which was the abode of souls,¹⁵ bringing with her the soul being

Rome--that witches can and do influence the weather and blight crops. The 12 Tab. (tab. 8) forbade anyone "qui malum carmen incantassit" and Pliny n.h. 28,2,17 explains that this means anyone who put a charm on crops. Cf. the statement by Wm. West, a lawyer, in 1594 (in C. Ewen, Witch Hunting and Witch Trials, London, 1929, 23): "A Witch or hag is she which being deluded by a league made with the devil . . . thinketh she can design what manner of things soever, either by thought or imprecation, as to shake the air with lightnings or thunder, to cause hail and tempests, to remove green corn or trees to another place" See K.F. Smith, Tibullus, o.c., 219 for further classical and mediaeval references and see Abt, o.c., 9 with notes.

¹⁴To put a spell on the moon, to make it come down from the sky and effectuate the charm, was an especial feat of witchcraft; cf. Verg. eclog. 8,70; Aen. 4,489; Apoll. Rhod. 3,532; Tib. 1,2,49; Ovid, amor. 1,8,6; 2,1,26; Prop. 1,1,23. Theocritus, Ecl. 2, however, provides a clue when he has the sorceress Simaetha call upon πότνα Σελάνα, Ἐκάτα χθόνια and Ἀρτεμῖς when preparing her love charm. Hecate, the great goddess of the witches, was the Dea Triformis (cf. 1st Vat. Mythog. 112,6 ff.: "Tria virginia ora Dianae; quia eadem Luna, eadem Diana, eadem Proserpina vocatur . . . Graece Hecate dicitur," and see Tib. 1,2,52 with Smith's note; hor. ep. 5,51; cf. as well Hopfner, art. 'Μαγεία in RE 14,1,304,48 ff.: "Denn Hekate gehört dem Volksglauben an . . . und hier ist sie von allem Anfang an die gespenstische Göttin der Tiefe, des Totenreiches, und so die Herrin über die Totenseelen"); for Hecate herself as vampire, cf. ibid., 305,12 ff.: "Als echte, alte Z.-Göttin erscheint sie selbst in allerlei schrecklichen Gestalten und saugt wie ein Vampyr dem Lebenden das Blut aus dem Leibe, während sie die Leiben der Toten auffrisst." The Italic Diana had long been identified with Hecate (= Trivia) at least since Ennius (Trag. Rom. frag. (Ribbeck) p. 19) and cf. CIL 10,3795 "Dianae Tifatinae Triviae," as well as CIL 2,2660; 10,3796.

¹⁵Cf. Macr. Som. Scip. 1,11,6: "locum mortis et inferorum"; see Rohde, Griech. Roman, o.c., 269; Cumont, Lux Perpetua, Paris, 1949, 171 ff.; Abt, o.c., 123 and n. 4;

summoned by the sorceress; or (b) it could be in reference to an eclipse, by which the goddess signified her favour or assent, or (c) it is possibly a reference to the reflection of the moon in water and is a form of hydromancy; cf. a lake east of Aricia known as the speculum Dianae (Serv. ad Aen. 7, 515 and CIL 14, 2772), as well as Lake Nemi itself. Although Hecate appears to have been forgotten, memories of her as Diana survived into the Middle Ages. About 1020 Burchard, Bishop of Worms, quoted a passage from the so-called Canon Episcopi (text in Grimm, DM 2,883) which spoke out against the belief in night-flying demons: "quaedam sceleratae mulieres retro post satanam conversae, daemonum illusionibus seductae, credunt se nocturnis horis cum Dianae Paganorum dea vel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias . . ."; this belief in the nocturnal ride of Diana and the souls in all likelihood stems from the ancient idea of Hecate and her night-hounds which easily combined with northern legends of the Wütenden Heer and the Wütenden Jagd. In the sixth century St. Caesarius of Arles exorcised "the demon whom the peasants call Diana" from a girl and in 1318 Pope John XXII, while conducting a court of inquiry into a group of magicians at Avignon, said that they had copulated with demonesses called Dianae.¹⁶

Nilsson, Gesch. d. griech. Religion², vol. 2 (Handb. d. Altertumswissensch. 5,2,2), 491 f.

¹⁶See Cavendish, o.c., 339.

Acanthis was further able to turn herself into a werewolf (line 14), a practice which was commonly associated with witches.¹⁷ Just as the witch worshipped Hecate as Queen, so she changed herself into a wolf and joined the goddess' night-riding pack, baying at the moon, her mistress, and travelling in company with lost souls. In its many and varied forms lycanthropy, or wolf-madness, is worldwide.¹⁸ Ancient beliefs in werewolves were still quite active in the Middle Ages. As late as 1521 the Dominicans in France tried two men, one of whom supposedly instructed the other in the art of becoming a werewolf; this second man then became covered with fur, grew claws, could run like the wind and devoured children. Both were burnt alive at Besançon (cf. Parrinder, o.c., 20). It is said that until the last century Neapolitans still believed that if a man were born on Christmas night he was accursed and became a werewolf.¹⁹

¹⁷Cf. Verg. eclog. 8,97 f.; Tib. 1,5,54; Ovid, amor. 1,8,13 f.

¹⁸Cf. the many illustrations of this in Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics, o.c., vol. 8, s.v. 'Lycanthropy', 206 ff.

¹⁹See Enc. of Religion, a.c., 207; also Keller, Tiere des Classischen Altertums in Culturgeschichtlichen Beziehung, Innsbruck, 1887, 165 ff. Grimm, DM 2, 915 says that the quality of assuming animal form is of itself "eine göttliche Eigenschaft," and for instances of this, cf. the cult of Zeus Lycaeus (Paus. 8,2), that of Soranus on Mt. Soracte (Marbach, art. 'Soranus' in RE 3A, 1,1130 ff.) and the Luperci at Rome; for the divinity of the magician see esp. Abt, o.c., 36: "wenn er (sc. der Magier) seine προάξεις

The powers of Acanthis are not yet exhausted; she was practiced in the art of sympathetic magic (lines 15 f.) and evidently belonged to a witches' coven (line 17). Propertius is here of course referring to the striges, whom Acanthis consults "nostro de sanguine." Commentators do a grave injustice to Propertius by translating this phrase into the comparatively innocuous "how best she might kill me" (Butler and Barber, 352); the striges are quite literally concerned with the poet's blood, for they were the vampires of Latin folklore.²⁰ Propertius has mentioned them before; at 3,6,29 Cynthia accuses her lover of using in a magic love-philtre "et strigis inventae per busta iacentia plumae" (cf. Hor. ep. 5,19 f.: "et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine / plumamque nocturnae strigis"), which brings into focus the varying nature of the strix, i.e. whether it is (a) a true bird (= screech owl), or (b) evil,

vornimmt, kommt ihm 'etwas Göttliches' in sein Innerstes" and again at p. 52 for more literature on the magic meaning of the wolf; cf. too J. Pollard, Wolves and Werewolves, London, 1964. For a comparatively recent (end of 18th, beginning of 19th century) and well-documented instance of lycanthropy and how it influenced a modern theory of education, see J.-M. Gaspard Itard, The Wild Boy of Aveyron, trans. G. and M. Humphrey (The Century Psych. Series), New York, 1962 (1932).

²⁰Cf. Höfer, Myth. Lex. a.c., 1553, 29 f. The earliest reference to them is in Plaut. Pseud. 3,2,21 which makes clear the anthropophagism of the striges--they devour the intestines of their victim while he is still alive. One of the better-known descriptions of the strix occurs at Petron. Cen. Trim. 63, and there too their preference for human viscera is still well pronounced.

old hags or (c) humans changed into bird-form; the above quotations and the one we are presently considering illustrate meanings (a) and (b), while Ovid's description of the old lena Dipsas at amor. 1,8,13 f. ("hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras / suspicor et pluma corpus anile tegi") shows us meaning (c).²¹

Acanthis also knows how to prepare and apply the mysterious concoction known as hippomanes (line 18), a potent charm in love-magic.²² This was a liquid discharged by mares in heat (cf. 'feta' in line 18), and for this reason was considered an ideal ingredient in imitative magic.²³ All of these combined powers of Acanthis have

²¹Ovid does preserve meaning (a) at metam. 7,269 when describing what Medea puts into her cauldron: "et striges infames ipsis cum carnibus alas" (cf. Boccaccio, Il Filocolo, t. 2, lib. 4, quaest. 4: "Insieme con carne e ali d'infamate streghe"). The locus classicus of the strix is at Ovid, fast. 6,131 ff., a passage which will be discussed at length below. For a complete list of the classical passages treating of the strix, cf. S.G. Oliphant, "The Story of the Strix: Ancient," TAPhA 44 (1913), 133-149; ibid. ("Modern"), 45 (1914), 49-63, who argues very convincingly that the strix was, not the owl, but the bat, the blood-sucking nocturnal creature that has haunted men's imaginings for eons.

²²See Verg. georg. 3,280; Tib. 2,4,58; Ovid, amor. 1,8,8; med. fac. 38. It is first mentioned by Aristotle, De Anim. Hist. 6,18,4 who discusses the various charms known by this name (see Stadler, art. 'Hippomanes' in RE 8,2,1879 ff.), and it is an ingredient in Simaetha's love-charm (Theocr. Ecl. 2,48 f.): ἵππομανὲς φυτὸν ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀρκάσι, τῷ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσαι / καὶ πῶλοι μαίνονται ἄν' ὥρεα καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι.

²³Cf. Hesych., s.v. ἵππομανές: τοῦτῳ χρῶνται πρὸς τὰ φίλτρα αἱ φαρμακίδες, and see Columella 6,27: "quoniam id praecipue armentum, si prohibeas, libidinis exstimulatur

obviously met with success, for in line 64 the poet tells us that he had wasted away to mere skin and bones.²⁴

4.3 The Name: Acanthis

In the very first line, while cursing the witch-procuress, the poet alludes to her name: "terra tuum spinis obducat, lena, sepulcrum." When, in line 63, he finally names her, one is reminded that in Greek ἄκανθα = "any thorny or prickly plant" (Liddle and Scott, 9th ed., 1953, s.v.). The fact that this is no ordinary spina which is being referred to is seen from the reference at line 17 to the striges: what is meant is the spina alba or

furiis, unde etiam veneno inditum est nomen ἵππομανές, quod equinae cupidini similem mortalibus amorem accendat." The idea is to cause Propertius to suffer a maddening passion while denying him its consummation.

²⁴The MSS. have left this line in a jumble, with its unmetrical ossa and the impossible cutes; the insertion by Jacob of mihi after ossa I take to be most plausible in consideration of the point which the poet has been making in the preceding lines. Palmer's suam is pointless.

²⁵Cf. Ovid, fast. 6,129 f. For other instances of the graves of hateful persons being overgrown with thorns, cf. the Greek Anthology (Loeb ed.), 7,320:

Ὁξεῖαι πάντῃ περὶ τὸν τάφον εἰσὶν ἄκανθαι
καὶ σκόλοpes· βλάβεις τοὺς πόδας, ἣν προσίης·
Τίμων μισάνθρωπος ἐνοικέω.

and see as well 7,222 and 536; Grimm, DM 3,353: "auf grabhügel aus der bronzezeit ein hagedorn gepflanzt und heilig gehülten werde. das sei auch keltischer brauch," and see Frazer, Golden Bough, 9,161: "In Bohemia, thorny bushes are laid on thresholds of cow-houses and dwellings on Walpurgis Night to keep out witches."

haw(white)thorn, genus crataegus (Germ. Hage(Weiss)dorn, Fr. aubépine, It. biancospino), a tree used apotropaically against witches.²⁵ This connection between the hawthorn and witches is best seen in Ovid's tale of the nymph Carna²⁶ and the infant Procas, son of the Alban king Aventinus. According to the tale (fast. 6,131-168), Procas was only five days old²⁷ when the striges entered his bedchamber and began to suck his blood. When his nurse came to his assistance she found the marks of the striges on the baby's cheeks. What to do? She ran to the nymph Carna, who accompanied her to the cradle. Bidding the parents to stop crying, she touched the doorposts three times and three times the threshold with the leafy branch of an arbutus.²⁸ Then with water to which a potent drug had been added she sprinkled the entrance and taking in her hand the entrails of a two-month-old pig, she

²⁶For more on Carna, also called Amma, "ab amando parvulos" (Isid. 12,7,42), see Macr. S. 1,12,31; Aust in RE 3,2, 1597 f.; Wissowa in Myth. Lex. I,854 f.; RuK², 107; 236; Otto, "Röm. Sondergötter," Rh. Mus. 64 (1909), 463 ff.; Grimal, 80; Bömer, Fasten 2, 342 f.; Latte, RRG², 58,1; 71; Radke, 83 f.; Dumézil, Idées Romaines, o.c., 253 ff.; RRA, 377 ff.

²⁷fast. 6,143 f.; cf. the latter belief that unbaptized babies are the special victims of the streghe, outlined in Oliphant, a.c., 142,21. An interesting and somewhat related belief is found in N. America among the Navaho and Apache, among whom it was thought that owls came and took away the ghost of dead infants; see J.D. Unwin, Sex and Culture, Oxford, 1934, 206.

²⁸fast. 6,155 ff.; cf. Olck, art. 'Erdbeerbaum' in RE 6,1,401,25 ff.; Bömer, Fasten 2, 345 says: "Eine ähnliche Verwendung des Erdbeerbaums ist nicht bekannt."

speaks the following charm (lines 159-162):

Noctis aves, extis puerilibus, inquit,
 parcite: pro parvo victima parva cadit.
 Cor pro corde, precor, pro fibris sumite fibras.
 Hanc animam vobis pro meliore damus.

She then lays these in the open air and allows no one to look at them;²⁹ after this she places a branch of hawthorn, given her by Janus, in the window, thus preventing the striges from entering the house. After this, the baby soon recovered.

C.G. Leland has found in the mountainous district of Northern Italy known as La Romagna Toscana a variant of the above story of Carna and the striges still extant.³⁰ Carna there appears as Carradora, who in life was una strega buona and protected infants against evil witches; as Leland describes it:

There was once in the country a lady who had a small baby. It was a pretty child, but day by day it began to weaken, nor did the mother know what to do. Then she was advised to go to Carradora who could explain it all because she was a witch who did good as well as harm.

Then the lady went to the witch, who said: "Go to thy home and put the babe to bed and put a knife in the window and then return to me." So the lady did and returned to Carradora, who said: "Witches come by night to suck the blood of thy child and it must be prevented." Then the witch took corbezzolo (= arbutus) and thorns (i.e. spina

²⁹For the averted face as a mark of respect to chthonic powers, cf. Od. 10,528.

³⁰Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition, London, 1892, summarized by Oliphant, a.c., 143,23.

alba) and put them into red bags and bound them to the door-posts and windows, and then took the entrails of a very small pig (un maialino) and said:

'Questi sono gl' interiori
D'un piccolo maiale,
Che servono per le streghe
Discacciar, e gl' interiori
Di si bella bambina
Sono giovani quanto lei cara,
Ed e proprio ad atta
Per amare. E le corne
Alle streghe bisogna fare,
Che qui dentro non possino più entrare.'

Then Carradora took the child and made a skein of thread and threw it in the air, and so it was cured.

Since Ovid says that Carna is a prisca dea (fast. 6,171), it may well be that the story of Procas and the witches is very old indeed.

It can be seen from the above that the hawthorn possesses purgative and apotropaic properties against evil spells, charms and witches; indeed, on the feast day of Carna (June 1st) it seems that a sprig of hawthorn (called a virga Ianalís, cf. Otto, a.c., 462) was placed in their windows by the Romans to keep out the witches.³¹ In relation to this we are informed by Grimm (DM 3,309) that Hagedorn

³¹Cf. fast. 6,129 f., and see Frazer, Golden Bough 2, 191; Mannhardt, WuFk², 1,295 comments: "In Rom . . . Weissdornruten und Wededorn wurden (am ersten Juni) über Tür und Fenster angebracht, um alles Unheil (noxas) davon hinwegzutreiben und vor allem die gespenstischen, eulengestaltigen Strigen, Geister der Krankheit und Auszehrung, welche den Wiegenkindern die Eingeweide ausfressen, fernzuhalten," and cf. Riess, art. 'Aberglaube' in RE 1,1,67,14 ff.: "Der Weissdorn vertrieb jeden bösen Zauber (Ovid, fast. VI, 129. Diosk. m.m. 1 119), daher auch Gespenster . . . und die Strigen," and Rohde, Psyche⁸, o.c., 1,198,95.

was a name of witches and of the Devil in northern folklore; just as the hawthorn served as a protective charm against the predacity of witches, it was thought that by actually naming the witch 'Hagedorn' the potency of the charm could be extended even further, similar to the way in which the Romans named the spirits of the dead Manes, i.e. 'the good people', and the Greeks called the Furies the Εὐμενίδες, 'the gracious ones', instead of the more ill-omened 'Ερινύες.

But together with its power as an apotropaic charm against all manner of evil, the hawthorn also appears to have been the tree of enforced chastity, the tree which confines, checks and hems in sexuality.³² In the ancient Irish

³²Cf. Mannhardt, *WuFk*² 1,163 ff., who, speaking of the custom in European folklore of planting a May-tree before the house of marriageable young ladies, gives the following explanation: "Das Maienstecken für die jungen Mädchen geschieht entweder als Zeichen der Achtung von sämtlichen Burschen der gesamten Gemeinde zusammen . . . oder als Ausdruck inniger Liebe, als symbolischer Heiratsantrag von Seiten des Liebhabers allein . . . ; denjenigen, welche sich Unkeuschheit oder Wankelmüt in der Liebe zu Schulden kommen liessen . . . setzt man einen dürren Baum, oder auch einen Baum von Besonderer Art (Holander, Hasel, Pappel, Vogelbeerbaum, Dorn u.s.w.)." So too Carna, in Ovid's telling of the tale, when she had been deflowered by Janus, was given in recompense guardianship over the carda, or door-hinge (*fast.* 6,127 f.); to symbolize this, the god next presents her with the spina alba "qua tristes pellere posset a foribus noxas" (lines 129 f.); it would seem that the fores in question are not only to be considered in their literal sense, but must also be thought of as metaphorically referring to the door of the goddess' virtue, which may henceforth remain inviolate, thanks to the apotropaic properties of the hawthorn. See too *Myth. Lex.* 1,1,206 f.; s.v. 'Akanthis': "Die letzteren (sc. Akanthos und Akanthis) waren also benannt nach der Unfruchtbarkeit des Landes."

tree-alphabet, the Beth-Luis-Nion, each letter of which is named after a tree or shrub which figures prominently in European folklore, the haw- or whitethorn is the tree of the sixth month, commencing May 13 when the hawthorn is first in flower, and ending on June 9.³³ That the Romans considered May, the hawthorn month, an unlucky month for marriage is attested in Plutarch³⁴ and Ovid, fast. 6,223 says:

Tum mihi post sacras monstratur Iuniis idus
utilis et nuptiis, utilis esse viris.

The unlucky days thus came to an end on June 15.³⁵ A further instance of the hawthorn as the tree of confined sexuality is afforded by the Märchen of Dornröschen, or "Sleeping Beauty,"³⁶ in which the thirteenth "weise Frau," angered at not being invited to the birthday celebrations of the

³³Cf. Robt. Graves, The White Goddess. A historical grammar of poetic myth³, London, 1971 (1948), 174 ff.

³⁴Quaes. Rom. 86.

³⁵Related to the notion of the hawthorn as the tree of confined sexuality is the custom at Roman weddings of escorting the bride with torches made "ex spina alba", Fest. p. 282 L., and cf. Rohde, Psyche⁸ 1,198,95. Though this custom was variously explained by the ancients as occurring "quia noctu nubebant" (Fest.) or "purgationis causa" (Varro ap. Charis., p. 144, 22 K.), it may perhaps more correctly be seen to be due to the desire (a) to ward off any malign influences or spells and (b) to protect the bride's chastity until she is safely conducted to her future husband's home; cf. Riess, a.c., 67,5 f.: "Der Weih brauchte ihn (sc. den Weissdorn) gegen bösen Blicke (Ael. n.a. 1 35)."

³⁶No. 50 in the Kinder- und Hausmärchen, ges. durch die Brüder Grimm, Winkler-Verlag München, 1966, 281 ff.

newborn princess, spitefully pronounced the following curse: "Die Königstochter soll sich in ihren fünfzehnten Jahr an einer Spindel stecken und tot hinfallen." It will be remarked that if, following the principles of numerology,³⁷ we reduce the number 15 referred to in the Märchen to a single figure, called the 'digital root', it will come to six ($15 = 1 + 5 = 6$) and six, it will be remembered, is the number of the hawthorn month. The awful curse was mitigated somewhat so that the child would not die, but fall into a deep sleep which would last a hundred years. As everything came to pass as had been foretold, not only the princess but the entire household fell into this state of suspended animation and a thorn bush then began to grow all around the castle, finally overgrowing the entire building. As the story of the wondrous Sleeping Beauty began to go round the land, many young princes came to attempt to penetrate the thickness of the thorn bush and so awake the sleeping princess and win her hand. This, however, proved to be impossible, as the thorns would grow ever more closely together and imprison those who were attempting to penetrate them. The young men would thus dangle helplessly from the thorns, dying in their attempt to intrude upon the sexual barrier

³⁷Cf. Cavendish, o.c., 58 ff. for an outline of these principles.

around the princess.³⁸ Hence, just as Acanthis would deprive Propertius of sexual fulfillment, so he would turn her own spells against her and ring her grave with the baneful hawthorn, assuring that the life-force would be ever unable to reach her, even in death.

4.4 Other Magical Elements: Crow, Werewolf and Dove

A word or two should be said about lines 14-16; the lines 15 ff. ("posset ut intentos astu caecare maritos / cornicum immeritas eruit ungue genas") are usually taken together and explained as an act of sympathetic magic; since the crow is proverbially noted for its keen sight, Acanthis plucks out its eyes to blind husbands to their wives' infidelities.³⁹ But the object of all of Acanthis' spells

³⁸Grimm, o.c.: "Rings um das Schloss aber begann eine Dornenhecke zu wachsen, die jedes Jahr höher ward und endlich das ganze Schloss umzog und darüber hinauswuchs, dass gar nichts mehr davon zu sehen war, selbst nicht die Fahne auf dem Dach. Es ging aber die Sage in dem Land von dem schönen schlafenden Dornröschen, denn so ward die Königstochter genannt, also dass von Zeit zu Zeit Königssöhne kamen und durch die Hecke in das Schloss dringen wollten. Es war ihnen aber nicht möglich, denn die Dornen, als hätten sie Hände, hielten fest zusammen, und die Jünglinge blieben darin hängen, konnten sich nicht wieder losmachen und starben eines jämmerlichen Todes." Shakespeare as well preserves an echo of the sexually confining nature of the hawthorn in his Märchen-like Midsummer Night's Dream 1,1,76:

But earthlier happy is the rose distill'd,
Than that which withering on the virgin thorn
Grows, lives and dies, in single blessedness.

³⁹Cf. Camps, Elegies IV, 98; Butler and Barber, 351.

and charms is to deprive Propertius of sexual fulfillment, not to further the amorous adventures of his mistress. The eyes of the crow are plucked out precisely because their piercing, fiery gaze made the bird symbolic of lasciviousness;⁴⁰ by thus depriving the crow of its lustful stare, she sympathetically removes Propertius' desire and effectively frustrates his intentions.⁴¹ Doubtless because of its practice of adhering to one mate the crow was also taken as a symbol of marriage and in Italy came under the tutelage of Juno, patroness of marriage,⁴² so that if Propertius did intend to marry, this possibility too has been removed. The finger by which Acanthis scratches out the crow's eyes would likely be the middle, or 'Fool's finger'; the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius 1,1129 gives the name of the middle

⁴⁰Gossen, art. 'Rabe' in RE 1A, 1 19,36 f.: "Er hat feurige Augen und ist daher geil . . . Schol. Pers. 111 61." I do not by this deny the possibility of the charm being worked to facilitate the girl's infidelity; cf. the Gk. myth of Coronis (i.e. Crow), who became a symbol of infidelity because of her affair with Ischys, though with child by Apollo at the time (Paus. 2,26,6; Pind. Pyth. 3,25 ff.; Appollod. 3,10,3; Hyg. fab. 202; cf. Grimal, 100). I merely suggest that both the exigencies of the text and the grim realities of Italian witchcraft seem to favour the interpretation proposed above.

⁴¹Cf. Satyricon 131 for the mention of a sorceress who knows how, by means of a spell, to excite sexual desire; if therefore there are spells which increase desire, there are also those which decrease it.

⁴²Cf. Fest. p. 56 L.: "Corniscarum divarum locus erat trans Tiberim cornicibus dictatus quod in Iunonis tutela esse putabantur"; for which see RuK², 189,1; Latte, RRG², 139; Radke, 99; also an inscription in CIL 1², 975: devas Corniscas sacrum.

finger (i.e. one of the Dactyls) as Celmis (= 'smelter'), and the middle finger still retains its obscene reputation as the smelter of female passion. According to Ovid, metam. 4,281, Celmis was turned to iron as a punishment for an insult to Hera, and this gave the middle finger its name: digitus impudicus or obscenus. The act of pointing the middle finger in derision as a sign that a man had failed to keep his wife's affection is still common in Italy.⁴³ It is interesting as well to see how Propertius counters, or offsets, the effects of the spells worked against him with the crow and Fool's finger. First, at line 65, Propertius mentions that he has offered a torquatam columbam to Venus: as the powerful patroness of love and the quickening force in nature generally, Venus could well counterbalance any baleful influence of the striges, and the dove, as a symbol of fertility, was especially in the service of Venus.⁴⁴ The

⁴³Cf. the passage in the Satyricon referred to on p. 187,41 where, as part of the spell to restore lost potency, the sorceress mixes some dust with spittle, takes it on her middle finger and makes a mark on the subject's forehead: "mox turbatum sputo pulverem medio sustulit digito frontemque repugnantis signavit . . .," though here the middle finger is used, not as the "Fool" in sign of derision and infamy, but as the digitus obscenus, symbol of erect phallic potency.

⁴⁴As a symbol of fertility, cf. Prop. 2,15,27 f.: "exemplo vinctae tibi sint in amore columbae / masculus et totum femina coniugium"; as the beloved attribute of the goddess of love, cf. Prop. 3,3,31; Catul. 68,125; Verg. Aen. 6,190 ff.; Ovid, metam. 14,597 f.; 15,386; Plin. n.h., 10, 104; see Steier, art. 'Taube' in RE 4A, 2,2496,28 ff.; Bömer, Fasti 11, 50 f.

contrast in colours between the blackness of the crow and the pure whiteness⁴⁵ of Venus' bird is also very neatly done, as Propertius sets up a contrast between the black magic indulged in by Acanthis and the white magic of the pure devotee of Love; there could be no greater difference imagined among birds than that between the dove and the crow.⁴⁶

Secondly, as a prophylactic charm to ward off the influence of the spell which Acanthis cast with the middle, or "Fool's" finger, Propertius mentions at line 74 his thumb, the finger used when, to avoid detection by the lena, he attempts to remove the lattice-grating from his beloved's window. The phallic thumb, sacred to Venus, symbolized strength, vigour and the masculine power of generation.⁴⁷ In northern lands the thumb was sacred to Wuotan, the space between the outstretched thumb and forefinger (= Gk. λίχας) being called Woedensspanne; Wuotan was also worshipped as

⁴⁵The sacred doves of Venus were white in colour, cf. Tib. 1,7,17 f.; Catul. 29,8; Ovid, metam. 2,536; 4,44; Mart. 8,28,13; Steier a.c., 2496,39 ff.

⁴⁶Cf. Juv. 2,63; Anthol. Lat. 390,30; Gossen, a.c., 20,46 ff.: "Häufig wird er (sc. Rabe) von den Schriftstellern, namentlich religiösen, der Taube gegenübergestellt, die keinen grösseren Gegensatz im Vogelreiche kennen," and cf. Grimm, DM, o.c., 1,122 and Steier, a.c., 2489,25 f.

⁴⁷See art. 'Finger' in Reallexicon f. Antike u. Christentum, o.c., Bd. 7,927; Dictionnaire des Symboles, ed. J. Chevalier and A. Gheerbrant, Paris, 1969, s.v. 'Pouce', 626; Graves, White Goddess, o.c., 196.

Pollux, i.e. pollex, and in Scandinavia the thumb was called Odensfinger.⁴⁸ The use by Propertius of the thumb, the most important finger of the hand,⁴⁹ sacred to Venus and symbolic of male vigour, would then seem to be most appropriate as a counter-charm against the spell worked against him by the middle finger of Acanthis.

To return now to lines 15 f.: if, as has been suggested above, line 16 refers not to the blinding of husbands to their wives' infidelities but more properly should be considered an attempt to frustrate sexual desire, how then is explained the fact that Acanthis 'cunningly' (astu) renders watchful husbands (or indeed lovers) blind? The answer, I would suggest, is to be found not in crows' eyes but in lycanthropy. Pliny (n.h. 8,24) tell us of an old folk belief that if a wolf sees a man before being seen by him, the man is thus deprived of sight or of speech.⁵⁰ Hence Acanthis, by assuming the form of a wolf and cunningly contriving thus to confront the maritus before he sees her, renders him blind and, eventually, a cuckold. One also assumes that she has been prowling about thus disguised in

⁴⁸Grimm, DM 1,132; 111,60.

⁴⁹Cf. Real. f. Ant., o.c., 927.

⁵⁰Cf. also Theoc. Id. 14,22: οὐ φθεγξῆ; λύκον εἶδες; Verg. eclog. 9,54 and see art. 'Lycanthropy', a.c., 206.

order to bewitch Propertius.⁵¹

4.5 The Magic Meaning of the Caprificus

In line 76, where at the end of his poem the poet again hurls insults and verba mala at the grave of the witch Acanthis, Propertius addresses the caprificus, or wild fig tree, wishing that it "urgeat hunc supra vis, caprifice, tua." The commentators take this to mean that since the wild fig was supposed to crumble gravestones through the strength of its roots, Propertius is here expressing the hope that soon all trace of the memory of Acanthis will be obliterated by the destructive growth of the wild fig over her grave.⁵² Several references in support of this view (i.e. Juv. 10,145; Mart. 10,2,9; Sen. q.n., 2,6,5) are also given. Only Camps seems to notice that, in the case of the grave of Acanthis, there is no grave monument for the wild fig to uproot. The tree then is named by Propertius for its

⁵¹It is interesting to note that in the most detailed account of lycanthropy, found in Satyricon 61 f., the werewolf there also manages to frustrate the amorous intentions of a certain Niceros, on his way to a rendezvous with a young widow. The werewolf had however run on ahead and attacked the widow's cattle so that when Niceros finally arrived the household was in such a state of confusion that all thoughts of lovemaking were effectively thwarted: and when Niceros had been informed of the uproar, he uttered a curious phrase: "Haec ut audivi, operire oculos amplius non potui."

⁵²Cf. Rothstein 11,273 f.; Butler and Barber, 355 (references only); Camps, Elegies IV, 104.

"bad associations", associations which Camps does not go into. I should like to suggest that there is more in the naming of the wild fig than has hitherto been noticed. The poem is concerned with the efforts of Acanthis to thwart magically a love-affair of the poet and his attempts in turn to counteract these spells; the presence of the wild fig over her grave represents the poet's final and most spectacular triumph in this game of magical one-upmanship.

The caprificus (figus silvaticus, Gk. ἐρίνεός, cf. ThLL 3, 359) puts forth nearly all male blossoms which support the ficarii culices, i.e. the wild-fig gall-fly, which are used in the process known as 'caprification' to fertilize the cultivated fig-tree which produces almost exclusively female blooms. As a result, the caprificus became the symbol of the male sex (cf. Hesych. s.v. ἐρινιάδες and ἐρίνεός and see Olck, art. 'Feige' in RE 6,2 2112,51 ff.). Among the Romans, the wild-fig seems to have been the symbol also of regenerative life (see Tac. ann. 13,58 and cf. Fest. p. 168,29 ff. L.). Although the common designation for the cultivated fig was figus, there does appear to be some basis for the view that in earlier times there was no clear distinction made between the wild and the cultivated tree; both were equally called 'figus'. If, e.g., according to the Acta fr. Arv. 1,20 (CIL 6 2099,21 ff.), a figus was found growing on top of the temple of the Dea Dia, this can only refer to the wild fig tree. The famous figus ruminalis

beside the Tiber (Livy 1,4,5) was otherwise called ἑρπιδὸς ῥωμινάλιος by Plutarch (Rom. 4). It is indeed possible then that when we come across the term figus in the oldest literature it indicates primarily the wild fig-tree (cf. Olck, a.c., 2109,3 ff.). When we consider then that at certain times and in certain situations the caprificus was taken as a prime symbol of the male sex, a phenomenon deriving from the very nature of the tree itself, and considering that there is good evidence for the view that, early on at least, the Romans themselves commonly referred to both varieties of fig-tree under one name, it would appear to be unobjectionable to regard the wild and cultivated trees as one in the following discussion of the symbolic nature of the fig-tree.

The wild fig together with its fruit as a sexual symbol par excellence, both of the sexual act itself and of the male and female sexual organs, is very ancient and widespread. An instance of its sexual connotations can be found as early as Genesis 3,7 where Adam and Eve, having eaten of the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil ("lignumque scientiae boni et mali"), covered up their nakedness with the leaf of a fig-tree; this would seem to suggest that the fruit which they ate was the fig and that 'knowledge of good and evil' = carnal knowledge.⁵³ Among Greek sources

⁵³Cf. Olck, art. 'Feige' in RE 6,2,2146,13 ff., and see E.R. Leach, "Genesis as Myth" in Myth and Cosmos. Readings in Mythology and Symbolism, ed. J. Middleton (Amer.

there is Archilochus' famous reference to a willing girl as
"wild fig tree of the rocks" whose branches accommodate many

Museum Sourcebooks in Anthropology, Q5), Garden City, 1967,
6. Further biblical references are to be found at: Judges
9,8-15; Mt. 21,19-21; Mk. 11, 13 and 20 f.

feeding ravens,⁵⁴ as well as the well-known connection between Dionysos and the fig: the god was in fact called Σουκίτης (Athen. 3,78c; Hesych. s.v. Σουκίτης; cf. Otto, Dionysos, Frankfurt, 1933, 144; H. Herter, "De Priapo," RVV 23 (1932), 222) as well as was Priapos (Anth. Priap. 16; 86; 240; 241; and cf. Grimal, 394 f.; from Theoc. epig. 4 and Horace, sat. 1,8,1 we know that the statues of Priapos were made of fig-wood); Aristophanes (Pax 1344 ff.) speaks of a 'crop of figs', thereby alluding to the male and female sex organs,⁵⁵ while in the Ecclesiaz. 707 the phallus is characterized by a fig tree.

In Rome the tree beside the Lupercal on the Palatine under which the basket containing the exposed twins Romulus and Remus finally came to rest was called the figus Ruminalis;⁵⁶ it is far from clear, but there might be some early connection here with the Mars-cult.⁵⁷ However that

⁵⁴See the Gk. Anthol. (Loeb), 1, frag. 15 and Olck, a.c., 2142,17 ff.

⁵⁵Cf. Reall. f. Antike, o.c., art. 'Feige', 650, and see V. Buchheit, "Feigensymbolik im antiken Epigramm," Rh. Mus. 103 (1960), 201: "σῦκον sowohl von membrum virile als auch vom membrum muliebre verstanden, und der Koitus sinnreich als συκολογεῖν bezeichnet."

⁵⁶See Varro, de l.l., 5,54; cf. R.R. 2,11,5; also quoted in Fest., pp. 332, 333 L.; Livy 1,4,5; Ovid, fast. 2,412 (and cf. Bömer's note, ad loc.); Serv. ad Aen. 8,90; Plut. Rom. 4,1 p. 19D; see Olck, a.c., 2148,16 ff. for a discussion of the various explanations for the adjective ruminatus.

⁵⁷Cf. CIL 14,305 (Ostia), which contains an

may be, the fig tree very definitely became associated with Juno and features prominently in a feast connected with that goddess, the Nonae Caprotinae, an orgiastic feast for women celebrated on July 7 (which also was the anniversary of the death of Romulus; cf. Reinach, "Les Sycophantes et les Mystères de la Figue," REG (1906), 109), and it also played a significant role in the closely-related feast of the Poplifugia, celebrated on July 5.⁵⁸ This association with Juno was doubtless due to the fig's connection with procreation and fertility,⁵⁹ although its lascivious connotations were by no means lost sight of by the Romans. One of the most glaring examples of the sexual significance of the fig was the gesture employed as a prophylactic charm against any

inscription to a Mars Ficanus; according to Livy 1,33,2 in the time of Ancus Marcius there existed on the road to Ostia a town called Ficana (cf. Fest. p. 298,8 f. L.); the god's epithet could denote merely a local variation of his cult or it could indicate that at Ficana Mars was anciently venerated as a sacred fig tree. The existence of a fig in the Roman Mars-cult (i.e. figus Ruminalis) does not, of course, confirm the second alternative but it does raise some interesting questions; cf. further Olck, a.c., 2148,66 ff.

⁵⁸For the Nonae Caprotinae and the rites involving the fig-tree, cf. Weinstock, art. 'Nonae Caprotinae' in RE 17,1,849-59; for the Poplifugia and its connection with the fig, see Kraus, art. 'Poplifugia', RE 22,1,74-78. It is illustrative to remark that in both feasts a common element is (a) the fig and (b) the Caprae palus, situated in the Campus Martius (Livy 1,16,1); further, both festivals concern themselves with the period of Romulus' death; it would certainly appear that there was some connection between the fig and the Mars-cult; cf. Hist. aug. M. Ant. Phil. 13,6 where mention is made of a "caprificus in campo Martio" (quoted in Weinstock, a.c., 858,52 f.).

⁵⁹Cf. Reall f. Antike, o.c., 654.

occasion which seemed threatening, known as "facere ficum": it is well known that the obscene was considered apotropaic against the malign influences of the mal'occhio (= Lat. fascinum) or evil charms in general,⁶⁰ and the mano in fica, still current in Italy, was such a gesture. It consists of inserting the thumb downwards through the fore- and middle-fingers of the closed hand and represents the union of the male and female organs.⁶¹ Further illustrations of the sexual connotation of the fig are to be found in Martial and in that anthology of phallic verse known collectively as the

⁶⁰Cf. the Fescennina iocatio (Catul. 61,120), ribald verses customarily sung at Roman weddings, as well as the risqué ditties sung by the troops at Caesar's Gallic triumph (Suet. Iul. 49,4 and 51); see as well Reall. f. Antike, o.c., 650 f., n. 60; cf. F. Dornseiff, Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie (Stud. z. Gesch. des ant. Weltbildes u. der griech. Wissensch., Heft 7), Berlin/Leipzig, 1922, 30: "Wie im Altertum nicht anders zu erwarten, fehlt das obszöne Element nicht . . . Für den primitiven Menschen ist das Obszöne, das heilige Geheimnis der Zeugung, Tabu, es wird als solches gesucht und gescheut, verehrt und als verblüffendes Schutzmittel gegen die Dämonen in Dienst genommen"; cf. too Aristoph. Eccl. 920: δοκεῖς δὲ μοι καὶ λάβδα κατὰ τοὺς Λεσβίους.

⁶¹The gesture is found in Ovid, fast. 5,433, for which see Bömer, Fasti 11, 317 and further literature there quoted; the mano in fica is also described by Dante, Inf. 25,1 ff.:

Al fine delle sue parole, il ladro
le mani alzò con amendue le fische.

which a modern editor, L. Magugliana (La Divina Commedia. Inferno, Milan, 1949, 136,2) explains as: "atto di scherno e di dileggio, che si fa mettendo il pollice fra l'indice e il medio e stringendo il pugno." For a literary description of the obscene connotation of the gesture, cf. A. Machen, The Great God Pan, Freeport, N.Y., 1970 (1926), 145.

Priapea.⁶²

Hence it is that Propertius, in total and exuberant victory over the witch who practiced every charm in her arsenal of the black arts to frustrate his success in love, places over her grave the caprificus, symbol of sexual procreation and fertility, with its fruit representing the male and female genitalia and the gesture which bears its name serving to ward off all evil spells and influences. Propertius, as is seen from the sexual connotation of the words he uses in line 76,⁶³ intends the tree to serve as a

⁶²Cf., e.g., Mart. 4,52; 7,71 and Buchheit's comments, a.c., 218 and 227; see too Carmina Ludicra Romanorum, ed. E. Cazzaniga (Corp. Script. lat. Paravian.), Turin, 1959, carm. 41:

Quisquis venerit huc, poeta fiat
et versus mihi dedicet iocosos.
qui non fecerit, inter eruditos
ficosissimus ambulet poetas.

as well as carm. 50:

Quaedam, si placet hoc tibi, Priape,
ficosissima me puella ludit
et nec dat mihi nec negat daturam:
causas invenit usque differendi.
quae si contigerit fruenda nobis.
totam comparibus, Priape, nostris
cingemus tibi mentulam coronis.

⁶³For the sexual connotation of the verb urgere cf. Hor. carm. 1,5.1 ff.:

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
perfusus liquidis urget odoribus,
grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?

and cf. R. Pichon, Index Verborum Amatorium (= De sermone amatorio apud Latinos elegiarum scriptores), Hildesheim, 1966 (Paris, 1902), 301 s.v. Urgere: "plerumque ad Amoris dominationem refertur"; for that of vis, cf. ibid., 298: "Vis est saepe violentia ab ardente amatore puellae inlata:", where then is quoted Ovid, Her. 5,131; 16,21,186; ars amat. 6,673; 679; 703; fast. 2,613; 5,205. Pichon continues:

flagrant and enduring confirmation of the life-giving act of sex which Acanthis tried so hard to thwart and the poem, in the final analysis, serves as a joyous and positive affirmation of life over death, light over darkness, true religious piety over fear-ridden superstition.

"Alias vis est vigor corporis ad Veneria certamina aptus," and he lists in support Prop. 2,22,28; Ovid, amor. 1,8,87; 2,10,23; 25; ars amat. 2,673.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 APOLLO AND AUGUSTUS

5.1 The Mythology of the Principate

Elegy 6 marks not only the mid-point in Book 4 (which is of itself probably an important fact),¹ but also a significant departure, both in matter and method, from the poet's usual procedure. Hitherto Propertius has drawn his aitia from the past, using them either to contrast the religious rites and legends of an earlier time with what they have become today (e.g. the first part of Elegy 1) or, as we have seen in Elegy 4, to provide exempla of piety and right conduct. With Elegy 6 however we have, for the first and last time, an aition drawn, not from the past in illo tempore, but from the pages of truly contemporary history--a manifestation of the divine which has occurred hic et nunc and with which all living can identify: the miraculous appearance of Apollo at Actium vouchsafing victory to

¹See E. Burck, a.c., 411,15 who regards the central position of El. 6 as illustrative of the "Sieger von Aktium als Zielpunkt der römischen Geschichte": P. Grimal too, in Les intentions de Propertius et la composition du livre IV des "Élégies" (Coll. LATOMUS, vol. 12), Brussels, 1953, 19 ff., has seen great meaning in the position of El. 6 within the Book: "c'est bien la gloire d'Auguste, et, plus précisément encore, la justification religieuse de sa mission terrestre, qui est le véritable sujet de l'élégie."

Octavian and safety to the Roman people. On the morning of September 2nd in 31 BC on the peninsula of Actium in the gulf of Ambracia, Caesar's heir with the support of the Senate and People of Rome and armed with an oath of allegiance met and defeated the combined fleet of Antony and Cleopatra, representing all that was vile, bestial and foreign. Actium became the battle of East vs. West personified, what was, in the words of R. Syme,² "the birth-legend in the mythology of the Principate." Apollo's miraculous epiphany at Actium would evolve into the focal point in Augustus' religious politics and the cult of the Apollo of Actium, centralized in the magnificent temple on the Palatine (cf. line 11 and 2,31) became "der sakrale Mittelpunkt des Staates."³ The growth of the Apollonian mystique which centered around the young victor increasingly after Actium can be seen most clearly in the Augustan poets themselves. At each new progression of the legend of Actium Apollo's role becomes correspondingly greater. In Horace (ep. 9) for instance, written directly after the battle of Actium,⁴ there is no mention of Apollo at all; in Vergil, Aen. 8,

²The Roman Revolution, Oxford Univ. Press, 1968 (1939), 297; cf. too W.W. Tarn and M.P. Charlesworth, Octavian, Antony and Cleopatra, Cambridge, 1965, 125-133.

³Wissowa, RuK², 77.

⁴Cf. W. Wili, Horaz und die augusteische Kultur², Darmstadt, 1965 (1947), 51 and see the remarks by J. Gagé, "Actiaca" in Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, 1939, 37 ff.

675-713, while Apollo is given the decisive role, the other gods marshalled by Octavian in the service of Rome (Neptune, Venus, Minerva, Mavors himself, the Penates) are also mentioned; Octavian in fact is pictured at the head of the forces of Italy conjointly with her gods:

Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis
(Aen. 8,678 f.)

In Propertius' account, however, it is Phoebus alone who appears and who grants victory:

tempus adest, committe ratus: ego temporis auctor
ducam laurigera Iulia rostra manu.
(lines 53 ff.)

and it is as priest/poet (= vates, line 1) of the new cult of Apollo Palatinus that we now meet Propertius in Elegy 6.

There have been many conjectures and interpretations as to the significance of Elegy 6. Reisch, for example, would see in the mention of Philetas (line 3) and Callimachus (line 4) a conscious effort on the part of Propertius to tell of the foundation of the temple of Apollo Palatinus and the Ludi Quinquennales in the manner of "die Callimacheische Dichtungsweise der Aetia."⁵

⁵"Properz-Studien," a.c., 138 and cf. Butler and Barber, Intro. xxvi; there are indeed some Callimachean echoes in 4,6 but of Hymn 2 (Apollo), not of the Aitia: cf. Prop. 4,6,1: "sint ora faventia sacris" with Callim. Hymn 2,17: εὐφημεῖτ' αἰόντες ἐπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἀοιδῇ, and Prop. 4,6,9: "ite procul fraudes" with Callim. Hymn 2,2: ἐκὰς, ἐκὰς ὅστις ἀλιτρός. More to the point however is Hor. c. 3,1,2: "Favete linguis: carmina non prius / audita Musarum sacerdos / virginibus puerisque canto" and Tib. 2,5,1:

P. Grimal,⁶ on the other hand, conceives of the poem as the great central pillar sustaining the entire edifice of Augustan religious propaganda which is, he says, the conscious purpose of Book 4: "Properce a placé," he asserts, "au centre de son livre, un poème relatif au monument sur lequel repose la mystique du régime augustéen, le temple d'Apollon Palatin," while further on at page 49 he states: "Cette position privilégiée accordée au dieu personnel d'Auguste suggère que Properce a construit tout son livre autour de ce poème."⁷ L. Ramaglia⁸ sees in the poem "la più compiuta espressione del suo sentimento patriottico, e vibra la certezza della gloria e degli alti destini della città"; similar sentiments are echoed by L. Celentano:⁹ "In IV 6 infine il poeta, più maturo, o, più verosimilmente, acceso da ardore patriottico per l'influsso di qualche festa

"Phoebe, fave: novus ingreditur tua templa sacerdos." The concept of vates as used by the Augustan poets is hardly Callimachean; it indicates that the poet, conscious of the divine voice within him, bears witness on behalf of the entire community to what it and the age feel toward the Princeps; cf. Altheim, RRG 1,77 ff.

⁶Les intentions . . . , o.c., 69.

⁷Grimal's thesis, not only of El. 6 but of the entire Book, has many attractions about it and quite likely much truth; in the final analysis however the best remark is still that of Burck (a.c., 407): ". . . leider aber trotz einzelner richtiger Beobachtungen ohne jede überzeugende Argumentation."

⁸"Properzio e le elegie romane," RSC 2 (1954), 201.

⁹"Significo e valore del IV libro di Properzio," Ann. di Fac. di Lett. e Fil. Univ. Napoli 6 (1956), 46.

religioso-politica, di qualche commemorazione della battaglia d'Azio, esalta lo storico avvenimento e, nel discorso di Apollo, sa trovare accenti di acceso patriottismo e di profonda moralità." Burck sees in the poem a resumption of the connections between Rome and Troy developed in Elegy 1 and which here are brought to a conclusion by the statement in line 38 that Augustus is a greater hero than Hector: "Doch über Augustus erhebt sich strahlend sein göttlicher Schirmherr Apoll, der Helfer der Trojaner vor dem Ansturm der Griechen (33 f.) und Schirmheer des wiedererstehenden Troja (1,47)."¹⁰ According to A. LaPenna, Elegy 6 exudes an aura of "pomposa solennità."¹¹

G. Williams¹² has recently examined both Propertius' and Vergil's poetic descriptions of Actium and in the resulting comparison Propertius has come off very badly indeed. In contrast to Vergil the impression which Propertius creates is "infinitely more artificial" (p. 56); this is because Vergil is not describing a real battle, but merely the scenes of the event as artistically depicted and and formalized on Aeneas' shield. Propertius however "must be taken to be talking immediately of the battle of Actium"

¹⁰ a.c., 411.

¹¹ Properzio, Florence, 1951, 74.

¹² Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford, 1968.

(p. 56); this decisive matter of stylistic treatment then on the part of Propertius "cannot but trivialize a subject that, on any reckoning, was a serious and deeply felt event of recent history" (p. 56). This trivial and artificial treatment of such a serious subject resulted from the fact that (unlike Vergil) "his eyes were on the formal difficulties of treating the subject in his specialized genre. The reader's attention, consequently, is occupied with the clever inventions and no depths are concealed" (p. 57). Well, the question of "depths" is relative to many things and is really all a matter of where and how one looks. In any case it appears manifestly unfair to blame Propertius for not being Vergil; such a conception of literary criticism would, if carried to its logical (and somewhat ludicrous) extreme, inevitably lead to all poetry being the same, an example of academic and aesthetic elitism chilling enough to give us all pause. The idea that Propertius' intention in writing the poem was chiefly a desire to flex his poetic muscles in the Hellenistic aition-genre, that his intention was "fundamentally unserious, a professional poet's manipulation of conventional symbols" (p. 53), also seems simplistic in the extreme. Leaving aside the implication that Vergil was an amateur poet who had no truck with the manipulation of poetic imagery, it appears time to examine the poem on its own merits and not merely as the second-rate attempt of a graceless imitator of Vergilian grandeur.

5.2 A Contemporary Aition

There is certainly no lack of clues to assist us in determining the reason for the existence of Elegy 6 in a Book dealing in large measure with Roman religion; the fact that Propertius is here represented as vates and that the time-element is the present, in contrast to all previous aitia, should be sufficient. Elegy 6 is the aition of Action Apollo, the protective deity of Augustus who was housed in his magnificent temple on the Palatine, and Propertius is his priest/poet. W. Aly defines an aition as "eine Manifestation des Göttlichen in einem konkreten Falle in historischer Zeit."¹³ Apollo's theophany at Actium is a truly contemporary manifestation of the continuing power of the divine to influence historical events, a visible and present implosion of the sacred into the dimension of the profane, manifesting itself as the one reality over and above all 'natural' realities.¹⁴ By thus naming himself priest of

¹³art. 'Mythos' in RE 16,2, 1397, 1 ff.

¹⁴Cf. Eliade, Le Sacré et le Profane, o.c., 61: "En créant les différentes réalités qui constituent aujourd'hui le Monde, les dieux fondaient également le Temps sacré, puisque le Temps contemporain d'une création était nécessairement sanctifié par la présence et l'activité divine"; cf. R. Cailliois, L'homme et le sacré³ (Coll. Idées 24), Paris, 1970 (1950), 18: "Le sacré apparaît ainsi comme une catégorie de la sensibilité. Au vrai, c'est la catégorie sur laquelle repose l'attitude religieuse, celle qui lui donne son caractère spécifique, celle qui impose au fidèle un sentiment de respect particulier, qui prémunit sa foi contre l'esprit d'examen, la soustrait à la discussion, la place au-dehors et au-delà de la raison."

this most contemporary and immediate numinous event and identifying so closely with the protective deity of the Princeps, Propertius gives witness to the still vital and spectacular force of religion to inspire men and to mould the course of history.

In order to demonstrate this, Propertius concentrates on the three main lines connected with the Augustan Apollo-cult, placing each in its appropriate mythopoetic setting--a literary format which further allows the poet, like Vergil and Horace, to give poetic expression to a truly mythico-religious groundswell of popular sentiment common throughout the Mediterranean world at this time.¹⁵ The three main conceptions upon which Augustus based his cult of Apollo and which are all outlined in Elegy 6 are (a) Apollo as a god of the civilizing arts and of prosperity; (b) Apollo's connection with Troy and hence with the Trojan origins of Rome, and (c) the Sibylline prophecies of a new saeculum and a new golden age. We shall now turn to an examination of these conceptions and of the relation of Elegy 6 with each of them.

¹⁵See the remarks by Gag  , Apollon Romain. Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le d  veloppement du 'ritus Graecus'    Rome des origines    Auguste, Paris, 1955, 479 and those of Alf  ldi, Studien   ber Caesars Monarchie (Bull. de la soc. royale des Lett. de Lund), Lund, 1952/53, 82.

5.3 Apollo as a Civilizing God

Connected with this conception are several subsidiary ideas, all of which figure in our poem. One of these is the religious politics of the triumvirs (and Sex. Pompeius), i.e. Antony as the νεός Διόνυσος and Octavian as the νεός Ἀπόλλων, and another is the dual nature of Apollo himself, i.e. as a god of light and also as a god of darker, more elemental forces. There is in this dual nature of the god nothing to be wondered at, neither logically, religiously, symbolically nor psychologically: if Apollo is a healing god, he must thereby also have the power to blight; if he can create, so also can he destroy.¹⁶ Before the Apollo of Augustus can become Apollo Palatinus, god of peace and prosperity, he must first manifest himself as Apollo Actius, the Destroyer-god. This is precisely the manner in which Propertius presents the god's epiphany: he first, after the prooemium (lines 1-14) and a brief introductory description of the setting (lines 15-30) appears as Apollo Actius, the Destroyer (31 ff.) and then (69 ff.) as a god of peace.¹⁷ It is very explicitly pointed out that the Apollo

¹⁶See the illuminating remarks by Kerényi, Apollon. Studien über antike Religion und Humanität, Vienna, 1937, 50 f.

¹⁷It is significant that in the carm. saec. of Horace Apollo also appears both as a god of light (1 f.; 61 f.) and as Destroyer (33 f.); similarly, in c. 4,6 the attention gradually shifts from Apollo the wrathful god to the figure of Apollo the master of the lyre, κιθαρῳδός, and

who appeared at Actium was not the handsome, languid, beardless youth of the poets, but the dark and menacing figure, true to the popular conception of his name,¹⁸ of the Destroyer:

non ille attulerat crines in colle solutos
aut testudineae carmen inerme lyrae,
sed quali aspexit Pelopeum Agamemnona vultu,
egessitque avidis Dorica castra rogis,
aut qualis flexos solvit Pythona per orbes
serpentem, imbelles quem timuere deae.
(31 ff.)

Here we are reminded by the poet himself of the similarity of Actian Apollo to the figure of the god described in the Iliad.¹⁹ The figure of Apollo the Destroyer, the avenging Wolf, is the more basic form of the ancient Greek and Italic conception of him.²⁰ Where this conception fits in with the religious politics of Augustus can best be seen through an interesting Apollo oracle found in

leader of the Muses (cf. Prop. 4,6,69: "citharam iam poscit Apollo," and see Fraenkel, Horace, Oxford, 1963 (1957), 402).

¹⁸i.e. Apollo < ἀπ-ολ-(δύλλυναι); see Usener, Götternamen. Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung³, Frankfurt/Main, 1948 (Bonn, 1895), 303 ff., and cf. already Aesch. Agam. 1080 f. where Cassandra cries: "Ἀπολλων / Ἀπολλων / Ἀγνιῶτ", ἀπόλλων ἐμός, ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις.

¹⁹Il. 1,43 ff.:

τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
'βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χῳόμενος κῆρ.
τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην·
ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωόμενοιο,
αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος· ὁ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς.
ἔζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ' ἰδὼν ἔηκε·
δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο·

²⁰Cf. Altheim, RRG 11,30 f.; Kerényi, Apollon. o.c., 51; Grimm, DM 1,122; Wilamowitz, GdH³ 1,144 with n. 1; Wissowa, RuK², 238.

the prodigia for 43 BC, in Jul. Obsequens 69: "oraculo Apollinis vox audita 'lupis rabies hieme, aestate frumentum non demessum'." This oracle was delivered after a legion of Antony's, called Martia, had deserted to Octavian the year before;²¹ Octavian's return to the earlier image of Apollo as the wolfish Destroyer-god meant that Apollo as avenger was being pitted against the strange, foreign Dionysos of the East. Wolves were the holy animal of the Italic Apollo, who was equated with the underworld god Soranus pater;²² the priests of Apollo Soranus were called "hirpi Sorani," i.e. they were wolves.²³ Further, the Etruscan death-god also appeared in wolf form.²⁴ For purposes of the conflict of 31 BC then Octavian used the avenging Wolf-god Apollo of old Italic tradition. However, already by 40 BC Octavian had associated himself with Apollo,²⁵ although the legends

²¹Cass. Dio 45,13,3 f.; App. bell. civ. 3,45.

²²Verg. Aen. 11,785; Plin. n.h. 7,19; Sil. Ital. 5, 175 ff.; 7,662 and cf. on an inscription near Falerii, Dessau 4034: "C. Varius Hermes sancto Sorano Apollini."

²³Serv. ad Aen. 11,785; Paul. Fest. p. 93 L.; cf. Strabo 5,4,12: ὅρον καλοῦσιν οἱ Σαυνῖται τὸν λύκον, and see Marbach, art. 'Soranus' in RE 3A, 1,1130 ff.; cf. too Wissowa, RuK², 238 and Gag  , Ap  llon, o.c., 66.

²⁴See Altheim, Terra Mater, Giessen, 1931, 59 f.

²⁵Suet. Aug. 70, the famous cena duodeκάθεος; cf. L.R. Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (philol. Monog. publ. by the Amer. Philol. Assoc., 1), Middletown, 1931, 118 and see P. Lambrechts, "La politique apollinienne d'Auguste et le culte imp  riale," Nouv. Clio 5 (1953), 70 ff.

concerning the "Apollonian" origin of Octavian likely go back even further.²⁶ The temple of Apollo Palatinus was vowed in 36 and solemnly dedicated on October 9, 28 BC;²⁷ earlier (41 BC) the young Octavian is called deus by Vergil in the 1st Eclogue,²⁸ where mention is made of a private cult offered him; in 36 Vergil again, in the prooemium to the Georgics, prophecied the apotheosis of Octavian,²⁹ and Appian informs us, in a somewhat overlooked passage, that in his youth Octavian was considered a god in certain Italian towns.³⁰

The political-religious implications of Octavian as

²⁶Cass. Dio, in an important passage (45,1,2), tells us that the primary reason that Caesar decided upon Octavian for the adoption was precisely the latter's 'Apollonian' connections.

²⁷Cass. Dio 49,15,5; CIL 1², p. 331; Wissowa, RuK², 296. In 12 BC the Sibylline books were transferred to here from the Capitoline (Suet. Aug. 31); Octavian encouraged the belief in his identity with Apollo by allowing a bronze statue of the god with Augustan features to be erected in the Palatine library (Serv. ad. ecl. 4,10; cf. Taylor, o.c., 154). In the Acts of the fratres Arvales (RuK², 295) it is said that the date of the foundation of the first temple of Apollo was the 23rd of September, the same date coincidentally as the birth of Augustus; cf. Lambrechts, a.c., 69,2.

²⁸Ecl. 1,6 ff., and cf. Lambrechts, a.c., 71,2 and the literature there quoted.

²⁹Georg. 1,24 ff.; cf. Wissowa, "Das Prooemium von Vergils Georgica," HERMES 52 (1917), 101: "Dass uns diese Vorstellung bei Vergil bereits von der Schlacht bei Actium begegnet, ist von Bedeutung für das Verständnis der Vorläufer des römischen Kaiserkultus."

³⁰App. bell. civ. 5,132,546: καὶ ἦν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐτῶν ἑς τότε ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι [approx. 35 BC], καὶ αὐτὸν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρουν.

the νέος Ἀπόλλων began to become more apparent and urgent as the struggle for power intensified with Antony who was parading throughout the East as the νέος Διόνυσος.³¹ the symbolism of the Hellenistic Dionysos-cult is connected very closely with the legend of Alexander and it was through such associations that the god became the embodiment of the victorious world-conqueror, civilizing founder of cities and protector of Greek culture and civilization.³² After the two men, both suitably garbed in all of their politico-religious propaganda, had inevitably clashed at Actium to decide the mastery of East and West and the wolfish Destroyer had overcome the howling Dionysian hordes of the Orient, Octavian then saw fit to unite, in syncretic harmony, the old Italic 'Destroyer' with the classical Light-god and patron of the coming social order. Having served his function the wolfish Apollo Actius was turned into Apollo Palatinus, "L'Apollon d'Auguste, c'est-à-dire l'Apollon Palatin"³³ and identified with the Sun, the god of Vergil's

³¹Plut. Ant. 24; 26.

³²See O. Immisch, "Zum antiken Herrscherkult" in Aus Roms Zeitwende. Von Wesen und Wirken des augusteischen Geistes. Beiträge von O. Immisch, W. Kolbe, W. Schadewaldt, H. Heiss, Leipzig, 1931, 17; cf. F. Taeger, Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes, 2 Bde, Stuttgart, 1957-1960, Bd. 2, Rom, 89 ff.; cf. esp. D. Michel, Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar u. Marcus Antonius. Archäologische Untersuchungen (Coll. LATOMUS 94), Brussels, 1967.

³³Gagé, Apollon, o.c., 608.

4th Eclogue, the bringer of the magnus saeculorum ordo.

This shift is aptly mirrored by Propertius at lines 69 ff.:

bella satis cecini: citharam iam poscit Apollo
victor et ad placidos exiit arma choros.
candida nunc molli subeant convivia luco

The civil wars are ended, iam regnat Apollo; Augustus takes up the task of restoration and reconciliation and, most importantly, of repairing the rupture of the pax deorum: Apollo and Dionysos must be reunited.³⁴ In the new age there can be no Nietzschean-like antithesis between the Apollonian and the Dionysian; henceforth no factionalism will be allowed to disturb the calm serenity of the Apollonian universe. Indeed it might be said that one of Augustus' most intelligent and far-reaching social acts was the reconciliation of political and religious realities around the figure of Apollo as the symbol of a new era of peace which

³⁴Significantly enough, the games in honour of Fortuna Redux to celebrate the triumphant return of Octavian's troops and the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, which later became the Ludi Divi Augusti et Fortunae Reducis (Cass. Dio 54,34,2; Tac. ann. 1,15; RuK², 457), were staged from the 3rd-12th of October; it was in the midst of these games on October 9th, 28 BC, that Octavian dedicated the temple of Apollo Palatinus (Cass. Dio 49,15,5; CIL 1², p. 331). This is significant because it was during this same period that the feast of the Meditrinalia (October 11) took place, cf. Varro de l.l. 6,21: "Octobri mense Meditrinalia dies dictus a medendo, quod Flaccus flamen Martialis dicebat, hoc die solitum vinum novum et vetus liberi et degustari medicamenti causa." It would appear then that the celebration of the triumphant return of Octavian from the East fell in full vintage season and during a wine feast where the medicinal properties of wine were stressed; a more striking union of Dionysos and Apollo (i.e. Medicus) could scarcely be imagined.

had at long last been granted, a reconciliation fittingly summarized by Propertius at line 76:

Bacche, soles Phoebro fertilis esse tuo.

5.4 Apollo and the Trojan Origins of Rome

Part of the explanation for the Apollonianism of Augustus appears to lie in the fact that it gave religious and political expression to the widespread faith in the Trojan origin of Rome; it also implicitly symbolized the conviction that there was no one better qualified than a member of the Iulii, the descendants of Aeneas himself, to guide the destiny of Troica Roma (line 87). In Elegy 1 Propertius had begun the tale of the Trojan origin of Rome and referred to the long-ago prophecy of Cassandra (lines 53 ff.):

vertite equum, Danai! male vincitis! Ilia tellus
vivet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.

Here, in Elegy 6, he is concerned with showing how actions and forces first set in motion long ago at the very beginning of things have the power to affect the destinies of men now living, that in the dimension of the numinous there is no false temporal divisions of past, present and future, but only the one, eternal and universal now. The divine design which began with the wanderings of Aeneas is now seen to be fulfilled at Actium through Apollo's words to Octavian, words which take us back to the very time-element represented

in 4,1,39 ff. This is a development very like that outlined in the prophecy of Anchises at Aen. 6,756 ff., where the whole panorama of sacred and profane time is seen to synchronize and focus upon the figure of Augustus, and here at lines 37 f. Apollo addresses Augustus as

O Longa mundi servator ab Alba
Auguste, Hectoreis cognite maior avis,

thereby alluding, not only to the descent of the Iulii from the Alban royal line, but ultimately from the Trojan royal line itself.³⁵ Apollo's connection with Troy is as old as the Iliad³⁶ and the gens Iulia were possessed of a long

³⁵ By addressing Augustus as mundi servator Propertius is also alluding to the claim of Augustus that his Apollonian politics were in fulfillment of the saecular prophecies; servator or conservator was often used as a translation of the Gk. σωτήρ, a title frequent in Hellenistic religious politics (cf. p.209 f. above and see Alföldi, "Bildsymbolik," a.c. 3,221); these same two terms were also applied to Roman gods (cf. ThLL 4,418). Earlier, at line 21, Propertius had referred to Augustus as Teucro . . . Quirino: in Vergil's georg. 3,27 Quirinus = Augustus; he is here called 'Trojan' because of his descent from Aeneas. Quirinus, as we have seen, was by now identified with Romulus, so here Augustus is addressed by his divine name as servator (κτίστης) or second founder. In 27 BC, Augustus was awarded the corona civica and golden shield "ob civis servatos" (Mon. Anc. 34,2; Cass. Dio 53,16,4); for the Julian family propaganda, cf. Alföldi, "Bildsymbolik," a.c., 8,212 ff.; Koch, Röm. Jupp., o.c., 62 ff.; art. 'Quirinus' in RE 24,1320,21 ff.; Burkert, "Caesar u. Romulus-Quirinus," Hist. 11 (1962), 363 with n. 40.

³⁶ Cf. Il. 7,21 where it is stated that Apollo Τρώεσσι δὲ βούλετο νίκηῖν; other passages include 4,507 ff.; 5,431 ff.; 512 ff.; 7,272; at 22,359 Apollo directs the arrow of Paris which kills Achilles and spares Troy (cf. Aen. 6,57 and Hor. c. 4,6,3 f.). In the Aeneid Apollo continues to protect the Trojan Aeneas on his wanderings; see Aen. 3,80 ff.; 395; 6,56 ff. Apollo continued to protect the new Troy;

tradition connection them to Troy. An ancestral tree leading from Aeneas to Romulus was in existence and various Iulii were great benefactors of Ilium.³⁷

5.5 Prophecies of a New Saeculum and Golden Age

At line 59, after Apollo had just spoken and it was assured that "vincit Roma fide Phoebi" (57), Propertius represents the divus Iulius as looking down with approval "Idalio . . . ab astro" upon his adopted son and heir; with these two images Propertius alludes to (1) the Apollo-centred messianic prophecies of a new Utopia then very current, and (2) the announcement of a novum saeculum after the appearance of the sidus Iulium in 44 BC.³⁸

in 212 BC in the midst of the Hannibalic war, the ludi Apollinares were instituted "victoriae, non valetudinis ergo ut plerique rentur, votorum factorumque," as Livy (25,12,15) explains, and the keepers of the Sibylline oracles, the decemviri sacris faciundis, were also, in Livy's words (10, 8,2) "antistites Apollinaris sacri."

³⁷The family historian, a certain L. or C. Iulius Caesar, wrote about the origins of Rome and of the Aeneadae; all the fragments save one are found in the Orig. gent. Rom.; he has not yet been fully identified, but Bickel, Rh. Mus. 100 (1957), 201 ff. suggests L. Iulius Caesar, cos. 64; cf. Münzer, RE 10,468 ff. and see Weinstock, Divus Iulius, Oxford, 1971, 17,6 for a full discussion of this enigmatic Julian. Examples of Julian benefactors to Troy: L. Iulius Caesar (cos. 90), as censor in 89 exempted the territory of Ilium from taxation and was honoured with a statue (cf. Münzer, RE 10,468); his son, L. Iulius Caesar, as quaestor in 87, took part in the festival of Athens at Troy (Münzer, a.c., 469).

³⁸For the sidus, cf. Jul. Obsequens 68 and Suet. Caes. 88.

The Hellenistic and Semitic East had been in a fervour for years now over messianic prophecies of a redeemer and social justice for all. Between the 2nd and 3rd Punic Wars Rome had destroyed the balance of power in the East, and promising peace, she had merely exploited her new provinces. Under these conditions the people, weighted down with despair, awaited with great longing their redeemer, their σωτήρ.³⁹ The Egyptians dreamt of the return of the cult of Pharaoh and the fall of the Ptolemies; the Jews, perhaps even more passionately, believed in their imminent deliverance from the Seleucids, promised them by Jehovah. Italy, torn apart by decades of civil war, longed for the restoration of peace and social justice, and these deep-felt religious expectations began to manifest themselves in the literature, most notably in Vergil's 4th Eclogue.⁴⁰ With the common people all over the Mediterranean world thus

³⁹ Alföldi, Studien, o.c., 54; Taeger, Charisma, o.c., 2,52 ff.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, a similar phenomenon of an oppressed native population longing for a return to better days manifested itself from the seventeenth century onwards among the North American Indians as a series of messianic revivals, the latest and best-known of which, the Ghost-Dance religion, has been studied in great detail; cf. the remarks by J. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion," Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, 1892-3, Washington (1896), 655-1102 (quoted in J.D. Unwin, Sex and Culture, Oxford, 1934, 172): "When the native lies crushed and groaning beneath an alien yoke, how natural is the dream of a redeemer who shall return from exile or awake from some long sleep to drive out the usurper and win back for his people what they have lost!"

longing for a return to the fabled golden age of peace and prosperity, it was inevitable that those in power soon snatched at this as a means of furthering their own political ambitions.

Augustus attempted to fulfill the various prophecies by setting out, through his religious reforms, to eliminate the negligentia towards the gods,⁴¹ the source of all the prodigies and oracles, and by taking to himself the figure of the fiery Sun-god proclaimed in the ancient Persian soteriological prophecies who would cleanse the earth in a judgement of fire.⁴² Allied to this conception is the idea of the Sun of Righteousness, which was linked with that of the Messiah among the Jews.⁴³ In the third Book of the Jewish Sibyl (3,652) there is expressed the longing for the soon-to-come redeemer; this redeemer will be sent by the Sun-god.⁴⁴ In Greek literature Zeus and Helios were the protectors and guarantors of oaths since the Iliad (3,276 f.):

⁴¹Cf. Varro, antiq. 141: "Se timere ne [dii] pererant non incursu hostili sed civium negligentia."

⁴²Cf. Orac. Sib. 3,84-87; 4,171-178; 2,196 ff.; 202 ff., and see R. Günther, "Der politisch-ideologische Kampf in der röm. Religion in den letzten zwei Jhd. v. u. Zeit," KLIO 42 (1964), 219 f.

⁴³Cf. Malachi 4,2: "Et orietur vobis timentibus nomen meum sol iustitiae et sanitas in pennis eius"; so also Bk. of Wisdom 5,6: ". . . et iustitiae lumen non luxit nobis, et sol intelligentiae non est ortus nobis."

⁴⁴See Günther, art. laud., 255.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, "Ἰδὼθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε,
'Ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις

and at least as early as Aeschylos (Ps.-Eratosth.,
Catasterismi, 24) Apollo had been equated with Helios: ὃς
τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐκ ἐτίμα, τὸν δὲ "Ἡλίον μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν
ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὃν καὶ 'Απόλλωνα προσηγόρευσεν . . . ὥς
φησιν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητῆς ⁴⁵

With this conception of Apollo as the Sun-god is
also tied the idea of the Sun of Righteousness and divine
rule; Cicero records the notion that the sun ruled the world
(de rep. 7,17,17) as well as the messianic conception that
the sun was a symbolic sign of freedom.⁴⁶ All of this
renders especially meaningful the words of the Sibylline
oracle in reference to the ludi saeculares of 17 BC:⁴⁷

καὶ φοῖβος 'Απόλλων,
ὅστε καὶ 'Ἡέλιός κικλήσκεται.

With this it will be remembered that the chariot of the Sun
stood on the apex of the pediment on the temple of Apollo
Palatinus (Prop. 3,31,11; Hor. c.s. 9). Related too are all

⁴⁵Cf. Wilamowitz, GdH³, o.c., 1,251: "Da musste ein lebendiger grosser Gott, musste Apollon als Sonne ausgedeutet werden, wie es schon dem Aischylos bekannt war," and 2,493: "Da sieht man, dass Platons Schätzung der Sonne (Staat VI 509b) nachwirkt; Platon hatte ja selbst in Apollon die Sonne gesehen."

⁴⁶Cf. Accius in Cic. de div. 1,45: "nam id quod de sole ostentumst tibi / populo commutationem rerum portendit fore / perpropinquam"; cf. Günther, a.c., 242.

⁴⁷Zosim. 2,6; FrGkHist. 257 F37; see the excellent article on this text by Nilsson in RE 1A, 1698 ff.

the prophecies and legends connected with the birth of Augustus. The astrological sign dominant at his birth (♌ in the house of ♌) was the rising sun-sign, "primant tous les autres, en vertu d'une énergie exaltée et comme surchauffée par la présence du Soleil. C'est la théorie que a présidé à la confection des thèmes de conception ou de géniture . . . d'Auguste."⁴⁸ This messianic relationship to the Sun and to Apollo, god of the new age, is further outlined by Suetonius, Aug. 94: there it is related that (a) Augustus was reputed to have been fathered by Apollo himself and that (b) Augustus' father said that he dreamt Augustus was the Sun rising from Aia's womb (cf. Cass. Dio 45,1,3). On an obelisk in the circus maximus Augustus is associated with Sol (CIL 6,701) and on many inscriptions he is called Apollo.⁴⁹ Horace (c. 4,2,46) called him "O Sol pulcher, O laudande" and spoke of the lack of light which only Augustus could restore to Rome (c. 4,5,5) and of his brilliance which no star had ever matched, before or since

⁴⁸Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie grécque, o.c., 384; see Norden, Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer religiösen Idee, Darmstadt, 1969 (1924), 160: "Die Sonne stand an seinem Geburtstage, dem 23. September, im Zeichen der Wage, dem astralen Symbol des gerechten Herrschers," and Manil. 4,547 ff.; cf. Taeger, o.c., 2,115 (on the birth-sign): "Der Sinn ist klar. Der Kaiser ist durch die Gestirne zu seinem schicksalhaften Auftrag berufen worden."

⁴⁹CIL 5,741; 748; 749; 753 (Gall. Cis.); 12,1810; 2342; 2374 (Gall. Narbon.); cf CIL 11,804: "Apollo Geniusque Augusti Caesaris."

(epist. 2,1,17).⁵⁰

This brings us to the second point, the comet of 44, interpreted as a sign of the new age⁵¹ by the haruspex Vulcanius, the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth saeculum.⁵² This last age, the tenth, was that of Sol.⁵³ We need not be detained here by a discussion of the historical significance of the star (astrum) which heralded this new age; that symbolism had a venerable history before it ever became attached to Julian propaganda.⁵⁴ It is enough to confine ourselves to the details immediately bearing upon Augustan messianic politics and their reflection in Elegy 6. Suffice it to say that the star from which Propertius represents divus Iulius as looking down on Actium is the Idalio . . . astro, i.e. the star of Venus, which at Rome had been incorporated into the Trojan legend. According to Varro it was this star which had guided Aeneas on his

⁵⁰See E. Doblhofer, Die Augustuspanegyrik des Horaz in formalhistorischer Sicht, Heidelberg, 1966, 88: "Was Horaz hier (i.e. in c. 4,5) gewählt hat, ist also eine der feinsten Varianten des Herrscher-Sonnen-Vergleichs."

⁵¹See Cic. de nat. deor. 2,51 on the magnus annus and cf. Taylor, o.c., 91.

⁵²Weinstock, o.c., 195.

⁵³Serv. ad ecl. 4,4: ". . . saecula per metalla divisit, dixit etiam quis quo saeculo imperaret, et Solem ultimum, id est decimum, voluit."

⁵⁴See Weinstock, o.c., 370 ff. for a discussion of the symbolism and relevant literature.

journey from Troy to Italy (cf. Prop. 4,1,46).⁵⁵ This star of Venus is the same as the sidus Iulium; Vergil (ecl. 9,47) calls it the Dionaei Caesaris astrum and Horace (c. 1,12,46) refers to the Iulium sidus which "micat inter omnes . . . velut inter ignes luna minores." The goddess herself had thus raised her son among the stars, and Augustus slightly modified this by stating that the comet was a sign of the new golden age under his rule when later, during the saecular games of 17 BC, the comet appeared again.⁵⁶ This meant that the idea of a social Utopia connected with the announcement of a new saeculum (along with its attendant ideas of peace and lasting freedom) was transferred to the cult of the Princeps, fully Romanized in relation to his religious politics,⁵⁷ and solemnized in the saecular games of 17 BC, in which the figure of Apollo is disassociated from the Oriental conception of the Sun of Righteousness and becomes the god of the new Roman era, the protector of the Rome of the future. It is this idea, that in the new saeculum the

⁵⁵Serv. ad Aen. 1,382: "Varro in secundo divinarum dicit 'ex quo de Troia est egressus Aeneas, Veneris eum per diem cotidie stellam vidisse, donec ad agrum Laurentum veniret, in quo eam non vidit ulterius; qua re terras cognovit esse fatales'."

⁵⁶Iul. Obsequens 71; Cass. Dio 54,19,7 (in 16 BC). Augustus also is the "Star of all of Greece" (epigram in Philae (Kaibel) 978, quoted in Norden, Die Geburt . . ., o.c., 161,3): δεσπότης Εὐρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίδος, ἀστρῶν ἀπάσας Ἑλλάδος, ὃς σωτὴρ Ζεὺς ἀνέτειλε μέγας.

⁵⁷Cf. Günther, a.c., 272.

golden age of Apollo returns, which connects the saecular games of 17 with Vergil's 4th Eclogue: "Neu ist, dass der römische Apollo den römischen Herrscher selbst als seinen Vertreter, als Gott der neuen Aera gewählt hat . . . der Gott des neuen Zeitalters, der Soter, der Messias, der Friedensbringer, all das war in Zukunft der Kaiser selbst."⁵⁸

5.6 Iam regnat Apollo!

Having thus manifested himself so spectacularly at Actium, vouchsafing the same divine guidance in Rome's contemporary affairs as had been the case in the past, and confirming that the god-like spirit of Julius lives on in the person of Augustus, Actian Apollo lays down his avenging arrows and assumes his role as Apollo Palatinus, patron of the new era of peace. All the prophecies have been gloriously fulfilled, but Propertius saves the most ambitious for last. At lines 79 ff. he mentions Parthia, which in 20 BC had restored the standards lost by Crassus,⁵⁹ and he foretells

⁵⁸Günther, a.c., 273; cf. Alföldi, Studien, o.c., 82: "die Staatskunst des Augustus lag darin, jene Hochflut des Massenpsychose zu erfassen und zu meistern und sie schliesslich in die Kanäle einer dauerhaften Institution zu leiten."

⁵⁹Mon. Anc. 5,40-43; Cass. Dio 54,8; Suet. Aug. 21. These standards were placed in the temple of Mars Ultor on the Capitol and later transferred to the larger temple in the Forum, solemnly dedicated on August 1st, 2 BC (RuK²,

the complete conquest of that nation. The Parthians may do what they will, nevertheless their annihilation is imminent; Augustus is merely waiting to bestow the honour on his adopted sons:

Reddat signa Remi, mox dabit ipse sua:
sive aliquid pharetris Augustus parcet Eois,
differat in pueros ista tropaea suos.
(80 ff.)

It must have been fairly general knowledge that there was a Sibylline oracle in existence which foretold that "Parthos nisi a rege non posse vinci."⁶⁰ L. Aurelius Cotta, one of the quindecimviri, intended to announce to the Senate on the Ides of March that, according to this prophecy, Caesar should be called king.⁶¹ The announcement was never delivered and the lessons afforded by the fate of his adoptive father were not lost on Augustus. He was content with the much less ambitious and glamorous expedient of the imperium proconsulare maius. But for all that his control

146), the year that Gaius Caesar, the son of Agrippa and Iulia and Augustus' grandson and heir, set out for Parthia to avenge the past yet again (Cass. Dio. 55,10,17 ff.; Suet. Tib. 12).

⁶⁰Suet. Caes. 79,3; cf. Cass. Dio 44,15,3-4: οτι η Σίβυλλα ειρηκυϊα ειη μηποτ' αν τους Παρθους αλλως πως πλην υποδ βασιλέως αλῶναι; cf. also App. bell. civ. 2,110,460.

⁶¹Suet., ibid.; cf. Alföldi, Studien, o.c., 37 ff. and see K. Kraft, Der goldene Kranz Caesars und der Kampf um die Entlarvung des 'Tyrannen', Darmstadt, 1969, 56, 243: "Cicero bestreitet nicht die Existenz und das Umlaufen des Spruches, sondern dass es unrichtig sei zu glauben, Cotta hätte auf Grund des Sibyllinenspruches den Antrag stellen wollen."

over Parthia was manifest; let men infer the rest.

So Elegy 6 comes to a quietly joyful conclusion, amid an atmosphere rather similar to that evoked by Horace in c. 1,37, in which Propertius leaves us with the delicately done and lovely symbol of the reconciliation of Apollo and Dionysos, pictured by the image of the sun's rays filtering through the poet's wine:

sic noctem patera, sic ducam carmine, donec
 iniciat radios in mea vina dies.
 (85 f.)

The poem therefore represents the poet's abiding faith in the validity of the religious spirit and his attempt to demonstrate to the men of his generation its continuing influence in contemporary affairs. Apollo has manifested himself in a theophany for all to see and the divine protection which was bestowed upon Rome at her beginning, celebrated in Elegies 1 and 4, continues to guide the destiny of the City. Now at last has come the great reward for Rome's centuries of faith and struggle: iam regnat Apollo.

CHAPTER 6

6.0 DREAMS AND THE SPIRIT WORLD

And what the dead had no speech for, when living,
They can tell you, being dead: the communication
Of the dead is tongued with fire beyond the
language of the living.

-- T.S. Eliot,
Little Gidding

In this poem Propertius treats of two questions vital to any discussion of religion, mysticism and the psychology of the numinous: the continuation of life after death and the validity of dreams as a source for the revelation of such a life. The first of these is presented as a definite statement in the very opening line:

Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit.

This seems to be serious; it appears to be the utterance of a man who has pondered, long and agonizingly, over the mystery of death and its consequences.¹ The statement then, almost a triumphant shout, would represent the final results of such soul-searching in a positive affirmation of the continued existence of the spirit. The cause of Propertius' positive belief in life after death was the appearance of Cynthia's ghost in a dream and the words she spoke to him.

¹For a contrary opinion, see A.K. Lake, "An Interpretation of Propertius IV, 7," CR 51 (1937), 53-55; on p. 53 she asks, "Can it have been a satirical comment on the character of a still quite vigorous Cynthia?"

If such dreams are indeed real (Cynthia says that they are, line 88), if they represent, on a higher psychic level, the encounter with the world of the afterlife, then what appeared to the poet was no mere nothing, but a real 'something', testifying to the survival of the spirit beyond the grave. Since the implications involved in a discussion of these two questions are complex and far-reaching, I would therefore propose to treat them according to the following two-part schema, entering first into a diachronic examination of the Roman conception of the Manes, then discussing the possible reasons for the poet's affirmation that the Manes are 'something' and next looking at the poet's use of the term in his own work; the second part of the examination shall discuss the statement: somnia pondus habent (line 88), and end in an attempt at revealing the connection between the Manes and the world of dreams. It is to be hoped that such a procedure will yield significant insights into the nature of the poet's religious conceptions and perhaps clarify certain links within Book 4 itself hitherto little suspected.

6.1 The Roman Conception of the Manes

The concept of the Manes is a very ancient one and seems to be basically Italic in origin, comprising within the one ambiguous term all conceptions of death and the Underworld. The Manes then were at first the anonymous dead in

general, who lived in and watched over their tombs.² The idea that the dead inhabit a common dwelling within the earth seems to have been present from the very beginnings of the City:³ their existence within the earth is seen from the devotio-formula which Livy puts into the mouth of Decius (8,9,6 ff.): this has every appearance of being both ancient and authentic, and ends with the consul devoting himself and the enemy army deis Manibus Tellurique;⁴ ancient too is the conception that the Manes, by means of the trench of the mundus, served as an intermediary link between the upper and lower worlds;⁵ the mundus was opened three times a year, on August 24, October 5 and November 8. These days, on which "occulta et abdita religionis deorum Manium essent, in lucem adducerentur et patefierent," were considered extremely religiosi and no business, public or private, was conducted; in other words, the world of the living was built around and had direct access to the world of the dead.⁶

²Cf. Cumont, Lux Perpetua, o.c., 57 and 397; Wissowa RuK², 238; W.F. Otto, Die Manen², oder, von den Urformen des Totenglaubens, Darmstadt, 1962 (1923), 70; Marbach, art. 'Manes' in RE 14,1,1052,63 ff.; Radke, 197; W.F. Jackson Knight, Elysion. On Ancient Greek and Roman Beliefs concerning a life after death, London, 1970, 110.

³See Thulin, Etr. Disc., o.c., 111,18 ff.

⁴Cf. too Plin. n.h. 33,1 "in sede Manium," which Grimm, DM⁴, 3,278 translates as "im schoss der erde."

⁵Paul. Fest. p. 144 L.

⁶Cf. Kerényi, Humanistische Seelenforsch., o.c., 224

Further, it appears that among the Romans the shades were revered as if they were divine: Cicero, quoting the old law of the 12 Tables (de leg. 2,9,22) says: "Deorum Manium iura sancta sunt. Suos leto datos divos habento"; later, at 2, 22,55, he states that "maiores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in deorum numero esse voluissent"; Plutarch (Quest. Rom. 14) quotes Varro as saying that a son, when collecting the ashes of his cremated father, should address him as a god, while Augustine (civ. Dei. 8,26), also informs us that Varro "dicit omnes ab eis (sc. paganis) mortuos existimari manes deos et probat per ea sacra, quae omnibus fere mortuis exhibentur, ubi et ludos commemorat funebres, tamquam hoc sit maximum divinitatis indicium, quod non soleant ludi nisi numinibus celebrare." In a letter of Cornelia to C. Gracchus, which still survives,⁷ the mother writes to her son: "Ubi

f.; cf. too the duenos-inscription en manom, which may or may not have some relation to the Underworld (Marbach, a.c., 1051,62 f.).

⁷Because of its rhetorical form, the letter was earlier thought not to be genuine; however, since the objections raised by Ed. Meyer (Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie u. zur wirtschaftlichen u. politischen Geschichte des Altertums², Halle, 1924), 386 f.; cf. too Münzer, RE 2,2,1378, 14), faith in its authenticity has been restored; cf. Usener, Rh. Mus. 55 (1900), 292: "Der Brief, er mag so unecht sein wie man will, musste in der Zwischenzeit zwischen C. Gracchus' Tod (121) und Cornelius Nepos abgefasst sein, ist also ein vollgültiges Zeugnis für die römischen Vorstellungen im siebten Jahrhundert der Stadt." See Fr. Bömer, Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom (Beihefte z. Archiv f. Religionswissensch., 1), Leipzig/Berlin, 1943, 102 f.

mortua ero, parentabis mihi et invocabis deum parentem. In eo tempore non pudet te eorum deum preces expetere, quos vivos atque praesentes relictos atque desertos habueris?"⁸

From a general, amorphous conception of the di Manes as the undifferentiated spirits of the deified dead, it seems only natural that the evolution take place of the Manes as the departed spirits of one's tribe, family or ancestors.

Wissowa in fact (RuK², 239) argues that a distinction be made between the di Manes, i.e. the entire number of the departed, and the di parentes, or the deceased members of a specific tribe.⁹ Marbach (a.c., 1053,26 ff.) refers to the di Manes as a "Seelenkult" and to the di parentes as an "Ahnenkult," thus bringing himself into agreement with Wissowa's thesis. There would then seem to have developed a blurring of the idea of the di parentes into the general conception of the di Manes so that the distinction between the two was lost. This development then went a stage further and from the total number of departed ancestors arises the concept of the Manes (still in the plural) of a single

⁸Corn. Nepos, fragm. 2 (ed. Winstedt, O.U.P.).

⁹He quotes in support CIL 6,9659: diis parentibus suis hunc lapidem posuit, which ends with diis Manibus sacrum; cf. CIL 6,3597: D(is) M(anibus) parentium. Servius, ad Aen. 3,63 says that "quidam alios Manes, alios deos infernos dicunt"; he could possibly be alluding here to a dual conception of the ancestors on the one hand and the undifferentiated mass of the dead on the other; cf. Paul. Fest. p. 132 L.: "ut Inferi di Manes pro boni dicantur a suppliciter eos venerantibus pro metum mortis."

individual (cf. Cornelia's letter, above) thus making possible the formula: dis Manibus illius (or illi); e.g., in CIL 12,3464: L. Baebi Secund[i] ibi Manes iacent.

According to Otto,¹⁰ the oldest inscription referring to the spirit of an individual dead person (still called, however, di Manes) comes from Republican times (CIL 14,2464): dis Manibus L. Caecili Rufi. Rufus was praetor in 57 BC and so died probably in or near the last decade before Christ. Marbach,¹¹ on the other hand, lists as the earliest evidence of the use of the term Manes to designate the soul of an individual dead person the expression used by Cicero at In Pis. 16: coniuratorum Manes mortuorum expiare; the In Pisonem is put by Rose¹² at 55 BC although, as Jackson Knight rightly, though perhaps somewhat too literally points out,¹³ this is still not in reference to one single individual. Latte¹⁴ agrees with Otto in the matter of the Rufus inscription, but wisely adds that the use of the plural term Manes in popular speech with reference to a single dead individual is probably far older than our epigraphic and

¹⁰Manen, o.c., 71.

¹¹a.c., 1053,58 ff.

¹²H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Latin Literature, London, 1966 (1936), 180 f.

¹³Elysion, o.c., 110.

¹⁴RRG², 99,4.

literary evidence would lead us to believe.¹⁵

There seems then to have occurred the following evolution in the meaning of the concept Manes: first, the (probably) original designation of all who belong to the Underworld; then, due to a blurring of the distinction between the di Manes and the di parentes, the term came to mean in addition the departed spirits of one's clan or family;¹⁶ finally, it designated as well the departed soul of an individual, although curiously still expressed in the plural. All three of these basic concepts seemed to intermingle the one with the other, and while they were the living remains of all the dead in the Underworld they were also the spirits of death who had it within their power to influence the fate of living men. In all three senses then the Manes had power and were the subjects of propitiation;¹⁷ Ovid says

¹⁵Ibid., 99 f.: "aber der Sprachgebrauch ist älter. Cicero kann schon 70 v. Chr. von di Manes innocentium sprechen (Verr. 2,5,113." Cf. Bömer, Ahnenkult, o.c., 52: ". . . eine einzelne Penaten- oder Manengottheit gibt es aber nicht, selbst wenn später mit den di manes die Seele eines einzelnen Toten bezeichnet wird." Cf. Pomp. gramm. 5,195,38: "numero singulari nemo dicit 'hic manis' aut 'hic manes'."

¹⁶It was probably at this stage that a distinction of sex was made in the conception of the Manes; cf. Fest. p. 114,19 L.: "Manes deos deasque" and CIL 5,6153 di deaeque manes.

¹⁷Publicly during the feast of the Parentalia (Ovid, fast. 2,548 ff.) which extended for nine days (the death number--see RuK², 232,7 for the literature there quoted) from the Ides of February to the 21st, ending with the Feralia and including the feasts of Lupercalia and Quirinalia, as well as the Stultorum feriae; this was followed on

of the Feralia (February 21): ultima placandis manibus illa dies (fast. 2,570); that they were the recipients of a cult can be seen from the following:

per haec sepulchra perque quos colis Manes,
his parce tumulis ingredi pedem saepe
(Carm. Lat. Epig. 215,1-2,
Rome).

sacri sunt Manes
(CLE 1269,3--Rome; cf.
CIL 6,16421).

That they have power can be seen from these inscriptions:

tu qui legis et dubitas Manes esse sponsione facta
invoca nos et intelleges
(CIL 6,27365--Rome).

quisquis Manes inquietaberit habebit illos iratos
(CIL 10,2289--Puteoli).

They in fact hold the power of life and death:

D(is) M(anibus) fatorum arbitris
(CIL 6,13377--Rome).

me potius Manes rapuissent Ditis avari
et cineres nostros ima foveret humus
(CLE 1034,3-4; Rome).

Si pietas prodest quicquam, vixisse modeste
vos precor, o Mane(s sit) mi(hi) terra levis
(CLE 1117,1-2; Dalmatia)

the 9th, 11th and 13th of May by the Lemuria (Ovid, fast. 5, 485 ff.; RuK², 235), which was intended to propitiate the night-wandering spirits of the departed (cf. Cumont, Lux, o.c., 397). From all of the foregoing, it appears strange indeed to read the words of Latte (RRG², 100), with which Dumézil completely concurs (RRA, 357): "Wohl glaubt man an ihre Macht, Vernachlässigung oder Vergehen gegen die Ordnung der Familie zu rächen, aber in den Nöten des Tages betet man weder zu den divi parentes noch zu den Manes. Es gibt keine Vorstellungen von einem Totenreich, einem Jenseits, in dem sie weilen, oder von einem Herrn dieses Reiches . . . All diese Tatsachen führen nicht darauf, dass in Rom der Ahnenkult eine wesentliche Rolle gespielt hätte."

ita peto vos, (Ma)nes sanctissime, commendat(um)
 habeatis meum
 ca(rum) et vellitis huic indulgissimi esse, horis
 nocturnis ut eum
 videam, et etiam me fato suadere vellit, ut et ego
 possim dulcius
 et celerius apud eum pervenire
 (CIL 6,18817--Rome).

Manes colamus, namque opertis Manibus
 divina vis est aeviterni temporis
 (CLE 106,2-3; Rome).¹⁸

Sometimes the term seems to imply, not a spirit or forces which survive outside of bodily extinction, but the spirit within the body, or even the body itself:

Ummidiaae Manes tumulus tegit
 (CLE 1159,1--Rome).

et Manes placida tibi nocte quiescant
 (CLE 464,8--Rome).

The Latin authors have provided us with numerous examples of the Manes conceived of as the soul of a single dead individual. The statements of Cicero and Cornelia, referred to above, are as far as I know the only surviving literary examples of this from Republican literature: Livy however (3,58,11) refers to the Manes Verginiaae, while Ovid, fast. 2,842 has Brutus say to Lucretia: "perque tuos Manes, qui mihi numen erunt." Vergil has Anna make a curious statement to Dido (repeated in Petron. 111): "id cinerem aut Manes credis curare sepultos?" (Aen. 4,34), which appears to

¹⁸For the term Manes in the sense of 'death' or 'Fate', cf. Verg. Aen. 6,743: "quisque suos patimur Manes," with Manes translated as "Höllenstrafen" by Otto, Manen, o.c., 72.

regard the Manes, not as a disembodied spirit, but as the corpse, identical with the ashes in the grave; other examples of the Manes as a corpse are to be found in Livy, 31,30,5; Verg. Aen. 3,63; 4,427; Tib. 3,2,15; Plin. n.h. 11, 148 (pupillas manium appetere); Val. Max. 6,9,9 (manibus Crassi miserabiliter iacentibus).

It needs to be further remarked that, while Manes seems to be most often used in apposition to the body, or corpse, and was sometimes used to designate the corpse itself, there inevitably arose some confusion between the terms Manes, cineres, umbra, ossa and corpus:¹⁹

umbras qui hic positi sunt
(CIL 10,2487).

Ovid, Ibis, 185 ff., seems to contrast the umbra of an individual with the Manes of an entire group, while at fast. 2, 554 and 566 the animas and umbra seem almost to equal "ghosts," "wandering spirits of the dead"; at lines 565 f. he even says:

Nunc animae tenues et corpora functa sepulcris
errant²⁰

¹⁹Cf. Marbach, a.c., 1056,56 ff. and Otto, o.c., 73; see Bayet, Croyances et Rites dans la Rome antique, Paris, 1971, 369 f.: "Il est commun chez les poètes augustiens que le 'mort-vivant,' objet de prières ou d'imprécations, soit indifféremment désigné par cinis (ou cineres), ossa, umbra, anima ou manes"

²⁰Ovid is here recounting the legend of the neglected spirits of the dead who haunt the streets of Rome: this shows clearly that the souls of the departed can transform themselves into night-wandering ghosts.

At the funeral games for Anchises, where Vergil has Aeneas performing the last rites for his now dead father, rites which Ovid tells us (fast. 2,533 ff.) are a prefiguration of the rites of the Parentalia, Aeneas

vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni Manesque Acheronte remissos
(Aen. 5,98 f.).

Here it appears that Vergil equates the two terms anima and Manes, while earlier (81) he had mentioned the cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae; the plurals here are strange, and it has been suggested by Otto²¹ that the use of the term Manes in the plural with reference to an individual might have affected usage with these other terms.

Most clearly conceived, the Manes were an undefined power which emanated either from the other world (i.e. the mundus) or from the actual tomb of a dead man; or else they were ghosts almost, who controlled the fortunes of living men either for good or for ill: they could be angered and they could be appeased; they were tutelary deities who protected their descendants in this life and preserved them from evil in the next, serving as guides to the Underworld and receiving the departed into their midst.²² At their vaguest, the Manes seem to represent whatever psychic energy

²¹O.C., 73.

²²Cf. CIL 11,8007: dei Manes receperint Abulliam N. libertam Nigellam and 4427: Manes si superent miserum me abducerent coniugem.

might survive after death, "the irreducible minimum of all possibilities of immortality."²³

6.2 The Affirmation: sunt aliquid Manes

Propertius announces boldly at the very outset of the poem his conviction of the existence of a life after death: of this he is positive because it has been revealed to him in a dream, a true dream coming from the piis portis (87). The necessity for stating this conviction so forcefully however was also due to the fact that there were those who were of the opinion that the Manes were nihil, or at least maintained a sceptical attitude in the face of the question of the existence of an afterlife. Earlier Lucretius had, with consummate skill and in heroic dactyls, preached the Gospel of Liberation from the Fear of an Afterlife according to Epicurus, in which he flatly denied any possibility of life after death. Once we are through with this life, he said, our bodily atoms dissolve and along with them any consciousness, emotion or sensibility we might once have possessed: death then, or the idea of a continued existence after bodily death, should hold no terrors for anyone:

²³R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Illinois Studies in lang. & lit., 28, nos. 1-2), Urbana, 1942, 94, from whose extremely valuable work I have been able to find most of the epigraphic references to the Manes.

Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum,
 quandoquidem natura animi mortalis habetur
 (3,830 f.).

The soul, being completely mortal, is subject to the natural laws of decomposition and dissolution and thus there can be no question of a continued existence following the death of our body. This is further amplified at 3,866 ff.:

scire licet nobis nil esse in morte timendum
 nec miserium fieri qui non est posse neque hilum
 differe an nullo fuerit iam tempore natus,
 mortalem vitam mors cum immortalis ademit.

He ridicules the notion that certain places are considered the entrances to the Underworld and that one enters through them to the Manes:

ianua ne forte his Orci regionibus esse
 credatur, post hinc animis Acheruntis in oras
 ducere forte deos manes inferne reamur
 (6,767 ff.).

When in later life he was composing the Tusculan Disputations, Cicero also echoed similar sentiments about the fear of death and an afterlife: "Natura vero si se sic habet, ut, quo modo initium nobis rerum omnium ortus noster adferet, sic exitum mors: ut nihil pertinuit ad nos ante ortum, sic nihil post mortem pertinebit" (1,38). Still within this same generation, the poet Catullus gives voice to a belief in the utter extinction of all sensibility after death:

soles occidere et redire possunt:
 nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,
 nox est perpetua una dormienda
 (5,4 ff.)

while in another context, possessing possibly a more genuine emotion, as he addresses the tomb of his brother, he says:

et mutam nequiquam alloquerer cinerem
(101,4).

The pathetic resignation expressed in that nequiquam speaks volumes.

Horace mentions nearly the same sentiments as those uttered by Catullus when he says (c. 1,28,15 f.):

sed omnes una manet nox
et calcanda semel via leti.

Similarly, at c. 1,4,16 f., he warns:

iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia,

a passage in which Marbach feels that Horace is expressing a "friegeistigen Zweifel an der Unsterblichkeit der Seele."²⁴ In a later passage (c. 4,7,15 f.), while acknowledging the survival of the soul after death, Horace nevertheless feels we will be merely pulvis et umbra.

Doubt in the existence, or at least the sentience, of the Manes is also reflected in the inscriptions, for example at CIL 6,12735 (Rome):

precor si qui estis Manes ut ibi (i)l(1)ae sit
suaviter et tibi bene sit qui legis.

Similarly:

si sunt Manes, sit tibi terra levis
(CLE 1328,3)

and:

²⁴ a.c., 1055,45 ff; cf. the remarks of Heinze in his ed. of Horace, ad loc.; the conjecture is that fabulae here = 'nothing', 'without any real existence', but perhaps it could also mean 'famous in song and story', 'much talked about'.

si modo sunt Manes, sentiant
(CLE 1323).²⁵

Propertius seems to have pondered long and deeply on this problem: thoughts of death and survival in an after-life run through all his poetry.²⁶ Cynthia's death must only have exacerbated this doubt and uncertainty and when, in an unparalleled parapsychic experience, the astral body (i.e. 'ghost') of Cynthia herself appears to allay all doubts and verify the notion that the spirit survives its bodily death, he is compelled to assert, in the face of past and present denials, his conviction that letum non omnia finit.²⁷

²⁵Cf. too Prop. 4,6,83: "nigras si quid sapis inter harenas"; Cic. fam. 4,5,6: "si qui etiam inferis sensus est."

²⁶Cf. 1,17; 18; 19; 2,3b; 8b; 11; 13b; 14; 24b; 27; 3,21.

²⁷A quite similar experience must have happened to Jackson Knight, who writes in Elysion, o.c., 37: "Even if the most wonderful thing that really happens is just an occasional dream or nightmare, it will still be true to assert that conceptions of an afterlife, of a world beyond death, have often been based on, or modified by, the experiences of minds released from, or active beyond, the limitations of normal daylight consciousness." That man's consciousness is capable of perceiving more than merely physical reality was also part of the teachings of Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) and his school of Spiritual Science; cf. his remarks in La Philosophie de la Liberté (Die Philosophie der Freiheit), trans. G. Ducommun, Paris, 1963, 115: "L'homme naïf voit dans la perception sensible la seule preuve de la réalité, en ce qui concerne non seulement l'existence des choses mais aussi l'ordonnement des phénomènes. A son avis, une chose ne peut agir sur une autre que si une force, perceptible aux sens, part de l'une pour affecter l'autre. La physique ancienne croyait que des matières très subtiles émanaient des corps et pénétraient dans notre âme par la

6.3 The Term 'Manes' in Propertius

Propertius uses the term Manes seven times in all and seems to reflect quite adequately the various meanings of the word as examined above. We first meet it at 1,19,1 ff., where the poet addresses Cynthia as follows:

Non ego nunc tristes vereor, mea Cynthia, Manes
nec moror extremo debita fata rogo;
sed ne forte tuo careat mihi funus amore,
hic timor est ipsis durior exsequiis.

Here the context seems to imply that Propertius is using the term metaphorically in the sense of 'the world of the dead' or of 'death' generally; this is suggested by the occurrence in each of the following lines of fata, i.e. 'death' and funus, used poetically for 'death'.²⁸ This usage would then appear to be related partly to the original concept of the Manes as the undifferentiated dead and partly to the use of

voie de nos organes sensoriels. Si nous ne les voyons pas, disait-on, c'est que la grossièreté de nos sens, comparée à la finesse de ces matières, nous en empêche. Le même motif qui faisait admettre la réalité du monde sensible faisait admettre en principe celle de ces matières subtiles: on imaginait leur mode d'existence analogue à celui de la réalité sensible." It seems possible, even likely, that Propertius attained this higher level of psychic consciousness through his own efforts at meditation or through the assistance of occult initiates. Cf. Cic. de div. 1,63: "Cum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate et a contagione corporis, tum meminit praeteritorum, praesentia cernit, futura providet, iacet enim corpus dormientis ut mortui, viget autem et vivit animus."

²⁸D'Arbela, o.c., 1,260 comments on tristes . . . Manes: "le tristi ombre dei morti; per indicare la morte stessa," while R. Helm, Properz Gedichte, 55 translates: "So, nun schreckt mich der traurige Tod, meine Cynthia, nimmer."

the word in the sense of 'death' or 'fate', as used by Vergil, Aen. 6,743 (cf. p. 232,18 above).

The word is next met with at 2,8,17 ff., and again in connection with Cynthia:

sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti?
sed morere; interitu gaudeat illa tuo!
exagitet nostros Manes, sectetur et umbras,
insultetque rogis, calcet et ossa mea!

Here we have very clearly expressed the idea of the Manes referring to a single individual; further, there seems to be little differentiation made between Manes, umbras and ossa: in fact, exagitet nostros Manes very likely means something like 'she will mock me when I am dead';²⁹ for the use of umbra in the plural, on the analogy of the Manes of a single individual, cf. Aen. 5,81 and CIL 10,2487 (above, p. 234); for calcet et ossa mea cf. CLE 3,1943,8: parce meos cineres pedibus calcare protervis.

The third instance of the poet's use of the term occurs at 2,13,32 and, significantly enough, is again used in connection with Cynthia: accipiat Manes parvula testa meos. Here, quite obviously, Manes = the corpse, or, more specifically, the ashes of the cremated body. This is clearly seen as well from the following lines, where Propertius dictates the inscription which should be placed above his tomb (35): qui nunc iacet horrida pulvis; it seems quite clear that here Manes = pulvis.

²⁹Helm, ad loc.: "Jage sie denn meinen Geist."

Fourthly, at the end of the same poem (2,13,57), the poet says:

sed frustra mutos revocabis, Cynthia, Manes:
nam mea qui poterunt ossa minuta loqui?

Here Manes = ossa minuta = cineres, and shows very clearly the blurring in meaning between these several terms; cf. Livy 31, 30,5: "omnia sepulcra monumentaque diruta esse, omnium nudatos manes, nullius ossa terra tegi," and Propertius himself at 4,7,94: "mecum eris et mixtis ossibus ossa teram"³⁰ (cf. Rothstein, ad. loc.: "Properz meint ossa nostra miscebimus et ossa mea tuis ossibus teram"). In all of these passages Manes and ossa are used interchangeably. The next instance of the use of the term occurs at 3,1,1:

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,

where Manes obviously refers to the spirit of a single dead individual.

Following this the word next appears at 4,5,3:

nec sedeant cineri Manes

where the poet is referring to the ghost or spirit of the dead lena, Acanthis. The sentiment expressed in the line is the opposite of that usually expressed in funerary inscriptions: adsint quieti cineribus manes tui (Anthol. Lat. 2,197)

³⁰Cf. Il. 23,91 f: ὣς δὲ καὶ ὀστέα νῶϊν δμῇ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτον χρῦσεος ἀμφιφορεύς. Cf. too CLE 430,7-8: "et solamen erit quod te iam iamque videbo / cum vita functus iungar tis umbra figuris" and CLE 1136,2: "ossibus hic uxor miscuit ossa meis"; but see above, p. 233,19.

and Manes seems here to be used in apposition to cineres (in contrast to 2,13,57 f.).³¹

Finally we come to the poem presently under consideration where, at line 1 f., the poet says, again with reference to Cynthia:

Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit,
luridaque evictos effugit umbra rogos.

It seems clear here that Propertius intends a contrast between the terms Manes and umbra: since the umbra escapes from the pyre, it is also to be considered separate from the cineres, as in CLE 1034,3-4 (above, p. 231). Umbra would then be in reference to the soul of the individual, while Manes is the more general term, meaning something equivalent to 'survival after death', 'the afterlife'. Significantly, in five out of the seven cases, the term Manes and its associations are connected with thoughts of Cynthia and it should then come as no surprise that the poet experienced the psychic revelation which is the subject of this poem after her death. Propertius is stating very clearly his conviction that we are bound to those we love by living ties which extend beyond the grave and the 'normal' conception of consciousness, bonds which continue to influence us in this world. By Elegy 7 he appears to have attained a larger amount of psychic

³¹Bayet, Croyances, o.c., 370, feels that Propertius here means to distinguish between the ashes of a dead person and the notion of a spirit permanently attached to the tomb and who watches over it.

sensitivity and to have achieved a clearer understanding of spiritual phenomena. At least he seems to have developed very clear ideas on the distinction between Manes and umbrae: specifically, the umbra is that which is released from the body by the flames of the pyre, while Manes designates that much larger and more general state in which the umbrae find themselves. The experience which Propertius is here describing occurs at the mid-point of Book 4 (discounting the Prooemium) and seems to represent for the poet a rather similar psychic and spiritual transformation to that experienced by Aeneas after his catabasis in Book 6.

6.4 The Importance of Dreams

At the end of the poet's mystic vision of Cynthia, she informs him:

nec tu sperne piis venientia somnia portis:
cum pia venerunt somnia, pondus habent
(87 f.).³²

To almost all societies throughout history it has seemed that the experiences which occurred during the state of altered consciousness, called dreams, were valid bases upon which to build religious rituals and spiritual conceptions.³³

³²Similarly Ovid, metam. 9,494 f.: "Quid mihi significant ergo mea visa? Quod autem / somnia pondus habent? an habent et somnia pondus?"

³³See B. Büchsenschütz, Traum u. Traumdeutung im Alterthume, Wiesbaden, 1967 (Berlin, 1868), 5. "Es ist kaum nöthig darauf hinzuweisen, dass dieser Glaube [i.e. that

It is believed in some non-technological societies that dreams and visions alter the normal distinctions between past, present and future, making possible an environment in which the eternal laws of primal time might be carried out.³⁴ For these cultures, and for mystics and clairvoyants today, the visions which pass before one's altered consciousness during sleep have the same value, the same 'reality', as the objects seen during waking hours. Cicero, in Tusc. 1,29, borrowing in part from Greek ideas and speaking of primitive men, derived the belief in a posthumous existence from the experience of dreams: "Visis quibusdam saepe movebantur iisque maxime nocturnis, ut viderentur ei, qui vita excesserant, vivere." This is in complete accord with Propertius' own personal experience. Some modern researchers would, however, contradict this, Durkheim for instance being of the opinion that dreams rather tend to confirm our belief in an afterlife than to originate it,³⁵ and in this opinion he is

dreams have prophetic power] bei allen Völkern und zu allen Zeiten erscheint, um so stärker, je mehr derselbe von einer lebhaften und leicht beweglichen Phantasie unterstützt wird"; see too P. Stengel, Die Griechischen Kultusaltertümer (Handb. d. Altertumswissensch. 5,3), Munich, 1920, 56 f.

³⁴Cf. Jensen, o.c., 135 and in relation to this cf. Cic. de div. 1,63.

³⁵The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. J.W. Swain, London, 1968 (1915), 268 f.

followed by Otto.³⁶

Other cultures believe that dreams are a source of divine revelations and act upon them as such. A.J. Butt has shown³⁷ how the Carib-speaking peoples of the border lands of British Guiana, Venezuela and Brazil, as a result of "revelations" given certain religious leaders in dreams, formed a new religion based upon the information revealed: this is the Hallelujah religion of the Akawaio today. Modern psychology has, of course, made much of dreams, especially the psychoanalytic systems of Freud and Jung, but have concentrated not so much on their literal content as on their symbolic manifestations. Freud³⁸ saw in all dreams the disguised fulfilment of a suppressed or repressed wish--a wish-fulfilment expressed symbolically through the unconscious state of the dreamer. Jung looked upon dreams as psychic symbols of physical reality and felt that the study of psychology enables us to investigate these unconscious

³⁶Manen, o.c., 91: "In beiden Fällen ist der Glaube an das Weiterleben des Toten, und zwar in einer ganz bestimmten Form, die Voraussetzung für den Traum, nicht seine Folge."

³⁷"The Birth of a Religion," in Gods and Rituals. Readings in Religious Beliefs and Practices, ed. J. Middleton (Amer. Museum Sourcebooks in Anthropology, Q6), Garden City, 1967, 377 ff.

³⁸"The Interpretation of Dreams" in The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud, ed. and trans. A.A. Brill (Modern Library, G39), New York, 1938, 181 ff.

aspects of conscious events.³⁹ Both Freud and Jung found again and again in the world of the dream all the manifold symbols, images and events which constitute the world of myth. At this point I certainly do not intend to psycho-analyze Propertius; that is beyond my field of competence (although it would be indeed interesting and quite possibly amusing to see what modern psychologists would do with this poem).⁴⁰ I should merely like to point out the importance of the dream-vision throughout history and to underline its immense significance to a man of Propertius' psychic temperament.⁴¹

For purposes of our present inquiry into the various thoughts on the importance and meaning of dreams current in Propertius' own time, Cicero provides a handy compendium. In the second book of the De divinatione he presents a discussion of the different views on the origin of dreams, presenting the opinions of several philosophic schools on the matter. His conclusion is that dreams are to be explained in three possible ways: (a) through divine revelation,

³⁹Cf. Man and his Symbols, ed. with intro. C.G. Jung, New York, 1969 (1964), part 1, "Approaching the Unconscious," 3 ff.

⁴⁰See Büchsenschütz, o.c., passim for a complete survey of Greek ideas on the origin and interpretation of dreams.

⁴¹Several poems in the Propertian corpus have to do with dreams and dream-experiences, e.g. 3,3; 21.

(b) the doctrine of συμπάθεια, and (c) scientific or logical empiricism.

(a) Divine revelation: cf. de div. 2,124: "aut enim divina vis quaedam consulens nobis somniorum significationes facit"; sections 2,124 to 2,142 are then devoted to an examination of this thesis.

(b) Doctrine of συμπάθεια: 2,124: "aut coniectores ex quadam convenientia et coniunctione naturae, quam vocant συμπάθειαν, quid cuique rei conveniat ex somniis, et quid quamque rem sequatur intellegunt"; this is discussed from 2,142 to 2,145.

(c) Logical causes: 2,124: "quaedam observatio constans atque diuturna est, cum quid visum secundum quietem sit, quid evenire et quid sequi soleant"; discussion follows, 2,146.

Causes (b) and (c), due entirely to natural, physical laws, seem to be comparable perhaps to Bergsons' instinct and intelligence,⁴² i.e. dreams have both subjective and objective causes; with reference to (a), Cicero states (2,127) that there are both true and false dreams, the true being sent by divine agency while the false have a human origin, and quotes Ennius (inc. fab. 429, Vahlen) in support: aliquot somnia vera, sed omnia non necesse est. The notion

⁴²Evolution creatrice⁵, Paris, 1914, 190 ff.; Lucr. 4,962 ff., however, would seem to subscribe to cause (c).

dreams having both human and divine origins can be found in Aristotle, de insom. 463b 2, where he states: "Ὅλως δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ὀνειρώττει τινά, θεόπεμπτα μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη τὰ ἐνύπνια, οὐδὲ γέγονε τοῦτου χάριν, δαιμόνια μέντοι· ἡ γὰρ φύσις δαιμονία, ἀλλ' οὐ θεία. An interesting parallel to the idea of true and false dreams may be provided from the beliefs of the Tangu people on the north coast of New Guinea. Among them, the dream represents a normal technique for problem-solving which contains specific information and an implied directive to action. Dreams are divided into "solicited" and "unsolicited"; as regards the former, a man faced with a problem will retire for the night in hopes that he will dream about the matter and receive instructions for solving it; on the other hand, an "unsolicited" dream contains information to which much thought must be given and which must be acted upon. At the same time, however, dreams may be "tricks"; nonetheless, even though a dream may be false and provide no problem-solving information, it is always indicative of something and Tangu feel that the information provided by it is always worth acting upon.⁴³

Bouché-Leclercq,⁴⁴ relying chiefly on Artemidorus (Onirocriticon) and Cicero (De divinatione), gives a very

⁴³See K.O.L. Burridge, "Social Implications of Some Tangu Myths," in Myth and Cosmos, o.c., 40 f.

⁴⁴Histoire de la Divination 1, Brussels, 1963 (Paris, 1879), 302 ff.

complete classification of dreams according to the system of the ancients. Accordingly, there are two categories or classes of somnia, (a) theorematic (θεωρηματικά) and (b) allegorical (ἀλληγορικά); of these, theorematic dreams are of two kinds, (i) simple visions (οραμα--visio) and (ii) visions which converse with the dreamer (χρηματωμός--oraculum; cf. Macr. de Som. Scip. 1,3,2); further, allegorical dreams are subdivided into five classes:

- (1) those concerning the dreamer himself (ἰδία, propria)
- (2) those concerning a person known to the dreamer (ἄλλοτρία, aliena)
- (3) those concerning anyone whatever (κοινά, communia)
- (4) those concerning external objects (δημοσία)
- (5) those concerning places, or nature generally (κοσμικά).

Following Cicero's scheme then there would seem no doubt that Propertius would subscribe to theory (a) in explanation of the cause of his dream, while following that outlined by Bouché-Leclercq, Propertius would have had a true dream (ὄνειρος, somnium) of the oraculum variety. The Cynthia which appeared to him and assured him of the reality of the psychic phenomenon he was experiencing was not occasioned by a mere piece of undigested cabbage nor by some vaguely defined instinctual bond between the two of them: this dream originated in the other world and accurately reflected Cynthia as she now is:

eosdem habuit secum quibus est elata capillos,
 eosdem oculos: (7 f.).

The Roman practice of regarding all who died as divine would perhaps account in part for Propertius' feelings in this matter; he also has her own word for it that she is in Elysium (59 f.) and her assurance of the validity of the dream and of his future reunion with her.

6.5 The 'Pious Gates'

Cynthia cautions Propertius to pay heed to what she tells him, for it is no mere phantasmagoria of the imagination which he is experiencing but a true psychic phenomenon. She assures him that this is so by telling him that she has come from the 'pious gates', explaining that at night when one's conscious ego is relaxed, the barrier between our world and that of the next is lowered and communication can then be effected between the two (87 ff.).⁴⁵ What are these 'pious gates', through which messages can enter our subconscious from the spirit world?

Part of the answer is to be found in Vergil, Aen. 6, 839 ff., where mention is made of 'twin gates of Sleep', which are of horn and of ivory; true spirits may leave through the one, but through the other the Manes send falsa insomnia:

⁴⁵Cf. Hamlet, 1,1,149 ff.

Sunt geminae Somni portae; quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris;
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.⁴⁶

The first thing to notice is that Vergil maintains the same distinction here between umbrae and Manes as does Propertius, in that umbrae are individual spirits while Manes is the more general term. If the gate of Sleep has a twin, it would be reasonable to suppose that it would be that of Death. True spirits, those who have entered into another level of consciousness, i.e. have died, may easily leave Elysium through the porta cornea to visit this world or to enter into a new cycle of reincarnation. The rest of the passage has puzzled countless commentators, and for good reason: it is very obscure and mystical. Vergil mentions an ivory gate which is shining-white, and in the fourth line says that the Manes send falsa insomnia to the sky, i.e. to our world. What next happens (897 f.) is that Anchises escorts his son and the Sibyl to the ivory gate and sees them through it. What is then to be inferred is that Aeneas and the Sibyl are the falsa insomnia who are sent back to our world through the ivory gate. The word insomnia is also puzzling; it seems to be a coinage of Vergil (cf. Walde-Hofmann, 1,705); it is hard to see why it should mean simply 'dreams', for if it does, there is no need for it; Latin

⁴⁶A similar conception is found already in the Od. 19,562 ff.: δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμνηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων . . .

already has somnium, 'dream'; there is a singular word, insomnia, -ae, 'sleeplessness', in literature since Ennius, but Vergil's insomnia is plural, a mixture between 'dreams' and 'sleeplessness',⁴⁷ and could very well be a translation of a Greek term. Servius (ad Aen. 6,896) thought that it was simply the equivalent of somnia, but Macrobius (Somn. Scip. 1,3,2) informs us that the Greek term ἐνύπνιον, 'dream', is the equivalent of insomnium.⁴⁸ If indeed Vergil used insomnia in the sense of 'fitful dreams' which the Manes send 'to the sky', it is also true that both Aeneas and the Sibyl are returned to the upper air through the ivory gate. Servius (ad Aen. 6,840) further gives an explanation of terms quite useful for our argument. There must be a distinction made between mere dreams (ἐνύπνια--insomnia) and true visions (ὄνειποι--somnia); somnia alone are divinely inspired and meaningful;⁴⁹ we may then adopt the formula that somnia = true visions of a divine nature, while insomnia = simple dreams arising from natural causes and possessing no power of revelation. There would, however, appear to be a much

⁴⁷Cf. Jackson Knight, o.c., 135.

⁴⁸Indeed Meillet, Esq. hist. lang. lat.⁶, 219 f., is of the opinion that the word was used by Vergil as the equivalent of the prosaic somnia.

⁴⁹Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. div., o.c., 1,301: "Un homme de vie réglée, qui tient son âme et son sens en repos, ne rêve pas, il songe, en entre ainsi en communication avec la pensée divine. Le calme physique et moral est, en effet, la plus sûre garantie de la véracité des songes."

simpler explanation for all of this. I see no valid objection why Vergil's porta cornea should not equal the Porta Capri-cornea, the Western gate of immortality-in-death which, together with the Gate of Cancer, forms one of the two limits of the Zodiac (cf. my remarks above on 4,1,150). This would mean that the Gate of Cancer is Vergil's porta eburnea, the eastern gate of earthly life and of all illusion (see Figure 6). Prof. Brind-Amour has kindly provided me with what seems to be some pictorial substantiation of this. I refer to my Figure 5, which illustrates the eight cardinal points of the compass, each point being under the protection of a particular Sanskrit deity. East is represented by the god Indra who is figured astride an elephant, one of whose tusks is clearly visible: this recalls Vergil's description of the porta eburnea, which he says candenti perfecta nitens elephanto (6,895). The Eastern Gate of Cancer is brilliantly shining because it is the gate of the rising sun, through which the spirits of Elysium, casting off their heightened consciousness and exalted sensibilities, must again take on the coarser physical elements of this world and enter into a new cycle of rebirth which is, as Cicero says in the Somnium Scipionis (3,14), really death; conversely, the Gate of Capricorn (porta Cornea) is of the gods because per illum animae in propriae immortalitatis sedem et in deorum numerum revertuntur (Macr. de Som. Scip. 1,12,1). It is not possible for men to enter through Capricorn nisi enim cum deus is,

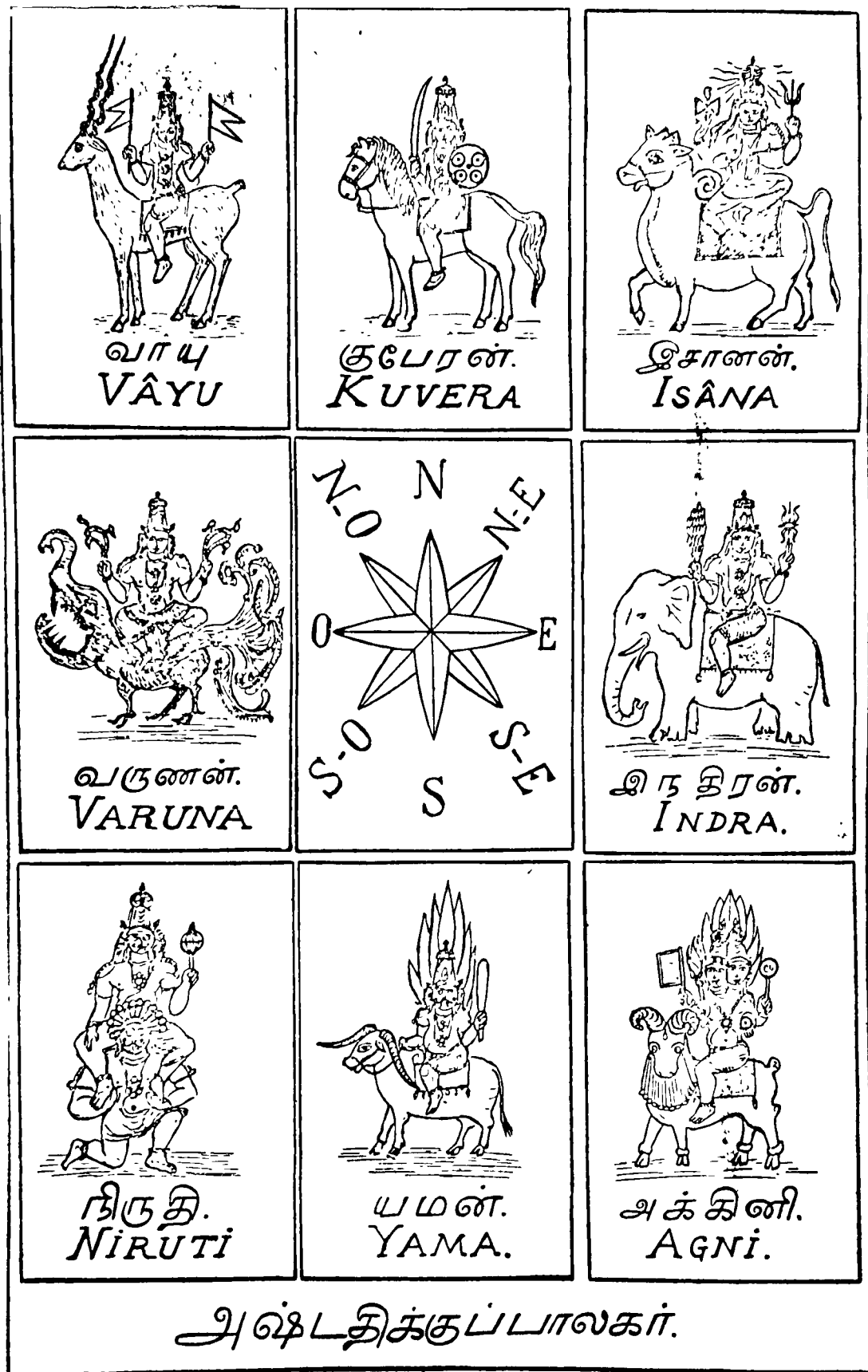


Fig. 3. — Rose des vents illustrée de dieux correspondant aux points cardinaux. (Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde.*)

FIG. 5

A Sanskrit Illustration of the Gate of Cancer

cuius hoc templum est omne quod conspicis, istis te corporis custodiis liberaverit, huc (i.e., through Capricorn) aditus patere non est (Som. Scip. 3,15) and Macrobius further comments (1,11,3) that the body is the animae sepulcrum, the prison-house of the spirit.⁵⁰ Through falling asleep (or dying) one casts off momentarily the shackles of bodily consciousness and is thereby enabled to enter into communication with the real world of the spirit, symbolized by the Western Gate of the setting sun, the Gate of Immortality sought by all searchers of spiritual enlightenment from Gilgamesh onwards. Cynthia tells Propertius that at night (i.e., during sleep) the spirits are enabled to visit our world; at dawn however they must return to the Underworld (89-91):

nocte vagae ferimur, nox clausas liberat umbras,
errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera.
luce iubent leges Lethaea ad stagna reverti.

Now this is perfectly consistent with the conception

⁵⁰Death (falling asleep) may be a repetition of being born, but in reverse: Elysium is the primal womb and has two exits; one leads to sleep, death, the existence of the womb, while the other takes one out and signifies awakening. Homer (Od. 4,808 f.) mentions Penelope as slumbering softly in the 'Gates of Dreams' and Charon (Aen. 6,387-390) clearly expresses the notion that the other world is a world of dreams:

quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
fare age, quid venias, iam istinc, et comprime gressum.
umbrarum hic locus est, Somni Noctisque soporae.

Hence the Sibyl and Aeneas, not being true spirits, cannot leave Elysium's womb in the normal manner but by the Gate from which insomnia come.

of the Western Gate of Capricorn, the porta cornea of the setting sun through which men pass to a heightened psychic awareness and an altered state of being and the splendidly shining Eastern gate of the rising sun, Cancer the porta eburnea, through which the spirits pass into this world of unreality and illusion; and it is precisely at dawn, when Propertius is awakening from his dream, that Cynthia becomes unreal for him, a vision of his daytime consciousness, when men experience not true dreams (somnia), but rather falsa insomnia (95 f.). Similarly since Aeneas and the Sibyl are not true shades, since they have not 'died' in this life to be reborn as purer, more ethereal essences in the next, they may not exit through the gate of horn. It may well be said that to those who have cast off the bonds of the flesh and have attained a higher level of psychic consciousness our existence on this earth might indeed be compared to unreal imaginings, falsa insomnia, or as expressed in our language, to mere 'daydreams'; indeed, it is just possible that Vergil's coinage insomnia means just that: the in- would be a negative particle and the word would then mean 'dreams which are not somnia', i.e. not true dreams or *ὄνειροι*; but indeed they are even less than that, for they are also falsa: what better word in English to describe visions of a waking consciousness which have no psychic importance than the very word 'daydreams'? Might it then be suggested that Vergil's porta cornea represents the Gate of Capricorn while his porta

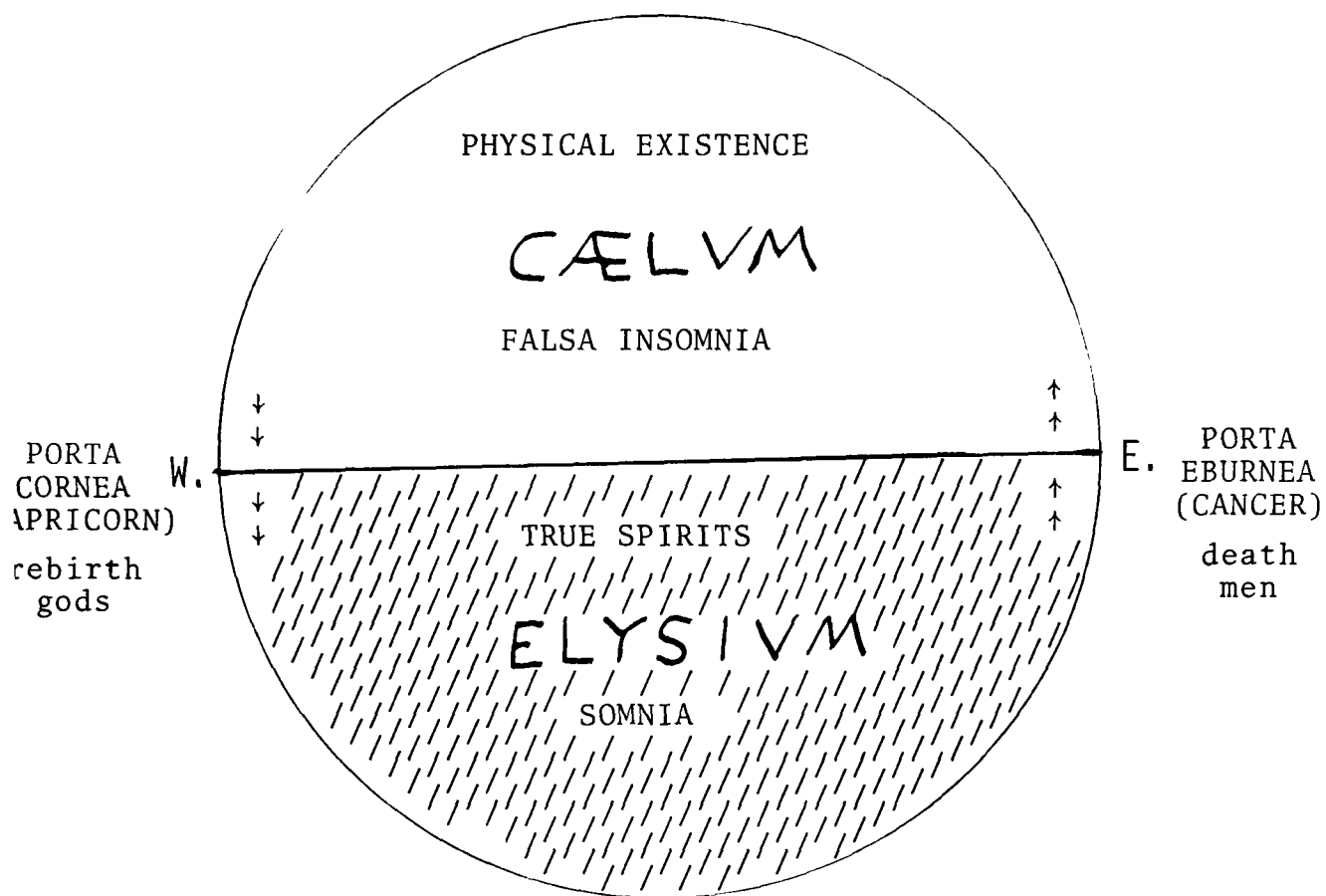


FIG. 6

The Cycle of Death and Rebirth

eburnea stands for the Gate of Cancer, and the two of them together are Propertius' "pious gates"?

6.6 The Manes and Dreams

The astrologer's warning to Propertius at 4,1,150 begins now to take on an even greater significance. There Propertius was cautioned against the Crab; we now know that this was in partial reference to Cynthia. But it is also in reference to the shining Gate of Cancer, the porta eburnea, and the mass of earthly illusions which constrain and hamper one's attempts at greater mystical and psychic awareness. C.G. Jung, when nearing the end of his life, gave eloquent expression to this difficulty of piercing the hard outer shell of our physical being and of arriving at some clearer perception of spiritual phenomena. In his autobiography he writes down some of his thoughts about life after death and says:⁵¹ "Eine andere Welt mit ganz anderen Umständen können wir uns gar nicht vorstellen, sintemalen wir in einer bestimmten Welt leben, durch welche unser Geist und unsere psychischen Voraussetzungen mitgeformt und mitgegeben sind. Wir sind durch unsere angeborene Struktur streng begrenzt und darum mit unserem Sein und Denken an diese unsere Welt gebunden." So important is the necessity to burst through

⁵¹Erinnerungen, Träume, Gedanken, Zürich/Stuttgart, 1967 (New York, 1961), 303.

the bonds of mere physical being and discover the psychic and spiritual side of our nature that Jung suggests it is the sole reason for human existence:⁵²

Die Aufgabe des Menschen nämlich wäre ganz im Gegenteil, sich dessen, was vom Unbewussten her andrängt, bewusst zu werden, anstatt darüber unbewusst oder damit identisch zu bleiben. In beiden Fällen würden er seiner Bestimmung, Bewusstsein zu schaffen, untreu. Soweit wir zu erkennen vermögen, ist es der einzige Sinn der menschlichen Existenz, ein Licht anzuzünden in der Finsternis des blossen Seins. Es ist sogar anzunehmen, dass, wie das Unbewusste auf uns wirkt, so auch die Vermehrung unseres Bewusstseins auf das Unbewusste.

We can see from Elegy 7 that Cynthia continues to have an influence over Propertius, just as Horos prophesied. But perhaps it is now clearer what else his warning entailed. The falsa insomnia which emanate from the Gate of Cancer are destructive to a poet's sensibilities and mystical grasp of the eternal verities of the human soul; beware the false illusions and meaningless attractions of this earthly life: strive instead to enter into communication with the world of the beyond, the Gate of Capricorn, whence comes a poet's true inspiration. Further, since the vision of Cynthia here in Elegy 7 was, as she herself tells him, a true one, i.e. from the Gate of Capricorn, what need has he to fear her? It is obvious from the poem that Propertius is suffering from a guilty conscience with regard to Cynthia, that in fact he provided very badly for her last rites (23-34); according to

⁵²Ibid., 329.

her own account, he treated her very shabbily indeed: he neglected to perform the conclamatio (23 f.; cf. Serv. ad Aen. 6,218); the burial arrangements were very skimpy (25 f.); he failed to show proper grief (27 f.) and was over-hasty about the actual burial service (29 f.); he neglected to ask for favourable winds for the cremation of the corpse (31; cf. Il. 23,193 ff.), nor did he offer flowers and perfume at her pyre.⁵³ All of this shows that Propertius had failed very miserably in his duty of administering a proper burial to Cynthia and of offering her due reverence as one of the di Manes,⁵⁴ and it is because of this neglect that he must fear her spirit. Tibullus informs us of the consequences when we behave as Propertius had done:

neglecti mittunt mala somnia manes
(2,6,37).

It is to be noticed that Tibullus says mala somnia here and not insomnia; in other words these are true dreams (ὄνειροι) of a disturbing nature. The idea that those whom we have harmed in this life come back to haunt us is also expressed by Horace:

⁵³Cf. 1,17,22; Ovid, fast. 2,535 ff.; Cumont, Lux, o.c., 33 ff.; Verg. Aen. 6,883 ff.

⁵⁴The duty of a proper burial is seen from the following inscriptions: (a) supremum munus misero posuere sodales (CLE 405,3), and (b) hunc titulum posuit tibi fidus amicus: / ultima quae potui debita persolvi (CLE 1536,1-2).

quin, ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
 nocturnus occuram Furor
 petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus.
 quae vis deorum est Manium,
 et inquietis assidens praecordiis.
 pavore somnos auferam.
 (Epod. 5,91 ff.).

Here the Manes are almost equated with an avenging Fury, and as such may be compared with their description in CLE 106, 203 (p. 232 above). Similarly Vergil presents Dido as threatening Aeneas with the wrath of her outraged umbra:

et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
 omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas.
 audiam et haec Manes veniet mihi fama sub imos
 (Aen. 4,385 ff.)

Propertius then, because of his negligentia of the Manes of Cynthia, must fear her wrathful spirit and the disturbing visions which she sends him from the 'pious Gates';⁵⁵ all of this has been accurately foretold by the astrologer at 4, 1,150. The dream, however, has a two-fold purpose: both to goad his guilty conscience into action and to tell him how he might be released from the disturbing visions which she is obliged to send him. First, she tells him that she does not hold him entirely responsible for what has happened:

non tamen insector, quamvis mereare, Properti
 (49).

Secondly, he must burn as an expiatory offering to her all the verses which he has written in her name (77 f.); he is to cease writing love poetry, for her reign over his

⁵⁵See Diog. Laer. 8,32 and Soph. Elect. 410.

inspirational life is over (78: laudes desine habere meas), and must tend to her grave (79 f.), planting⁵⁶ ivy, the symbol of resurrection, and erecting a monument which refers to her as AUREA CYNTHIA.⁵⁷ Once these offices have been performed, her spirit will be satisfied and he will be released from her influence, though with the promise of a reunion in the spirit world (93 f.). It should now be possible to see that the prediction of 4,1,150 has been dramatically fulfilled. Finally released from the influence which Cynthia was exercising on his life, Propertius is able to pursue his course to its fated end, confident in the knowledge of the existence of a world beyond the grave and of his place in it.

⁵⁶I read pone in line 79 with Messrs. Sandbach and Camps, rather than the usual pelle, because ivy had good associations, not bad ones.

⁵⁷For 'golden' as the common epithet of divinity, cf. Od. 4,14; Theog. 454; Hom. h. to Art. 9,4.

CHAPTER 7

7.0 JUNO S.M.R. AND THE SNAKE-CULT OF LANUVIUM

In Elegy 8 Propertius relates a truly unique and remarkable rite which obviously dates from remote antiquity (cf. line 3) but which has been reduced in his own day to something of a local curiosity and tourist attraction (line 4); it concerns the town of Lanuvium, noted for its local cult of Juno (incorporated into the official Roman State calendar in 388 BC),¹ and a curious rite celebrated there annually involving a sacred snake. Propertius is practically our sole ancient source² for this rite which he describes as follows (lines 3-14):

From ancient times Lanuvium has been under the protection of a serpent of great antiquity--here your time is certainly not wasted, such an uncommon sight there is to see--where the sacred entrance to the cave [= descensus] gives way with its dark and yawning mouth, through which enters the hungry serpent's offering (young girl, beware any such journey as this!), when it demands its yearly tribute of food, hissing from his lair deep under the earth. The girls sent down to such rites are pale with fright, especially when they entrust their hand to the serpent's mouth. It seizes the food proffered it by the young girl, in whose hands the basket itself trembles. Then, if they have been chaste, they return to the arms of their parents

¹Livy 8,14,2; Wissowa, RuK², 188.

²Aelian (late second, early third century AD) also records the rite in hist. anim. 11,16.

and the farmers shout: "This year we'll have a fine crop!"

This is all very puzzling: first, what is a snake-cult doing in association with a Juno-cult? Second, what is the point of lowering young girls with food baskets into a serpent's cave? As early as Rothstein the point of the rite was seen as a "Problem der Jungfräulichkeit,"³ but if so, why do the farmers shout out that the year will be a fertile one? Is virginity to be considered as a sign of good crops in Latium? There are ample instances to show that this was certainly not the general conception;⁴ and indeed, is the snake ritual to be thought of in connection with Juno at all? There are some who have said no.⁵ We know however from numismatic evidence that there was a very close connection between Juno of Lanuvium and the snake cult practiced there. A denarius of L. Procilius⁶ (cf. Figure 10) shows on the

³Elegien 2,310; Tränkle, o.c., 104 also calls the rite a "Probe auf die Jungfräulichkeit."

⁴Cf. Eliade, Patterns, o.c., 256 ff. for numerous references in support of the equation: woman = fertility = good crops. In southern Italy, even now, it is thought that whatever a pregnant woman does will be a success and that everything she sows will grow as the foetus grows; cf. G. Finamore, Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi, 2 vols., Lanchino, 1882-86; cf. too V. Pisani, "La Donna e la Terra," APS 37-40 (1942-45), 241 ff. and see Eliade, ibid., 264 for many other references.

⁵Certain commentators (e.g. Büchler and Dessau) have conjectured that the Lanuvian snake is connected rather with Vesta than with Juno; see E.M. Douglas, "Iuno Sospita of Lanuvium," JRS 3 (1913), 62,3 for references.

⁶E.A. Sydenham, Coinage of the Rom. Republic (revised

obverse the head of Juno Sospita with goatskin headdress, while on the reverse, the goddess is in a biga, holding a spear and shield, and beneath the team of horses is a coiled snake; similarly, on a denarius issued by L. Roscius Fabatus⁷ (c. 58 BC) there is figured on the obverse Juno Sospita (wrongly called Caprotina by Babelon, cf. n. 7) with goatskin headdress and on the reverse a girl, standing, feeding an immense serpent.⁸ So the connection between Juno of Lanuvium and the snake cult seems to be irrefutable; but how to explain the strange and seeming contradiction within the rites involving the snake, its connection with a Juno cult and the unique aspect of the Juno of Lanuvium herself?

One of the likeliest explanations for the existence of such a rite would appear to be that the cult of Lanuvium is the local, Italic representative of the international ritual through which rain or fertility is produced by women handling or touching snakes. There is, of course, a close relationship between the female and the snake and the patterning of woman-rain-fertility-snake is a common one, not

by G.C. Haines and L. Forrer), London, 1952, 126 f., no. 272.

⁷Sydenham, no. 915 (cf. p. 152) and E. Babelon, Description historique et chronologique des Monnaies de la republique Romaine, 2 vols., Bologna, 1963, 402.

⁸Cf. as well Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the Brit. Museum 1 (1910), 422 ff.; 3, pl. 43-44, showing the serpent of Lanuvium.

only in Mediterranean ritual, but world-wide.^{8a} Another Italic representative of the snake-goddess would be Angitia (Ancitie, CIL 1,1763), a goddess of the Marsi who taught snake-charming to the people on L. Fucinus (now Lago di Celano).^{8b} Yet another goddess who, judging by her name at least, would appear to have some relationship with snakes would be Angerona, whose feast, the Divalia (the Angeronalia, according to Varro, de l.l. 6,23 and Paul.-Fest. p. 16,12 f. L.) was celebrated on the 21 of December, which date is very important indeed, for it represents the winter solstice, called bruma by the Romans. Pliny (n.h. 18,220) states that "cardines temporum . . . constant per incrementa lucis. augetur haec a bruma . . . bruma capricorni a.d. VIII. kal. Ian. fere" and Varro (de l.l. 6,8) adds that "tempus a bruma ad brumam dum sol redit vocatur annus", and it is precisely in this cyclical conception of the year as continually renewing itself at each winter solstice that one may see the connection of Angerona with the snake, here conceived in its familiar circular form representing eternal time without beginning or end (i.e. Aion), the ὄφης οὐρόβροπος which, as Nilsson says (Gesch. d. griech. Rel., o.c., 503)

^{8a}See, among others, Pestalozza, Religione Mediterranea, o.c., 249 and Eliade, Patterns, o.c., pp. 169-171.

^{8b}Pestalozza, o.c., 337: "Angitia stessa dovette essere in origine una dea . . . con ricco corredo di serpente . . . simile all'antischissima 'Signora dei serpenti' della religione cretese."

is "das Symbol der sich ewig zyklisch erneuernden Zeit." It is probably safe to assume that the Lanuvian snake-cult has pre-Roman origins, with associations so richly varied that it is almost certainly impossible to retrieve them all at this removal in time. A brief illustration of this is the fact that the epithet Sōspīta is the popular Latin etymology for the incomprehensible Seispes.

7.1 The Oracular Snake

As early as Wissowa⁹ it was seen that the Lanuvian snake corresponded to the Roman conception of the Genius, symbolized by a snake. According to the Romans (and to the root of the word itself, viz. gen, gignere) the Genius is the divine power of male procreative energy which resides within each man and which is born with him and forms and guides his entire physical and spiritual being.¹⁰ This numinous élan vital was symbolized by a snake,¹¹ whose phallic implications are well-known,¹² and snakes as symbols of the Genius were often depicted in Roman murals.¹³ Since this power was numinous, it was thought to have the ability of manifesting itself everywhere, not only within each man. Accordingly there also exists a genius loci and Paul. p. 84 L.

⁹RuK², 182,5: "Auch die Schlange der lanuvinschen Juno entspricht der des Genius."

¹⁰Cf. Varro in August. civ. dei 8,13: "Quid est Genius? 'Deus, inquit, qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum'"; cf. Paul. p. 84 L.; Serv. ad georg. 1,302. Originally, the Genius was "die göttliche Verkörperung der im Manne wirksamen und für den Fortbestand der Familie sorgenden Zeugungskraft," RuK², 175; cf. Otto, Manen, o.c., 75 and Usener, Göttern., o.c., 297 f.

¹¹Plin. n.h., 29,72; cf. RuK², 176.

¹²In Etruria, where the Genius was considered the son of Jupiter (Fest. p. 492,6 L.), this symbol of male potency was even plainer; there the Genius was represented simply as a phallos; cf. Altheim, RRG, 18; Epochen der röm. Geschichte, z. Weltherrschaft u. Krise (Frankfurter Studien z. Rel. u. Kultur d. Ant. 12), Frankfurt a. M., 1935, 41 ff.

¹³Wissowa, RuK², 177.

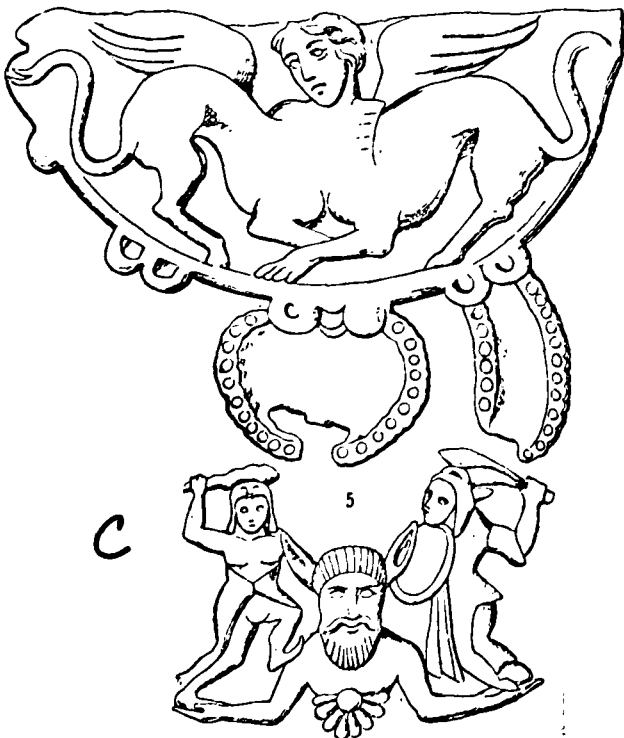


A



B

Juno wird von Iuppiter dem Hercules zur Ehe gegeben
(nach Gerhart, Etr. Spiegel Taf. 147).



C

Hercules mit Juno kämpfend
(nach Alfani, Monum. inedita Taf. 21 nr. 5; vgl. Sp. 2208, 6 ff.).

FIG. 7

(a) Juno Seispes

(b) and (c): Juno and Hercle

says that "alii genium esse putarunt uniuscuiusque loci deum"; Servius (ad Aen. 5,85) also informs us that "nullus locus sine genio, qui per anguem plerumque ostenditur"; hence the Genius becomes a sort of numen tutelare and Liber pater can be addressed as genius domus (CIL 8,2632), Mars as genius coloniae (8438: Sitifis). The Genius is then, in the words of the old ritual (Act. frat. Arv. p. 146 [Heinzen]), the deus, in cuius tutela hic locus est, it is, in fact, a deus tutelae (CIL 2,3021;3377;4092) or even a genius tutelae (CIL 11,2991). With this conception in mind of the Genius as a deus tutelae we may now recall Propertius' description of the Lanuvium snake (3): "Lanuvium annosi vetus est tutela draconis."

Since the Genius was represented by a snake, and since the snake is representative of chthonic forces as well as procreative ones, it is no surprise to find that the Genius was also identified with the di Manes.¹⁴ Pliny (n.h. 16,234) records that a snake guarded the tomb of Scipio Africanus Maior: "subest specus, in quo manes eius custodire draco traditur." Among the Greeks the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων was identified with the di manes¹⁵ and was also represented by a

¹⁴CIL 9,5794: "D(is) M(anibus) M. Antoni M. f. Farini et Genio eius"; 6,23941: "d(is) M(anibus) M. Perperna Felix sibi et Genio suo et coniugi suae."

¹⁵Cf. Rhode, Psyche⁸, o.c., 1,208,133 and Lattimore, o.c., p. 95.

snake.¹⁶ It is further known that as a chthonic animal the snake also possesses oracular powers. Pausanias tells that Mantineus, the son of Lycaon, founded Ptolis after having, on instruction from an oracle, followed the trail of a snake.¹⁷ The snake-oracle at Lanuvium would then seem to be a blending of the Greek idea of the "soul-snake" with the Roman conception of the snake as Genius¹⁸ and the food offering which Propertius has the young girls making to the Lanuvian snake (7 f.) would have originally been the annual offering of food made at the oracular tomb of a Genius represented as a snake.¹⁹ An oracular serpent however, to whom food-offerings were made generally leads back to a hero-cult;²⁰ but of what hero?

¹⁶On a snake-talisman is written τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος (Rohde, o.c., 1,207,133); and a bilingual inscription from Beraea reads δαίμονιν εαυτοῦ τε καὶ Λαιτιτίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ = Dis Manibus suis et Laetitia uxoris (CIG 4452). Dumézil, RRA, 355 says of the snake-Genius identification that "la coloration grecque est ici évidente."

¹⁷Paus. 8,8,4; cf. 3,23,7 and Il. 2,305 ff.; see Gossen-Steier, art. 'Schlange' in RE 2A, 1,518,1 ff.

¹⁸Cf. Verg. Aen. 5,95 for a similar blending and see Gossen-Steier, a.c., 519,27 ff.; Radke, 139.

¹⁹Cf. Tib. 1,7,50; 2,2,3; 8; Ovid, trist. 5,5,11 ff. and RuK², 177.

²⁰Cf. Gossen-Steier, a.c., 514,32 ff.

7.2 The Founding of Lanuvium

Lanuvium, it is said, was founded by Diomedes the Argive,²¹ and counted as the first of his foundations; he was also thought to have had a hand in the founding of Rome itself.²² The history of Diomedes in Italy unfolds chiefly in Apulia and the area of the Mezzogiorno, where he was a great κτίστης,²³ and can be traced back to at least the 7th century where he is mentioned in the poetry of Mimnermos, who tells how he fled from the snares of his wife Aegialeia (= she-goat?), took refuge at Hera's altar at Argos and afterwards sailed with his followers to Italy, allying himself with King Daunus.²⁴ This connection with Daunus is important

²¹App. bell. civ. 2,20: ἦν [= Λανούβιον] Διομήδης φασὶν ἀλῶμενον ἔξ Ἰλίου πρῶτην ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐς αὐτὴν στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.

²²Plut. Rom. 2,2.

²³Cf. Bethe, art. 'Diomedes' in RE 5,1,822,15 ff. for a list of his foundations. In north and central Italy, outside of Lanuvium and Rome, he was reputed to have founded Spina (Plin. n.h. 3,20,5), Timanum (Strab. 5,1,8) and was worshipped with a cult in Umbria (Ps.-Scyl. 1,16; Geogr. gr. min. 1, p. 24); cf. J. Bayet, Herclé. Etude Critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l'Hercule Etrusque, Paris, 1926, 72-78.

²⁴Mimn. ap. Schol. ad Lycophr. 618: Ἀφροδίτη, καθὼς φησι Μίμνερμος, ὑπὸ Διομήδους τρωθεῖσα παρεσκεύασε τὴν Αἰγιάλεια πολλοῖς μὲν μοιχοῖς συνκοιμηθῆναι, ἐρασθῆναι δὲ Ἰππολύτου καὶ Κομήτου υἱοῦ Σθενέλου· τοῦ δὲ Διομήδους παραγενομένου εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἐπιβουλεῦσαι αὐτῷ· τὸν δὲ καταφυγόντα εἰς βωμὸν τῆς Ἥρας διὰ νυκτὸς φύγεῖν σὺν τοῖς ἐταῖροις καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Δαῦνον βασιλέα, ὅστις αὐτὸν δόλῳ ἀνεῖλεν; J. Bérard, La Colonisation grecque de l'Italie meridionale et de la Sicile dans l'Antiquité:

and will be discussed further on. Diomedes had wounded Aphrodite on the field at Troy²⁵ and for this reason the goddess caused his wife to be unfaithful to him and to plot against his life.²⁶ The altar to which he fled for sanctuary will have been that of Hera Argeia.²⁷ At Sparta there was also a cult of Hera Argeia who was there called Hera Aphrodite as well, to whom mothers offered sacrifice upon their daughters' weddings (Paus. 3,13,8); for this reason Bérard calls Hera Argeia a "Héra chthonienne, déesse de la fécondité et de la reproduction."²⁸ If the act of taking refuge with Hera Argeia at Argos was not enough to suggest a rather close relationship between Diomedes and that goddess, ample other evidence is at hand to confirm it: on Cos there was a cult of Hera Argeia as well as a cult of this goddess among the Veneti, both of which were in close association with Diomedes.²⁹

1'Histoire et la Légende (Bibl. des. Ecol. fran. d'Ath. et de Rome, fasc. 150), Paris, 1941, 385 is of the opinion that the Diomedes legend dates from the seventh century.

²⁵Il. 5,84 ff.

²⁶Ant. Lib. metam. 37,1.

²⁷Cf. Il. 4,51 f.: ἦτοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολλὸ φίλταταί εἰσι πῶλῆες, / "Ἀργὸς τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκῆνη and see Wilamowitz, GdH², 232: "Homer nennt sie [= Hera] selbst 'Ἀργεῖη, und in dem "Ἀργὸς liegt ihr vornehmstes Heiligtum." For the cult of Hera Argeia at Argos, cf. Myth. Lex. 1,2075-2077; RE 8,1,372-373.

²⁸o.c., 415.

²⁹See Paton-Hicks, Inscrip. of Cos, 38,5; Strab. 5,

Having escaped the plot hatched by his wife and arrived in Italy, Diomedes was said (Lycophr. 592 ff.) to have slain a δράκων which was ravaging the country of the Phaeacians (= Corfu?); this serpent was none other than that of Colchis, who guarded the Golden Fleece. As a result of this exploit Diomedes was honoured with a cult.³⁰ Further, Diomedes is mentioned as attacking the city of Brentesion (= Brindisi) together with the Corcyrians and ridding it of a δράκων.³¹

The picture we then have of Diomedes in Italy is that of a hero who, fleeing the plots of his unfaithful wife and in close association with the Argive Hera, arrives in Italy and joins forces with King Daunus of Apulia. He then proceeds to found many cities with cults of the Argive Hera and is as well a great benefactor, ridding the land of

p. 215; Verg. Aen. 3,547; Usener, Göttern., o.c., 235; Bérard, o.c., 412. The cult of Hera Argeia (= Iuno Argiva) in three cities in central Italy--Lanuvium, Tibur and Falerii--will be dealt with below, cf. pp. 282 f.

³⁰Timon and Lycos of Rhegion ap. Schol. ad Lycophr. 615 (cf. FGH 1, p. 195, fr. 13 and 2, p. 371, fr. 3): ἀλούσης τῆς Ἰλίου Διομήδης ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔρματος ἐκ τοῦ τεῖχους τῶν Τρώων λίθους εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐβάλετο· παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἄργος καὶ ἐλαθεῖς ὑπὸ Αἰγιάλειας παρεγένετο εἰς Ἰταλίαν· εὐρῶν δὲ τηνικαῦτα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ δράκοντα λυμαινόμενον τὴν Φαιακίδα, διέφθειρε τοῦτον, τὴν τοῦ Γλαῦκου χρυσῇ ἀσπίδι κατέχων, νομίσαντος τοῦ δράκοντος τὸ χρυσοῦν δέρος εἶναι τοῦ κριοῦ. τιμηθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ σφόδρα, ἀνδριάντα κατεσκεύασεν καὶ ἰδρύσατο ἐκ τῶν λίθων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰλίου· ἱστορεῖ δὲ τοῦτο Τίμαριος καὶ Λύκος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ.

³¹Herac1. Lembos, De reb. publ. 27 (FGH 2, p. 220).

menacing serpents, for which he is honoured with several hero cults. Would it be too far-fetched to see in the Lanuvian snake-cult and its close association with Juno Sospita Mater Regina an original hero-cult of Diomedes, whose oracular Genius, in the form of a snake, was annually celebrated with food-offerings? We have mentioned above the curious combination of chastity and fertility in the Lanuvian snake-cult; the element of fertility comes from its association with Hera-Juno; but that of chastity could result from the legitimate concern of Diomedes about such matters due to the infidelities of his wife;³² the Juno of Lanuvian was called "Ἡρὰς Ἀργολίδος by Aelian (nat. anim. 11,16) and an inscription from Tibur is to Iunoni Argeiae (CIL 14,3556). Lastly, Diomedes seems uniquely suited to be an oracular hero. Apart from his dedication to the service of Hera (for which he is "Ἡρὰ κλέος; for his association with Hercules, cf. below, pp. 285 f.), and his connection with snakes, could a possible derivation of his name (< διο-μῆδος = 'divine counsel') have suggested his oracular function? In his narration of what befell the followers of Diomedes after their leader's death, Antoninius Lib. (37,5) states that Zeus caused their bodies to disappear: Διὸς δὲ βουλῇ τὰ

³²The fact that the name of Diomedes' wife contains the word for goat (i.e., Aigi-aleia) is further explanation for that hero's association with Juno S.M.R. cum pelle caprina.

σώματα μὲν ἠφάνισθη; might this Διδὸς βουλῇ be a pun on the hero's name?

7.3 Juno S.M.R.

The cult of Juno was very widespread in central Italy, Latium being extremely rich in Juno cults. In the calendars of Aricia, Tibur, Praeneste, Laurentum and Lanuvium there was a month named after her (Ovid, fast. 6,59 ff.). She is the chief deity in Perusia (App. bell. civ. 5,49; Cass. Dio 48,14,5) and as Juno Regina she was the state goddess of Veii, under which form she was brought to Rome by Camillus (Livy 5,21,3; CIL 6,3646). There were also cults of Juno at Gabii (Verg. Aen. 7,682), of Juno Regina at Ardea (Plin. n.h. 35,115), Juno Curitis at Tibur and Falerii (Serv. ad Aen. 1,17; CIL 14,3556), Juno Lucina at Norba (RE 10,1, 1122,50 ff.) and Tusculum (CIL 10,3087), as well as that of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium.³³

Wissowa calls Sospita the "berühmtester der lateinischen Junokulte"³⁴ and Lanuvium was considered the goddess'

³³The three cities in central Italy whose Juno cults seem to have undergone Argive influence are Falerii, Tibur and Lanuvium; Cato, figs. 47 (HRR 1², 68); 56 (HRR 1², 71); Dion. Hal. 1,21,1-2; Ovid, fast. 4,71 ff. and Bömer's note, ad loc.

³⁴RuK², 188; cf. Thulin, art. 'Juno' in RE 10,1 1120, 28 f.: "Den vornehmsten der lateinischen I.-Kulte."

special city, as Argos was Hera's.³⁵ Since the Latin War in 338 BC her cult was held in common by both Lanuvium and Rome (Livy 8,14,2) but her Lanuvium site retained its primacy and it was from there, under the direction of the Roman pontifical college, that the Roman cult was administered,³⁶ her Roman temple and cult-image being the same as that in Lanuvium (Jul. Obsequ. 6). Cicero (de nat. deor. 1,82) gives perhaps the most vivid description of her: ". . . illam vestram Sospitam, quam tu numquam ne in somno quidem vides nisi cum pelle caprina, cum hasta, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis. At non est talis Argia nec Romana Iuno. Ergo alia species Iunonis Argivis, alia Lanuvinis."

Her full title, as seen from Lanuvian inscriptions (CIL 14,2090 f.), is Iuno Seispes (Rom. Sospita)³⁷ Mater Regina. This triple nomenclature³⁸ is unique in Italy, and this uniqueness in name corresponds to her unique rites.

³⁵Ovid, fast. 6,60 has Juno say, Lanuviumque meum and Sil. Ital. 8,360 still calls the city Iunonis sedes.

³⁶Cic. pro Mii. 27; 45 f.; Wissowa, RuK², 188; Thulin, a.c., 1120,34 ff.

³⁷Cf. Paul. p. 462 L.: "Sispitem Iunonem, quam vulgo sospitem appellant, antiqui usurpabant, cum ea vox ex Graeco videatur sumpta, quod est σῶξεν"; cf. p. 388, 389 L.: "Sospes salvus, Ennius (Ann. 590) tamen sospitem pro servatore posuit."

³⁸Dumézil, in "Juno S.M.R.," ERANOS 52 (1954), 105 ff., sought to explain the triple qualification of Lanuvian Juno with reference to the three functions of Indoeuropean society; cf. RRA, 294 f.

Mater, as Dumézil rightly points out (cf. p. 275, n. 38), puts us in mind of the Matronalia, the feast of Juno Lucina at Rome, thus placing the goddess in connection with fertility and female life. Latte, with a side-long glance at the Lanuvian snake-cult, conjectures that Sospita was at first a fertility goddess,³⁹ while Bérard⁴⁰ considers her a chthonian goddess. There does remain however a piece of evidence much more compelling than conjectures which would confirm that indeed a part of the Lanuvian Juno's concerns was with female life and morals: Cicero informs us that either during the Marsic War (de div. 1,99) or within memoria nostra (1,4), L. Iulius Caesar (cos. 90 BC) was ordered by the Senate to restore the temple of Juno Sospita at Rome because of a dream experienced by Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Baliaricius (cos. 123 BC) and wife of Appius Claudius Pulcher (cos. 79 BC). The dream, according to Jul. Obsequens 55, was the following: "Metella Caecilia

³⁹ RRG², 166 f.; on 167,1 he states that the chastity test was only secondary; Dumézil (RRA, 295) says that "C'est peut-être à cet aspect 'fécondité' que se rattache le fameux serpent de la Junon de Lanuvium"; as long ago as 1913 Douglas, a.c., 71 conjectured that "this ceremony, of a high antiquity, must have been a rite to consult the oracle and to ensure fertility."

⁴⁰ o.c., 540: "Nous avons vu, surtout, qu'un très grand nombre de sanctuaries, tant en Sicilie et dans le Sud de la péninsule qu'en Italie centrale, . . . ont un caractère chthonien très marqué; ainsi l'Héra aux oiseaux de Metaponte, l'Héra Hoplosmia du Lacinion, ou surtout l'Héra Argeia du Silaris, de même que les Junons argiennes de Faléries, de Tibur et de Lanuvium en Italie centrale."

somnio Iunonem Sospitem profugientem, quod immunda sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus aegre revocatam diceret, aedem matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat, commundatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit." It thus becomes evident that, as a third of her cult-name implies, Juno of Lanuvium was indeed partly concerned with female chastity and sexual life.

The third epithet, that of Regina, is also a very common one of Juno. It is as Regina that she is officially worshipped in Rome on the Capitol and this title links her as co-regent with Juppiter O.M.⁴¹ Under this title she is also to be compared with "Ἡρᾶ Βασιλεύς, representing the politico-religious idea which finds its outward expression in the Capitoline triad of Juppiter, Juno and Minerva⁴² and it is to Juno as Queen that the Roman consuls offer sacrifice once a year at Lanuvium (Cic. pro Mur. 90).

But it is the predominating warrior-like aspect of Lanuvian Juno which is most puzzling and not at all in keeping with her usual calm and dignified position as Mater and Regina. Very much of interest however is the fact that this

⁴¹She was known officially by this name in Veii and in Ardea as well (RuK², 189). For a list of inscriptions to Juno Regina in other areas of Italy cf. Thulin, a.c., 1119,8 ff.

⁴²It is with this politico-religious idea in mind that she is addressed as Iuno Regina Populona (CIL 3, 1075).

same warrior-like appearance recurs in Falerii and Tibur, where she was worshipped as Juno Curitis,⁴³ and the Juno-cults in those towns, like that of Lanuvium, appear to have been due to Argive influence.⁴⁴ That the Juno of Lanuvium was concerned with victory and battles is seen from a votum made by the consul C. Cornelius Cethegus in 197 BC (Livy 32, 30) during the war against the Insubres in Gaul: "Consul principio pugnae vovit aedem Sospitae Iunoni, si eo die hostes fusi fugatique fuissent. A militibus clamor sublatus compotem voti consulem se facturos et impetus in hostes est factus. Non tulerunt Insubres primum concursum" Three years later Cethegus constructed the temple he had vowed in the Forum holitorium to the goddess who had granted him victory.⁴⁵ Before all, Juno Sospita is a warrior, and with good reason, for Hera is also a warrior, especially the Hera Hoplosmia of Argos, to whom Diomedes fled as a

⁴³Paul. p. 43 L.: "Curitim Iunonem appellant, quia eandem ferre hastam putabant"; p. 55,6 L.: "matronae Iunonis Curitis in tutela sint, quae ita appellabatur a ferenda hasta, quae lingua Sabinorum curis dicitur"; cf. too. p. 56,21 L.

⁴⁴Cato, frg. 47 HRR 1², 68; Ovid, fast. 4,71 ff. and Bömer's notes ad loc.; Bérard, o.c., 412 with n. 2; CIL 14, 3556 (Tibur): Iunoni Argeiae; Tibur was Argeo positum colono (Hor. c. 2,6,5).

⁴⁵Cf. Livy 34,53,3; Jul. Obseq. 6; Wissowa, RuK², 188; Dumézil, RRA, 418.

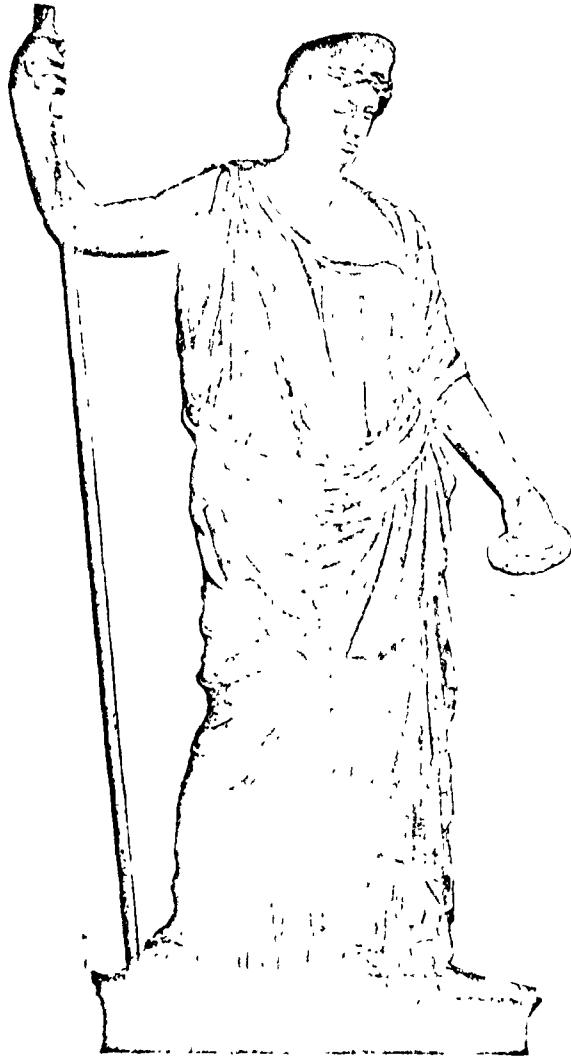


19. CN. BLASIO. CN. F. (*Cnaeus Blasio, Cnaei filius*). Tête casquée à droite de Scipion l'Africain l'Ancien; au-dessus, une étoile; derrière, une marque monétaire variable.

20. ROMA. Jupiter debout, tenant le foudre et le sceptre, entre Junon à sa droite tenant un sceptre,

FIG. 8

Juno Regina



Statue der Hera Basileia in der Rotunde des Vatikans
in Rom (nach einer Photographie); vgl. S. 2114, 7

FIG. 9

Hera Basileia

suppliant.⁴⁶ The Juno of Lanuvium in fact, in her warrior-guise as Seispes, looks for all the world like Athena.

7.4 Similarity of Juno of Lanuvium to Athena

This was noticed as long ago as 1830 by a certain Th. Panofka⁴⁷ who wrote "que la Junon de Lanuvium, en ce qu'elle porte une égide, un bouclier et une lance, s'assimile complètement à Minerve, et que la déesse de Lanuvium rend à la fois l'idée du Junon et d'Athène."⁴⁸ This should have been apparent from Cicero's description, where it is clearly stated that the Juno of Lanuvium is not exactly like the Argive Hera nor the Roman conception of Juno; what makes her different is her Athena-like qualities.⁴⁹ A further look at the Diomedes legend will hopefully clarify the problem somewhat.

⁴⁶Lycophr. 614; Hera fought against Poseidon in Argolis, as Athena did in Attica (Paus. 2,15,5); cf. Bayet, Herclé, o.c., 76.

⁴⁷Annali dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza archeologica (Roma) 2 (1830), 335; see Bayet, Herclé, o.c., 147.

⁴⁸A. Galieti, "Intorno al culto di 'Iuno Sispita Mater Regina' in Lanuvium," Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma (BCAR), 44 (1916), 5 states, with something of hyperbole, that Lanuvian Juno has "nulla . . . in comune" with Hera or Roman Juno. Latte (RRG², 167) sees her as a type of Athena Polias and her cult as affected by Etruscan influence.

⁴⁹Il. 5,728 f., where Athena ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσαυδέσσαν / δεινῇν, and cf. Lanuvian Juno "cum pelle caprina."

It is a fact that Diomedes is very closely connected, not only with Hera but also with Athena, almost as closely as is Odysseus himself. During his great battle on the field at Troy, it is Athena who inspires him with courage and protects him;⁵⁰ he is, along with Odysseus, involved in the stealing of the Palladium, Athena's cult-image (Il. 5 and 10), which he brought to Argos where he is also very closely associated with Athena: Pausanias (2,24,2) mentions a temple of Athena Oxyderces dedicated by Diomedes; at the bath-festival of Athena in Argos, similar to the Athenian Plynteria, the women of Argos carried the statue of Athena and the shield of Diomedes to the river Inachus and washed them (Callim. h. 5,35 and Schol. ad h. Callim. 5,1); Pindar, Nem. 10,7 has Diomedes apotheosized through the agency of Athena; other cults where Diomedes is associated with Athena were found in Mothone (Paus. 4,35,8), Lacedaemon, Athens and Cypros.⁵¹

It is further to be remarked that the famous goat-skin headdress, so distinctive of the Lanuvian Juno, was given by the Etruscans to Menrva who is thus figured on

⁵⁰Il. 5,124: θαρσύν νῦν, Διόμηδες, ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεσθαι; and see lines 780 ff. where both Hera and Athena administer to Diomedes.

⁵¹For a complete list, cf. Bethe, a.c., 819,40 ff.

several mirrors.⁵² A probable explanation could be that the Etruscan warrior-goddess with the goatskin headdress appeared to the Dorian Greeks as a likely syncretism between the Argive Athena and certain Peloponnesian Hera-types. The calceoli repandi of Lanuvian Juno certainly do lead one to suspect some Etruscan influence and it would be too simplistic to explain them away by saying that they were the result of an Etruscan sculptor. A cult image represents the commonly agreed upon conceptions of a divinity shared by a particular community of worshippers. If Etruscan-style shoes were not a part of that conception, they certainly would not have been included in the cult-image. The Lanuvian Juno indeed seems to be a blend, reflecting in her single person the two patron goddesses of Diomedes and his Argive followers who were partly responsible for colonizing this area of central Italy in the seventh and sixth centuries.

There is another peculiarity to be noted, shared in common by the Etruscan Juno and those Juno-cults of Latium which had undergone Argive influence (i.e. Tibur and Lanuvium), and that was their close association with Hercules.⁵³

⁵²See Bayet, Herclé, o.c., 148 quoting Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Berlin, 1843, pl. 273,3 and p. 308; pl. 156.

⁵³Bayet, Herclé, o.c., 115 f.; Origines . . ., 379 ff.; cf. Ephemeris Epigraph. 9,605; Herculi San(cto) et Iunoni Sispit(i); could not however the epithet be Sanco? Cf. Prop. 4,9,71 f., where Hercules Sancus is associated with Juno.

Hercules and Juno were worshipped in Tubur where, it will be remembered, Juno was called Argeia (CIL 14,3556).⁵⁴ An inscription from Tibur is to (H)erculi Tiburtino⁵⁵ and Propertius calls the town Herculeum Tibur (2,32,5). Hercules also had a cult in Lanuvium and was frequently paired with Juno Sospita.⁵⁶ This is most strikingly seen on an amphora from Cervetri, now in the British Museum;⁵⁷ it shows Hercules with a lion's skin and opposite him is Juno wearing the goatskin over her head and carrying a shield and lance. Between them is a lebes from which protrude four writhing snakes; surely the identification: Juno Sospita-Hercules-snakes could not be more plain. The pair are again associated on a bronze base found at Perugia, part of which is in the museum there while the other is at Munich.⁵⁸ Here Hercules advances right, and opposite to him is Juno Sospita, clad in her goatskin; she carries a shield and wears the

⁵⁴It is to be noted that Heracles comes from Argos (Wilamowitz, GdH², 69 f.). Wissowa, RuK², 273,1 denies that Hercules and Juno were worshipped together in Tibur.

⁵⁵CIL 14,3552 = 6,30742 and see Dessau, CIL 14, p. 367 f.

⁵⁶Tertull. ad nat. 2,7: "cur Herculeum polluctum mulieres Lanuvinae non gustant"; CIL 1², 1428; 1429; 2442; Douglas, a.c. 72. This is similar to the cult of the Ara Maxima in Rome, for which see the following chapter.

⁵⁷B.M. no. B.57; see Douglas, a.c. 64 and Figure 1.

⁵⁸Douglas, a.c., 64; Bayet, Herclé, o.c. 17.

calceoli repandi. Another Etruscan work is a small bronze ornament, once connected to a larger object (Myth. Lex. 1, 2262), consisting of the head and shoulders of a satyr who, on his outstretched arms supports two figures: on the left is Hercules with lion's skin and club; right is Juno Sospita with round shield, sword and goatskin.⁵⁹ The list could be continued but the essential point has been made: the association of Hercules with the Lanuvian snake cult and with the syncretism of Argive Hera and Athena elements represented in the cult of Juno Sospita. For a third time we shall turn to the Diomedes legend in Italy for a possible explanation.

7.5 Daunos-Faunus and Hercules

When Diomedes arrived in Italy he allied his forces with those of King Daunos.⁶⁰ Who was this Daunos? According to his name, he was originally an Illyrian:⁶¹ *dhau- 'to strangle'; cf. Illyr. θαῦνον, Phryg. δαός, Thess. Ζεῦς

⁵⁹See Myth. Lex. 1,2262 for a list of small metal-work objects identified as Juno and Hercules.

⁶⁰Ant. Lib. 37,2: 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ παραγενόμενον αὐτὸν ἔγνω Δαῦνιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ τῶν Δαυνίων, ἐδεήθη τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ συμπολεμῆσαι πρὸς Μεσσαπίους ἐπὶ μέρει γῆς καὶ γάμφῃ θυγατρὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ.

⁶¹Cf. Fest. p. 60 L.: "Daunia Apulia appellatur a Dauno, Illyricae gentis claro viro, qui eam, propter domesticam seditionem excedens patria, occupavit." Ant. Lib. 31,1 makes him an Arcadian, son of Lycaon; he is the only one to do so.

Θαύλιος, all of which connect the name with that of Faunus.⁶² It was pointed out by W.F. Otto in 1912 that many Latin legends, such as those concerning the paternity of Latinus or the legends involving the gens Fabia, often confuse the figures of Faunus and Daunus.⁶³ It also happens that Faunus is closely linked with Juno in situations involving the fertility of women. The strips of goathide with which the Luperci struck the women who presented themselves during the running of the Lupercalia were called amica Iunonis⁶⁴ and the Luperci themselves were named creppi,⁶⁵ that is, capri.⁶⁶ Because the month of February (and so the Lupercalia on February 15)⁶⁷ was a month of purification, i.e. februatio,

⁶²Walde-Hofmann 1,468 s.v. Faunus: *dhau-nos "Wolf" als "Würger," identisch mit illyr. Daunos, Δαῦνος lyd. καυ-δαύλης, κυν-᾿αγχης, = "Hundswürger"; cf. Altheim, Italien u. Rom 2,37 f. and n. 45; RRG 1,12; Bömer, Fasten 11, 100.

⁶³"Römische Sagen," WSt. 35 (1912), 71: "Für uns ergibt sich aus alle dem, dass Hercules in solchen Legenden ein Doppelgänger des Faunus ist"; for Hercules as father of Latinus, cf. Paul. p. 245 L.; for Faunus, Verg. Aen. 7,47 ff.; for the legends involving the gens Fabia, cf. Otto, art. 'Faunus' in RE 6,2 2064,20 ff. For further implications of the Faunus/Hercules confusion, apart from its relevance to the Lanuvian Juno-cult, cf. the Appendix and see G. Binder, Die Aussetzung des Königskindes Kyros u. Romulus (Beiträge z. klass. Philol., Heft 10), Meisenheim a. Glan, 1964, 87 f.

⁶⁴Paul. p. 76, 1 L.; cf. Ovid, fast. 2,427 ff.

⁶⁵Paul. p. 49, 58 L. and see RuK², 209.

⁶⁶Paul. p. 42, 8 L.; cf. Otto, art. 'Faunus', 2066, 25 ff.

⁶⁷Cf. Varro de l.l. 6,13: "Lupercalia februatio"; Dion. Hal. 1,80; Ovid, fast. 2,31.

the goatskin strips were called februa (Serv. ad Aen. 8,343) and Faunus as well as Juno were given the epithets Februus/Februa.⁶⁸ As Wissowa rightly remarks (RuK², 185) it is surely no accident that the Lupercalia are bounded on one side by the founding in Rome of the temple of Juno Lanuvina (February 1) and on the other by that of Juno Lucina (March 1). Faunus is as well an oracle god⁶⁹ and his wife, Fenta Fatua, was also called Bona Dea⁷⁰ who, as we shall see in the following Chapter, was connected with Hercules in Roman mythology. If the complex of Roman religion is an intricate and tightly-woven ballet, then the cult of the Lanuvian Juno seems its prima ballerina.

7.6 A Syncretic Cult?

We have gone a long way in our attempt to clarify somewhat the obscure origins of the curious cult of the snake connected with the Lanuvian Juno as presented in the 8th Elegy of Propertius. It has been suggested above that the answer might lie in an original oracular snake/Genius cult of the hero Diomedes, the legendary founder of Lanuvium

⁶⁸Lyd., de mens. 4,25; Paul. p. 75, 25 L.; RuK², 185; Otto, 'Faunus', 2068,42 ff.; Paul. p. 75, 26 f. L. says that "eiusque (sc. Iunonis) feriae erant Lupercalia."

⁶⁹Plut. quaest. Rom. 20; Verg. Aen. 7,81.

⁷⁰Arnob. 1,36; Macrobian. Sat. 1,12,21; cf. Otto, 'Faunus', 2059,5 ff.

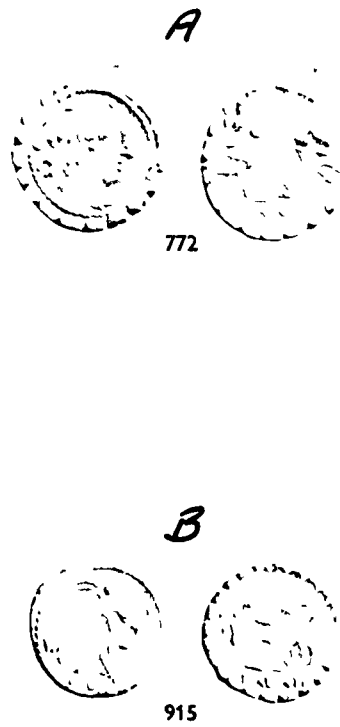


FIG. 10

(a) and (b):

Coins showing Juno S.M.R. and the Snake of Lanuvium

and that the striking and unique figure of Juno Seispes Mater Regina might be the result of a syncretism between the duality of Hera/Athena, reflected in the Diomedes legend, among the Argive colonists on the one hand (= Seispes), the quite normal conception of Juno among the Latins (= Mater, Regina) on the other, and a third, Etruscan element contributing to the close relationship with Hercules. The whole question however is very difficult and very obscure.

Gabietti⁷¹ once conjectured that the Lanuvian snake represented the totem-animal of the early population of the Lanuvium district and that the essential purpose of the rite was to gain fertility for the crops through the sympathetic slaying of a human victim, that the rite "si riducesse al culto del genio della vegetazione o della Terra."⁷² Writing as he was in 1916 it was perhaps inevitable that Gabietti should come very heavily under the influence of Mannhardt (first published 1875-77) and Frazer (1890), as all this talk of "totems" and "vegetation spirits" seems to indicate. What the early religious historians were doing was essentially offering psychological explanations of social phenomena: in fact, there is very little evidence indeed (if any) to support the thesis of totemism in early Latium and the idea of a yearly human sacrifice to a serpentine

⁷¹a.c., 16 f.

⁷²Ibid., 18.

vegetation spirit seems altogether too horrifyingly dramatic to be convincing.⁷³ But I rather feel at this point that I am flogging a long-dead horse; surely one no longer attempts to transplant onto Latin soil all the supposed mentality of Australian aborigines.

There remains the curious dichotomy within the Lanuvian snake-cult alluded to by Propertius--a test of female chastity combined with a rite for the fertility of the harvest. I would suggest that the snake-cult began by being an oracular hero-cult; because the snake was a chthonic animal and symbol of male potency it was quite naturally connected with the fertility of the fields. The test of chastity connected with it might be in remembrance of the infidelities of Diomedes' wife, who was connected with the goat and thus with Juno herself. The Lanuvian Juno, as evidenced from Metella's dream, was also concerned with female chastity and moral behaviour. This is shown by the Lex Numae (Aul. Gell. 4,3,3) which forbade a sexually impure woman from touching Juno's altar.⁷⁴ Wissowa (RuK², 185)

⁷³See Van Gennep's devastating criticisms of the totemistic theories advanced by the Durkheimian school in l'Etat actuel du problème totémique, Paris, 1920, 40 ff. and those of Evans-Pritchard, Theories of Primitive Religion, Oxford, 1965, 48 ff.

⁷⁴Cf. Paul. p. 248,5 L.: "Pelex aram Iunonis ne tangito; si tangit, Iunoni crinibus demissis agnum feminam caedito." It is only normal that a goddess concerned with watching over (Cinxia, Februa, Lucina, Fluonia, Pronuba) and promoting (Caprotina, Februa, Juga) female sexual activity

sees in the snake-cult of Lanuvium, which he regards as a "Jungfrauenprobe" belonging to Juno, a further instance of that Goddess' concern with female sexual chastity. More likely, however, the snake-cult was originally an oracular hero shrine of Diomedes separate from though connected with the cult of Lanuvian Juno by virtue of that hero's special dual relationship with Hera and Athena. Gradually the separate rites performed for crop fertility, female faithfulness and virginal purity became homogenized into the relic we find preserved in Elegy 8. It is further to be remembered that, according to Lycophron (592-632; cf. Schol. and Tzetz., ad loc.), Diomedes, angered and bitter as a result of a quarrel with Daunus, cursed the land of Apulia and condemned it to sterility if ever it was tended by one who was not of his race.⁷⁵ Perhaps in some way the chastity of the little girls, combined with the rites of fecundity connected with the Juno cult, were intended to ward off from the land the hero's curse. Hence the triumphant shout from the farmers when the hero as snake accepted the food-offering from virginal hands.

Now nearing the end of Book 4, Propertius seems to be gradually returning to his point of departure--Rome at

should also be most anxious about sexual standards and promiscuity.

⁷⁵Cf. Bérard, o.c., 386 f.; Bethe, a.c., 821,10 ff.



ATHÉNA GUERRIERE PROVENANT DU TEMPLE
D'ÉGINE MUSÉE DE MUNICH.
En son archaïsme, cette statue offre déjà le type
dont l'art s'inspirera désormais. — A. GIRAUDON

FIG. 11

Athena Aigina

its inception, the Rome of Romulus. Here in Elegy 8 we have suggested the legend of Daunos, whose adventures in Italy began, according to Antoninus Lib. (31,3) before the expeditions of Hercules; the poem also contains, as we have seen, hints of the Diomedes legend, representing the next generation after Daunos. In Elegy 9 there is a forward chronological movement to the following generation, that of Hercules, with references to that hero's adventures in Italy; next, in Elegy 10, we are again in the generation of Romulus and the Book would seem to have come full circle, a kind of religious saeculum in verse.

CS 1-2

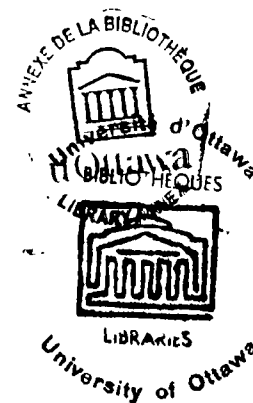
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ELEMENTS OF ROMAN RELIGION IN
THE FOURTH BOOK OF PROPERTIUS

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CHAPTER 8

8.0 HERCULES IN ITALY

With Elegy 9 we appear to be moving further up the ladder of historical-religious chronology discussed above in Chapter 7. There events were alluded to which occurred in the generation preceding Hercules' wanderings. Now, however, we are to deal with Hercules himself and his adventures in Italy; in Elegy 10 we go several generations further to the founding of the cult of Juppiter Feretrius by Romulus. Although the poem now under consideration represents in many ways a fulsome account of Hercules-worship in Rome, it in no way attempts to be exhaustive (the Hercules of the Porta Trigemina,¹ for instance, does not figure in the poem); yet it is in fact one of the most purely aetiological poems in Book Four, giving the aitia for the cult of Hercules Invictus (or Victor), for the founding of the ara Maxima, and the god's association with the Italic Semo Sancus, as well as other subsidiary elements connected with the worship of Hercules. However, there have been those who were not so inclined to see such exclusively religious concerns operating

¹Cf. Macr. S. 3,6,10: "Romae autem Victoris Herculis aedes duo sunt, una ad portam Trigemina, altera in foro boario."

within the poem. W.S. Anderson² argues that Elegy 9 is an elaborate and witty variation on the Paraclausithyron-motif with Hercules as the locked-out lover before the door of the temple of the Bona Dea; in fact, Anderson says, "Propertius sought to make the heroic Hercules somewhat silly."³ It would appear to be foolish to attempt to state that there is no possibility whatever of the elegiac theme of the exclusus amator having some echo here in Elegy 9, perhaps even consciously so intended by the poet,⁴ but I cannot agree that all Propertius intended by this poem was a witty parody of the Paraclausithyron-motif, "neither religious nor heroic nor Augustan."⁵ We shall see in the course of this chapter that the figure of Hercules, dusty and thirsty from his battle with Cacus, who begs water from a priestess of the Bona Dea, is quite consistent with religious tradition;⁶ the poem is in fact very valuable to students of Roman religion for it

²"Hercules Exclusus: Propertius, IV,9", AJPh 85 (1964), 1-12.

³Ibid., 3; cf. Celentano, "Significo . . .," a.c., 63 f.; on p. 64 she says: "L'elegia IV 9 dev'essere interpretata su un piano di sorridente arguzia, di bonaria comicità."

⁴E. Burck, "Zur Komposition . . .," a.c., 424,44 tends also to see more elements of the erotic elegy than religious themes as operative in this poem; concerning Anderson's thesis he says, "aber die Grundidee scheint mir richtig."

⁵Anderson, a.c., 5.

⁶Cf. Macr. S. 1,12,27 ff., quoting Varro.

preserves elements within it which are uniquely illustrative of the processes of syncretism and transmutation which occurred to the legend of Hercules as it developed in Italy.

In what follows it is proposed to deal with the aetiological elements in Elegy 9 under three headings:

(1) Hercules Invictus: this is a result of the Cacus-episode and the cult-title is alluded to by Propertius in line 3: "venit ad invictos pecorosa Palatia montes";

(2) Hercules as Tutor, Rusticus, Domesticus: here figures the founding of the ara Maxima and the episode with the Bona Dea; cf. line 20: "nobile erit Romae pascua vestra Forum" and line 67: "Maxima quae gregibus devota est ara repertis";

(3) Hercules Sancus, illustrating the Sabine and Umbrian influences on the Roman cult. Hopefully in what follows the importance of Propertius to any study of the development of Hercules in Roman religion might be made more manifest.

8.1 Hercules Invictus: The Cacus Legend

The story of Hercules' battle with Cacus was by Propertius' time an already well-known aition for the founding of the ara Maxima.⁷ For Vergil Cacus was the monstrous son of Vulcan who spews forth fire and lives on the Aventine; Livy makes him a shepherd and Dionysios of Halicarnassos a

⁷Cf. Verg. Aen. 8,185 ff.; Livy 1,7,4 ff.; probably too Dion. Hal. 1,39.

robber (1,39) or else (1,42; cf. Orig. Gent. Rom. 6-8) the leader of an outlaw band. The oldest information we have concerning Cacus seems to be Timaeos who, according to Diodoros Siculus (4,21,2) made a certain Κάκιος an inhabitant of the Palatine who hospitably received Hercules. Just as ancient (first part of second century) is the account of the annalist Cn. Gellius, preserved by Solinus 1,8-9, who historicizes Cacus as a native of northern Campania allied to Marsyas, the eponymous king of the Marsi (cf. too Serv. ad Aen. 3,359), who sets out to raid the Arcadians on the Palatine and is killed by Hercules. In any event the ara Maxima was reputed to be the oldest shrine in the cult of Hercules at Rome, founded by the hero himself after he had killed Cacus (Prop. 4,9,67; Livy 1,7,10; 9,34,18; Solin. 1, 10; cf. too Ovid, fast. 1,581),⁸ or else it was built by Euander in honour of Hercules (Tac. ann. 15,41; 2 Vat. Mythog. 153; Strab. 5,3,3). Varro (Macr. S. 3,6,17) says that the ara Maxima was either founded by Hercules himself or by his companions left behind in Latium. Finally, Dionysios Halicarnassos 1,39 has Hercules after the victory over

⁸The interpretation of Verg. Aen. 8,271: hunc aram luco statuit is doubtful; is the subject of statuit Hercules understood or is it the domus Pinaria? See J. Bayet, Les Origines de l'Hercule romain (Bibl. des Ecol. franç. d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 132), Paris, 1926, 141,1. Boehm, on the other hand (art. 'Hercules' in RE 8,1 552,20), says that Hercules is "obviously" the subject. There is nothing obvious about it.

Cacus founding an altar to Juppiter Inventor⁹ with Euander, in thankful memory of Hercules, erecting the later ara Maxima. If there is no way of knowing whether the ara Maxima was the oldest of all sanctuaries of Hercules at Rome, it certainly can be said to be the Roman cult-place par excellence of Hercules; the connecting thread in all accounts save one was that its foundation was linked with Cacus and Euander. The exception is Propertius, whose account makes no mention at all of Euander. He does something quite different with Cacus as well; according to Propertius (10) the monstrous raptor has three heads. Now it is a common assumption since Wissowa that Cacus was originally a deity of early Roman religion,¹⁰ and this assumption of the antiquity and autochthonousness of the Cacus legend was based on several topographical names in and around the Forum Boarium such as atrium Caci and scalae Caci.¹¹ A

⁹It is just possible that this is alluded to by Propertius in line 67.

¹⁰Wissowa (RuK², 283) says that "Cacus ist der Gegner des Hercules sicher erst in Rom genannt werden," and in RE 3, 1 1165,4 f. he calls him a "verschollenen Figur der altrömischen Religion"; Grimal, 71 calls him "peut-être un dieu du feu, peut-être simple numen de lieu, . . . un héros local de Rome"; Dumézil (RRA, 57,1) expresses some doubt however, saying "S'il y a eu une déesse Caca, ce qui n'est pas établi, Cacus est seulement un personnage de légende", and Latte echoes this doubt at RRG², 60,3: "Von Cacus kennen wir nur die Benennung der Scalae Caci am Palatin (Plut. Rom. 20,5; Solin. 1,18) und des atrium Caci (Hülsem, RE s.v.). Die ätiologischen Geschichten von dem Rinderdiebstahl geben für den alten Gott nichts aus"

¹¹See Bayet, Origines, o.c., 226 ff., who calls

further argument for the assumption that Cacus was an ancient and originally Italic deity was the similarity between his name and Caeculus.¹² In fact, Caeculus, a robber and, according to Vergil, the son of Vulcan, can be compared with the robber Cācus who was also, again according to Vergil, a son of Vulcan. A possible link between the two might be those officers' servants and valets in the Roman army named cāculae, cāci and metelli; these last, ostensibly military smiths of some sort, would presumably have a connection with Vulcan and this might thus explain the surname of Metellus associated with the gens Caecilia, thought to derive from the Vulcan-like Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste.^{12a} The comparison between Cācus-κακός, proposed by Carcopino and many others, is not absolutely impossible, but does present the distinct disadvantage of having to overcome the short alpha in κακός. The word cācula at least has the advantage of having a long a in response to the long a of Cācus. The possible connection between Caeculus and Cācus was, curiously enough, explained by some through the agency

Cacus "vieille divinité romaine"; for a mis-en-scène of this line of reasoning, cf. Wissowa, art. 'Cacus' in RE 3,1 1166, 6 ff.

¹²See Altheim, Griech. Götter im alten Rom (RGVV 22, 1), Giessen, 1930, 176 ff.; first suggested, it appears, by Hartung, Religion der Römer 2, Erlangen, 1836, 21-31; see as well Bömer, Fasten 2, 61 f.

^{12a}Cf. Paul.-Fest. p. 38, 23 L.: "Caeculus condidit Praeneste. unde putant Caecilios ortos quorum erat nobilis familia apud Romanos."

of the Greek κᾰίω; but surely Caeculus can be simply explained as a diminutive of caecus, which has nothing to do with κᾰίω. A coherent ensemble of solid facts would then appear to lend support to an ancient connection, phonetically strange but undeniable all the same, between Caeculus-caecus-cācula-Cācus, all centering around the god Vulcan. There is, however, an objection to this complex: Preller's assertion (Röm. Mythologie³ 2, Berlin, 1883, 287,2) that "Aus Caecus ist Cacus geworden wie aus Saeturnus Saturnus" was well answered by Bayet (Origines . . ., o.c., 204,13):

"Connaissant Saeturnus et Saturnus, nous pouvons en affirmer la derivation. Mais cela nous permet-il de créer un dieu Caecus repondant à Cacus . . . Cacus n'est pas un dieu aveugle ou myope à notre connaissance . . . Caeculus est plus proche de Romulus (cf. Plut., Rom. 2) que de Cacus."¹³

But the most telling argument for this view is that, according to Servius (ad Aen. 8, 190),

¹³The rather glaringly a posteriori argument of ae > ā based on Saeturnus > Saturnus is mentioned most recently by Radke, 75; although admitting that it "ohne Beispiel wäre," he nevertheless does manage to derive both names from the same stem by postulating a hypothetical *kaieqos > Cacus and *kaietlos > Caeculus, while simultaneously glancing at Gk. κᾰίτος.

Cacus had a 'sister' by the name of Caca who had a sacellum in Rome "in quo ei pervigili igne sicut Vestae sacrificabatur"; this is the reading of the Codex Floriacensis and the 2nd Vat. Mythog. 2,153; 3,13; the other Servian MSS have "per virgines Vestae".¹⁴ Lactantius (div. inst. 1,20,36) further adds that Caca revealed to Hercules where her brother had hidden the cattle which he had stolen, and for this she merited a shrine. From the foregoing information Wissowa (RuK², 161) concludes, citing both Usener¹⁵ and Schulze,¹⁶ that "in Wahrheit scheinen Cacus und Caca ein altes Götterpaar darzustellen, das schon vor Fixierung des Kalenders zurücktrat und später gänzlich in Vergessenheit geriet." Bayet too, after a lengthy consideration of the Servian text, and following arguments which he admits are not at all sure (Origines, o.c., 210; cf. 212), finally concludes (214) that "l'existence et le culte de Caca nous permettent d'affirmer l'antiquité et le caractère romain de Cacus." Yet outside of the late notices of Servius and Lactantius we hear absolutely nothing of the cult of Caca, upon whose existence the entire structure of this argument rests: there are no inscriptions to her, no notices in any of the Fasti (in

¹⁴Cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 208 ff.; Latte, RRG², 60,3.

¹⁵Götternamen, o.c., 33.

¹⁶ZGLE, 484.

explanation of which embarrassment one is forced to conclude that the divine pair of Cacus/Caca died out before the regulation of the calendars!), no mention of her cult in any literary or epigraphic remains whatsoever outside of the notices of Servius and Lactantius previously referred to. This is not to deny the possibility of a Caca being worshipped in conjunction with Vesta (most likely as a special attribute of that goddess), but the hypothetical possibility of such a deity does not warrant the conclusion that Cacus was an ancient and now-forgotten Latin god. Whenever he appears, he does so in conjunction with Hercules, and the Roman legend of Hercules is as un-Roman in its ensemble as it is possible to be. The Romans themselves admitted that Hercules was Greek and so was his cult. Even under Augustus, when they were careful to renew the worship of the old national gods and restore their cults, the Romans continued to worship Hercules at the ara Maxima "Graeco ritu."¹⁷ The figure and legend of Cacus whose name, let us admit it, is most easily and obviously derived from the Greek, is in fact a curious mélange, composed on the one hand of two decidedly Greek themes, (a) the theft of cattle, current as a literary motif since Homer and (b) the theme of the 'impious host'

¹⁷Varro, in Macr. S. 3,6,17: "Varro ait Graecum hunc esse morem, quia sive ipse sive ab eo relictum aram Maximam statuerunt, Graeco ritu sacrificaverunt" and see Bayet, Origines, o.c., 298 ff.

who, contemptuous of the niceties of civilized life and of Zeus Εένιος, attempts to kill the Greek sailor or colonizer (cf. Prop. 4,9,8: "furto polluit ille Iovem").¹⁸ On the other hand Vergil, religious scholar and antiquary, in his mythopoetic recreation of the beginnings of Roman religion, presents us with a Cacus who is the son of Vulcan and whose cave is clearly meant to suggest the realms of Hades;¹⁹ and what is one to make of those three heads with which Propertius endows him? Anderson²⁰ stated that the three heads of Cacus seem to have been invented by the poet, "almost as if to exaggerate the monstrous nature of the thief." Rothstein denies that Propertius invented the three heads but his explanation of their presence is scarcely credible (Elegien 11,326): "Dieser Zug ist schwerlich Erfindung des Properz, sondern wird auf einer ältern Kombination mit dem Namen der Porta Trigemina beruhen." Wissowa²¹ comes much closer when

¹⁸Cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 155 f.

¹⁹Aen. 8,241 ff.:

at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,
non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
infernās reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis invisā, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepidant immisso lumine Manes.

The "metuendo raptor ab antro" of Prop. line 9 recalls Vergil's description of the cave of Cacus.

²⁰a.c., 4,9.

²¹a.c., 1167,20 ff; cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 364 f.:
"les vers de Propertius qui dépeignent Cacus comme un monstre à trois têtes, une sorte de Géryon."

he says that the three heads are a reminder of the Geryon legend. If indeed, as has been claimed above, Elegy 9 represents an accurate aetiology of Roman Hercules-worship, then surely the three heads of Cacus must not be attributed to the mere poetic fancy of Propertius but can be traced to the development of the Hercules legend in the West.

8.2 Geryon/Garanus

The adventures of Hercules in Italy took place after that hero's celebrated Tenth Labour, in which he journeyed westward to the island of Erytheia, across Ocean's stream (i.e. the Gate of Capricorn), to fetch the famous cattle of Geryon. Hercules made the journey across Ocean's stream in the golden cup of the Sun-god and was sent and steered by Erytheia, one of the Hesperides, after whom the island of the sunset-glow was named.²² This serves well to identify Hercules with the sun and to see in his Twelve Labours an iconographic representation of the sun's progress through the twelve constellations of the Zodiac. This is certainly not an original suggestion,²³ but it is important to remember

²²Apollod. 1,8,5; cf. Kerényi, The Heroes of the Greeks, London, 1959, 168.

²³See, to mention but one instance, J. Harrison, Themis, Cambridge, 1928, 70: "In much of his mythology that cannot be explained here, Herakles is but the humanized double of Helios. It is from the sun that he gets his tireless energy. As the young sun he fights with Hades, the setting sun, at Pylos. As again the rising sun, he rescues

for purposes of our argument. The Tenth Labour would then correspond to the tenth astrological sign, which is Capricorn, and this identifies Erytheia, the island of the red sunset-glow across Ocean's stream, as the Gate of Capricorn, through which the hero enters into the realms of Hades to fetch the cattle (i.e. the souls of the dead). For Geryon is in fact a form of Hades: he guards his cattle near the Gate of Capricorn with the aid of the two-headed dog Orthos, the brother of Hades' hound Cerberos.²⁴ This identification is reinforced by the fact that another herdsman in the area, a certain Menoetes who reported the theft to Geryon, guarded the cattle of Hades.²⁵ Hesiod (theog. 287) calls Geryon tricephalon, "three-headed"; another reading is tricarenon, meaning the same thing, and Tricarenon recalls Tarvos Trigaranus who is mentioned on the famous altar at Paris (CIL 13, 3026):²⁶ this shows a magnificent bull with two cranes perched on his back and a third on his head; in the background are willow (salix) branches; figured as well on the

Alkestis from the shades." For further literature and references on this topic, see Gruppe, RE Suppl. 3, 1104,30 ff.

²⁴Hes. theog. 309 ff.:
 "Ορθον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γείνατο Γηρυονῆι·
 δεῦτερον αὖτις ἔτικτεν ἀμήχανον, οὗ τι φατεῖδον
 Κέρβερον ὤμησθην.

²⁵Apollod. 2,5,10-12; Hor. c. 2,14,8 associates Geryon with Hades.

²⁶See Boehm, art. 'Garanus' in RE 7,1 754,1 ff.; De Vries, La Religion des Celtes, o.c., 184 ff.

altar are Juppiter and Vulcan. We see here clearly grouped many elements of the Cacus legend: a 'triple Garanus' (Trigaranus < tricarenos?), the figure of Vulcan, and the presence of a bull;²⁷ now Amm. Marcel. (15,9) says that Geryon was often called Tauriscos in Gaul. This altar-group further has a connection with the Underworld which, as we have seen, also plays a role in the Cacus-legend. This is provided by the willow branches figured on the Paris altar. The willow was sacred to Persephone and Demeter. In a Greek painting by Polygnotus at Delphi Orpheus is represented as receiving the gift of mystic prophecy by touching willows in Persephone's grove,²⁸ which also contains poplars; now we shall shortly see that poplars were especially sacred both to Hercules and to Demeter. The willow as well is connected with death and the Underworld.²⁹

There are some thirty representations of a three-headed god in Celtic lands. On an image of Beaune there is figured at the left of the naked three-headed god a man,

²⁷The victim offered at the ara Maxima was a taurus; cf. Verg. Aen. 8,180; Ovid, fast. 1,579; Serv. ad Aen. 8, 183. Livy 1,7.12 on the other hand mentions an eximia bos and Varro, de l.l. 6,54 speaks of an iuvenco (cf. Dion. Hal. 1,39: δάμαλιν); cf. Boehm, art. 'Hercules', 564; Bayet, Origines, o.c., 440 ff.

²⁸Paus. 10,30,6; cf. Od. 10,510.

²⁹For their connection with death, cf. Mannhardt, WuFk 1, o.c., 42 and 69.

naked as well, who has his left hand on a cornucopia;³⁰ more striking still, on the altar at Saintes is represented the god in a crouched position, flanked by Hercules and a goddess; under Hercules is the head of a bull.³¹ Verrius Flaccus, in a passage quoted by Servius,³² adds the interesting variant that the conquerer of Cacus was, not Hercules, but a certain Garanus. He adds that this Garanus was a pastorem magnarum virium; interestingly, Hesiod (theog. 981) calls Geryon παῖδα βορῶν κάρτιστον ἅπαντων. There is a Celtic god Grannus, to whom inscriptions have been found all over the Celtic world and even in Rome, who is sometimes associated with Apollo;³³ this, says De Vries (p. 82) indicates that "celui-ci [= Grannus], conformément à l'idée romaine, était conçu comme divinité solaire."

The name Garanus (< Wel. garan, 'crane'; cf. Gk. γέρανος; OHG chranuh) has nothing to do etymologically with

³⁰Cf. De Vries, o.c., 167; for the cornucopia in association with Hercules, cf. below pp. 328 ff.

³¹Ibid.

³²ad Aen. 8,203: "Solus Verrius Flaccus dicit . . ."; cf. Boehm, art. 'Garanus'; Bayet, Origines, o.c., 146.

³³On a bronze vase found in Vestmanland (Sweden) is the inscription: "Apolloni Granno donum Ammilius Constans, praef. templi ipsius v.s.l.l.m.," De Vries, o.c., 82 (cf. Cass. Dio. 77, 15,5); CIL 3,5873: "Apollini Granno et sanctae Hygiae"; thus he might also be associated with water. Beside Grannus there is also a Grania, associated with the Finn cycle; see De Vries, o.c., 148 and Chadwick, The Celts, o.c., 278 f.; all of which reminds one of the fact that Cacus too has a double.

Grannus, but is related to Gēryon, 'the loud singer'. The solar Grannus might possibly have been confused with the pastor ingentium virium Gēryon, associated with the setting sun,³⁴ by the Celts of northern Italy. In fact Gēryon is known both in north and central Italy from an ancient date,³⁵ and especially in Etruria under the name of Gerun.³⁶ Moreover, Garanus-Gēryon, the loudly signing crane, has a close mythic association with Hercules who killed Cycnos the swan, son of Ares and, like Cācus and Garanus, a cattle-robber (Hesiod, Shield of Herc. 479 f.). The swan and the crane, together with the wild duck and other aquatic birds, have been associated with the solar cult in Italy at least from Vilanovan times.^{36a} Cycnos is the dying swan who flies off to the far northern otherworld. This solar swan of the dying year would be Hercules' double whom he kills upon returning from the Underworld in his resurrected guise as

³⁴For Geryon in association with the sun, see Myth. Lex. 1,2,1633 f.

³⁵Cf. the Geryons of Padua and Agyrion in Sicily (Diod. Sic. 4,24,3) and see Bayet, Origines, o.c., 365; for the oracle of Geryon at Padua, cf. Suet. Tib. 14 and CIL 1, 1438 ff.

³⁶Represented on a bronze from Orvieto at Berlin and in the painting of the 'Grotto del Orco', Monum. d. Inst. 9, 15; cf. Bayet, Origines, 147,2.

^{36a}Cf. Christinger-Borgeaud, Mythologie de la Suisse Ancienne, o.c., 33. This is due to the sacredness of the swan to Apollo, cf. Gossen, art. 'Schwan' in RE 2A,1 788,18 ff.; for the crane calling a greeting to the rising sun, cf. Gossen-Steier, art. 'Kranich' in RE 11,2 1572,43 ff.

King of the New Year. It is to be remembered that in Hesiod (Shield, 68 f.) it was Apollo who armed Hercules against the swan Cycnos. This Cycnos or this crane/Garanus would be the Loud Singer, Gēryon; further, Ares/Mars and Vulcan both share in the paternity of Cycnos-Caeculus-Cācus. One might also suppose that it was Apollo as well who stirred Hercules to kill the robber of Gēryon's cattle which, after all, really belonged to Apollo himself. There thus appears to be a functional equation between Cycnos-Garanus-Cācus-Caeculus.

Although we shall probably never know of all of these many variations in Celtic lands on the Greek name of Geryon represent an indigenous chthonic divinity, figured with three heads, who had the bull as his attribute; this similarity, combined with the widespread diffusion of the Hercules legend in Celtic lands,³⁷ then perhaps explains this seeming syncretism of Graeco-Celtic elements which involves an indigenous triple god (Garanus/Grannus), the figure of Hercules and the gradual blurring of this

³⁷There are more than a hundred inscriptions, mostly in the north of Gaul, dedicated to Hercules, with approx. 340 monuments representing him with club and lion's skin; his cult was also wide-spread in the western part of the Mediterranean area, see De Vries, o.c., 70; Aristotle speaks of the route Hercules took through Celtic lands and which was regarded as being particularly sacred, cf. L.R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (The Gifford Lectures), Oxford, 1920, 138 f. A. Grenier, Les Gaulois (Petite Bibl. Payot, 157), Paris, 1970, 296 adds: "Les Gaulois . . . auraient eu un culte particulier pour Hercule. En effet, les légendes antiques attribuent à Hercule un rôle important dans les origines gauloises"

Geryon/Garanus figure into the person of Cacus, the triple-headed herdsman and son of Vulcan (= Hades), whom Hercules kills for cattle. Cacus, in turn, would then appear as the result of a most remarkable international syncretism, comprised partly of Greek, Celtic and possibly even Italo-Etruscan elements, whose triple-headedness would not be due to a poetic flight of fancy on the part of Propertius but rather represents an accurate reflection of this process.

8.3 The Bona Dea

Following his battle with Cacus, the victorious Hercules, covered with dust and suffering great thirst, searches about for water. There seems to be none available in the immediate area but at a distance the hero hears female laughter. Upon investigation, he arrives at a sacred grove and spring together with a cave in which were celebrated the rites of a femineae . . . deae (25), rites which "impune et nullis . . . relecta viris" (26). There was also a shrine, shaded by a large poplar (29). Hercules begs a drink from the aged priestess (alma sacerdos, line 51; anus, line 61). He is politely but firmly refused: "parce oculis" (53) she tells him; he will have to leave immediately, for

haec lympa puellis
avis secreti limitis unda fluit
(59 f.).

This 'goddess of women' whose secret rites were forbidden to men's view could only be the Bona Dea; but who is

hiding under this epithet? To begin with, I should like to suggest that the adjective Bona is used in connection with this goddess apotropaically, that is, to ward off the awful power which she represents, in much the same fashion as the word is used in such phrases as Manes (i.e. the 'good' spirits--Varro, de l.l. 6,14; Fest. p. 109,6 L.), or in the Greek name for a genius loci, ἀγαθοδαίμων. The second thing to be noticed is that under the appellation Bona Dea there is a Greek goddess.³⁸ She was called ἡ γυναικεία θεός by Plutarch³⁹ (cf. Propertius' feminea dea, 25) and Bayet⁴⁰ thought that the ritual exclusion of men from her cult, paralleled by the exclusion of women from the rites of the ara Maxima, attested to "une véritable attraction

³⁸Verrius Flaccus in Paul. p. 60,1 ff. L.; Dieterich gave a list of Greek parallels to her cult in Philol. n.F. 6 (1893), 9; cf. Wissowa, art. 'Bona Dea' in RE 3,1 687,14 ff.; Latte, RRG², 228: "Ihr Name war eine unmittelbare Uebersetzung des griechischen 'Ἀγαθὴ θεός.'" There also needs to be mentioned in this context the analagous cult of the Umbrian goddess Cupra, a women's deity similar to the Roman Bona Dea (cf. Varro, de l.l. 5,159: "nam cipurum Sabine bonum," and CIL 9,3294: dea Cupra; cf. too Altheim, Gesch. d. lat. Sprache, Frankfurt a.M., 1951, 146 f.). There is an inscription to her found at Fossato di Vico, near Foligno, placed beneath the lip of a fountain (Vetter, Handb. d. ital. Dialekte 1, Heidelberg, 1953, no. 233; Ernout, 49):

cubrar matrer. bio . eso
 oseto . cisterno . n. c+v/1111
 su maronato
 u . l . varie t . c. fulonie

³⁹Quaes. Rom. 20; Caes. 9; Cic. 19; cf. Macr. S. 1, 12,27.

⁴⁰Origines, o.c., 367.

'fonctionnelle'" between the two rituals. This very well may be the case. The aition for the exclusion of women from the rites of the ara Maxima is given by Varro as follows:⁴¹

"Herculi cum boves Geryonis per agros Italiae duceret, sitienti respondit mulier aquam se non posse praestare, quod feminarum deae celebraretur dies, nec ex eo apparatu viris gustare fas esset. propter quod Hercules facturus sacrum detestatus est praesentiam feminarum" It is reasonable to suppose that this is older than Varro and if Elegy 9 is a serious piece of religious aetiology and not a mere witty reworking of a conventional elegiac motif, then there must be some clues by which we might reasonably establish the identity of the Bona Dea and ascertain whether the close ritual opposition in which Propertius has placed her with Hercules is justified.

8.3.1 Ancient Attempts at Identification

Due to the exclusion of men from her ritual, any speculation as to her true identity was necessarily confined to hypotheses based on the similarity of her ritual or her functions with those of other goddesses. It is also just possible that religious scruples connected with the secret

⁴¹Macr. S. 1,12,28.

nature of her rites, often described by Cicero as mysteria,⁴² forbade anyone from disclosing her true identity.⁴³ Macrobius⁴⁴ preserves a lengthy list of these hypotheses, some learned and some not so very, which includes that of Corn. Labeo who suggested that she be connected with Maia on the grounds that this goddess received a sacrifice from the flamen Volcanalis on May 1 (Gell. 13,23,2; Ovid, fast. 5, 148 ff.; cf. RuK², 229) and that that was the anniversary of the founding of the temple of the Bona Dea sub saxo (RuK², 217); she was also connected with Fauna (Varro in Lact. div. inst. 1,22,11; Serv. ad Aen. 8,314; cf. RuK², 216), an aetiological explanation for the presence of snakes in her shrine, since Faunus copulated with Fauna in the form of a snake (Macr. S. 1,12,25).⁴⁵ Others with whom she was compared were Fatua and Ops (Macr. S. 1,12,22) and, like Fauna and Maia, the reasons given were her similarities in function to these various manifestations of the earth-goddess. She

⁴²Cic. ad Att. 5,21,14; 6,1,26; 15,25; at har. resp. he calls them occultum, while at Parad. 4,32 they are opertum; cf. in operto, Sen. epist. 97,2; Paul. p. 60,1 L.; secreta, Juv. 6,314; ἱεροῖς ἀπορρητοῖς, Plut. Cic. 19.

⁴³Cf. Paus. 9,25,6 discussing a ritual of Cabeirean Demeter: οἵτινες δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ Κάβειροι καὶ οἱποῖά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ Μητρὶ τὰ δρώμενα, σιωπῇν ἀγοντι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συγγνώμη παρὰ ἀνδρῶν φιληκδῶν εἰσω μοι.

⁴⁴S. 1,12,21 ff.

⁴⁵Cf. the Orphic teaching that Zeus copulated in snake-form with his daughter Persephone, theog. frg. 41 (Abel) and see Wissowa, RE 3,1 688,16 ff.

was further likened to Hera-Juno, because of the sceptre she held in her left hand (ibid., 23), to Proserpina, because her sacrificial offering was a porca, to Hecate (= $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ 'Εκάτην) and to Semele (ibid., 23). Some have even identified her with Medea (ibid., 26) because there was a pharmacy associated with her temple and the exclusion of men from her rites recalls the ill-treatment Medea received at the hands of Jason. It appears obvious from all of this that these various goddesses were suggested because of functional similarities between themselves and the Bona Dea; obvious too is that the majority of them have some connection with the cult of Demeter-Ceres: Maia as Magna Mater; Ops who as the personification of fertility was jointly worshipped with Ceres (RuK², 204);⁴⁶ Persephone and Hecate of course figure in the circle around Demeter, and Semele, the Phrygian word for 'earth',⁴⁷ was also connected with Demeter.⁴⁸ There is an even more concrete piece of evidence which we owe to Paulus p. 60,1 ff. L.; there he informs us that the feast of the Bona Dea was known as the Damium and her priestess was called the Damiatrix. It is known that the rites of the

⁴⁶ Interestingly, the Opalia fell on December 19 and December is the month of Capricorn, the month of the Tenth Labour. The Romans identified Ops with Rhea (RuK², 204) who was the mother of Demeter (Hes. theog. 453 f.).

⁴⁷ Wilamowitz, GdH², 2,60 after Kretschmer.

⁴⁸ Eurip. Bacch. 6.

Bona Dea, which were a Greek παννυχίς (RuK², 217), were not fixed but took place each year on a new date, mostly at the beginning of December; they occurred on the night of December 3-4 in 62 BC,⁴⁹ the year of the infamous scandal involving Clodius and the rites of the goddess. There is an old inscription (CIG 12,3,361) which reads: λοχαία Δαμία and Wilamowitz⁵⁰ suggested that, since λοχαία indicates attention to crops, the goddess Damia is connected with Demeter. The worship of Damia is associated with Sparta, Epidaurus, Regina and Tarentum, and it is probably from the latter centre that her worship reached Rome.⁵¹ Even Bayet,⁵² though not accepting the identification of the Bona Dea with Demeter-Ceres, is forced to admit that the name of her feast and of her priestess "attestent l'influence directe de Damia, une sorte de Démeter." Altheim points out⁵³ that the name of Demeter can also be written Δημομήτηρ (Etym. magn. 265, 54), and that in Δαμία is found the word δᾱμος, δῆμος; it is

⁴⁹Plut. Cic. 19; Cass. Dio 37,35,4. We have already noted the importance of December to the Hercules-Bona Dea connection, and will have occasion to do so again.

⁵⁰GdH² 1,98.

⁵¹Cf. Wissowa, RE a.c., 690,17 ff.

⁵²Origines, o.c., 185,7.

⁵³Terra Mater. Untersuchungen z. altital. Religionsgesch. (RVV 22,2), Giessen, 1931, 96; cf. also Gesch. d. lat. Sprache, o.c., 147: ". . . Bona Dea, die später der Damia, also einer der Demeter nahestehenden Gottheit, gleichgesetzt wurde."

further known that in Rome the cult of Demeter-Ceres was particularly beloved by the plebs (RuK²,300); from Δαυία the word *Δαμοσία can plausibly be extracted (cf. IG 5,1,363 Δαμοία < *Δαμομία < *Δαμοσία and this fits in with the information given by Paulus p. 60 L.: "Damium sacrificium . . . dictum a contrarietate, quod minime esset δαμόσιον, id est publicum." It so happens that the annual night-time rites of the Bona Dea were celebrated pro populo (Cic. de har. resp. 37; de leg. 2,21),⁵⁴ and this was also the case with the porca praecidanea, jointly offered to Ceres and Tellus;⁵⁵ further, the mysteries of Ceres are the only ones Cicero will allow to women.⁵⁶

8.3.2 The Cult

The cult of the Bona Dea, or rather what we know of it, is highly interesting and very suggestive in its

⁵⁴Cf. as well ad Att. 1,12,3; 13,3; Sen. epist. 92,2; Juv. 9,117; ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου, Cass. Dio. 37,35; publicae caerimoniae, Suet. Caes. 6.

⁵⁵Corn. Labeo in Fest. s.v. popularia sacra, p. 298, 22 ff. L.; the identification Tellus-Ceres is very ancient, cf. RuK², 194. On December 13, the anniversary of the foundation of the temple of Tellus on the Carinae, there was also a lectisternium in honour of Ceres (CIL 1², p. 336 f.).

⁵⁶de leg. 2,21: "neve quae initiant nisi, ut ad-solet, Cereri graeco sacro," and cf. ibid., 37. It is to be remarked (above, p. 311) that he consistently refers to the rites of the Bona Dea as mysteria. These indications, coming as they do from an augur of the Roman People and a man intimately concerned with religion, should not be taken lightly.

implications. To begin with, there is (a) the ritual exclusion of men; it is also (b) forbidden to bring myrtle into her shrine; (c) peculiarly, any wine used in her rites is not to be named as such, but is to be called lac and the jar in which it is stored is to be called a mellarium; (d) snakes freely abounded in her shrines, (e) in which is also to be found every kind of herb;⁵⁷ (f) her cult-image is figured with a snake beside it;⁵⁸ (g) connected with her shrine was a pharmacy.⁵⁹ Not as much detail is known about the particulars of her ritual (incredibili caerimonia, Cic. de har. resp. 37) except that the room in which it was held was decorated with vine-boughs,⁶⁰ that music and dancing were an important part of the proceedings⁶¹ (during the scandal of 62 Clodius gained entrance to the rites disguised as a psaltria, cf. Wissowa, RE 3,1 689,35), that the animal for

⁵⁷For (a) through (e), see Macr. S. 1,12,25 f.; Plut. Quaes. Rom. 20.

⁵⁸Plut. Caes. 9: ἀμπελίνοις τε τὰς σκηνὰς κλήμασιν ἐορτάζουσι κατερέφουσι καὶ δράκων ἱερὸς παρακαθίδρυται τῇ θεῷ.

⁵⁹Macr. S. 1,12,26. Wissowa, RE 3,1 690,64 ff. says that this is an important detail since it shows that she was a "Heilgottheit"; cf. Bayet, Origines, 470: ". . . elle est aussi une divinité guérisseuse, et ses prêtresses vendent dans son temple les herbes salutaires." Indeed, it is in her capacity as healer that she was addressed as Hygia, CIL 6,72 (recalling the inscription to the Celtic Grannus and Hygia, above, p. 306,33).

⁶⁰Plut. Caes. 9.

⁶¹Ibid.; Juv. 6,314 ff.

sacrifice was a porca,⁶² and that wine, called milk, was important to the ritual.⁶³ Finally the rites were celebrated in the home of a Roman magistrate cum imperio,⁶⁴ whose wife together with the Vestal Virgins performed the ritual pro populo in the presence of other matronae,⁶⁵ and from whose house all male animals were removed;⁶⁶ indeed, all pictures or representations of men within it were covered over.⁶⁷

From the above, several things become clearer, one of which is that Anderson's contention that Propertius intends to portray Hercules as a somewhat silly exclusus amator on the grounds of the poet's presentation of the worshippers of the feast as laughing puellae (23) who are 'playing' (33) within the shrine is simply incorrect. When

⁶²Macr. S., 1,12,23; Juv. 2,86.

⁶³Juv. 2,87; 9,117, although the importance of wine could have been here overstated.

⁶⁴Cic. de har. resp. 37: "fit in ea domo, quae est in imperio"; Plut. Cic. 19: ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ ὑπάτου; Cass. Dio 37,45: παρὰ τε τοῖς ὑπάτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.

⁶⁵Cic. de har. resp. 37; ad Att. 1,13,3; Plut. Cic. 19; Cass. Dio 37,35. Could this in fact be the origin of the association of Caca with the Vestals? Vestals also figured in the rites of Ops at the Opiconsivia (August 25) and Vesta is paired with Vulcan at the lectisternium of 217 BC (Livy 22,10,9) which, as Wissowa (RuK², 231) probably correctly says, was "sicher unter griechischen Einflüsse." Interestingly, due to a Sibylline oracle, Vulcan, Ceres and Proserpina received a supplicatio in AD 64 (Tac. ann. 15,44); Vesta and Vulcan are also paired in Celtic Gaul, CIL 13,1676; 2940.

⁶⁶Plut. Quaes. Rom. 20; Juv. 6,339.

⁶⁷Sen. epist. 97,2; Juv. 6,340.

Anderson states⁶⁸ that "Laughter was not properly associated with the worship of the Bona Dea. Nor did the Romans describe her devotees characteristically, in Propertius' terms, as puellae. Would that cool, dignified female Livia have appreciated being compared to a giggling puella? Properly married Roman matrons and the Vestal Virgins . . . carried out the normal rites in honour of Bona Dea," he confesses himself either as ignorant of the facts presented above or as having ignored them. His sweeping generalization about laughter not properly belonging to the worship of the Bona Dea, unsupported by any textual reference, is bad enough, but his assumption that he knows what is "properly associated" with a mystery cult to which men were refused admittance is really insupportable.⁶⁹ There is no evidence that matronae were the only type of women in attendance at the rites,⁷⁰ and we have seen how important a role was played by music, dancing and wine. Is an entire houseful of women not

⁶⁸a.c., 7.

⁶⁹One gets the unpleasant feeling that Anderson has never witnessed a gaggle of portly matrons at a church basement social.

⁷⁰For an example of matronae being used for 'women' in general, cf. Prop. 2,33,4: "misit matronis Inachis Ausoniis" and Camps' note, ad loc.; the ThLL 483,66 lists matrona as opposed to unmarried virgines (Cic. Sull. 19) and especially to meretrices; for puella meaning 'a young female in general', 'a young wife', cf. Hor. c. 3,14,10: "puellae iam virum expertae"; 3,22,2: "laborantes utero puellae"; Ovid, fast. 2,557: "viduae cessate puellae," and see esp. line 69 of Elegy 9.

to be expected to giggle and laugh during a whole evening of drinking and dancing? In addition, the many drugs present in the goddess' shrine would quite plausibly be put to a mildly narcotic use. Further, would the playboy Clodius reasonably be expected to infiltrate the rites in the hope of effecting an amorous liason if the ritual goings-on did not provide suitable opportunities for doing so? When further on (ibid., 7) Anderson criticizes Propertius on his use of ludit at line 33, he again attempts to convince us that he knows what is 'proper' for the rites of the Bona Dea: "This verb ludere is most violently and improperly applied to the solemn occasion. But because it has common elegiac associations and frequently refers to love-play, it enhances Propertius' chosen interpretation." One wonders exactly whose interpretation the erotic meaning of ludere enhances. Anderson quotes Pichon's De sermone amatorio, page 192 in support of his claim that ludere can have erotic overtones, as of course it can. But we know the importance which music had at the rites, we know that Clodius gained entrance to them disguised as a psaltria; could it not then be possible for ludere to indicate not love-play, but the playing of music? Are there any precedents for the verb being used in this sense, or would we be forcing the language of the poet to do so? On the contrary, it appears that the verb ludere = 'to make music' was quite common with the

Augustan poets and was even used to mean 'to dance'.⁷¹

Our survey of the rites of the Bona Dea also enables us to be a bit more precise in establishing a plausible identity of the goddess. The fact that five out of the nine identifications proposed by the ancients themselves have close affinities with Demeter-Ceres, that the very precise piece of information given us by Festus seems to connect her with Demeter, that her feast-day in December connects her with several feasts of Ceres in that month and also with the Tenth Labour (i.e. Capricorn = December), all these have led us to identify the Bona Dea tentatively with Demeter-Ceres. Might any of her ritual tend to support this identification? First, there is the matter of the exclusion of men from her rites and we have already seen how this in all likelihood indicated some degree of functional connection between the Bona Dea and the rites of ara Maxima, a connection which exists further than Rome. The cult of Hercules Sanctus at Lanuvium, just like that of the ara Maxima at Rome, was forbidden to women,⁷² and in addition women were not

⁷¹For ludere = 'to make music', cf. Verg. eclog. 1, 10; georg. 2,386; 4,565; Hor. c. 1,22,2; Ovid, trist. 2,491; for ludere = 'to dance', cf. Lucr. 2,631; Verg. eclog. 6,28; Ovid, trist. 2,330; cf. Walde-Hofmann 1,829 s.v. ludus: "spiele, tanze, tändele, verspotte."

⁷²Cf. Tertull. ad nat. 2,7: "Cur Herculeum polluctum mulieres Lanuvinae non gustant"; see too Bayet, Origines, o.c., 387. In fact it seems that the exclusion of the sexes is characteristic, both in Greece and in Italy, of fertility cults, see Macr. S. 1,12,21 and cf. the remarks of Stengel,

permitted to swear by Hercules.⁷³ Several Graeco-Oriental cults of Hercules, such as those of Erythrae, Miletus, Thasos,⁷⁴ and the Melqart of Gades,⁷⁵ refused women access to their shrines. In Phocis there was even a cult of Heracles Μισογύνης. But despite that, this exclusion of one sex or, in some cases, the separation of both during a cult ritual, was not based on sexual chauvanism nor on any battle between the sexes, but is most likely a type of secubitus, a form of religious retreat and sexual abstinence very common in religious ritual.⁷⁶ It is worthy of note that the secubitus was also in force during the rites of Ceres.⁷⁷

Griech Kultusaltert. (HdA 5,3), Munich, 1920, 356 together with those of Bayet, Origines, o.c., 446 f.

⁷³Cf. Aul. Gell. 11,6,1; Boehm, RE art. 'Hercules', 588,43 f.; RuK², 278 f.

⁷⁴See Bayet, Origines, o.c., 444.

⁷⁵Sil. Ital. 3,22.

⁷⁶Cf. Od. 4,750; 17,58; Cic. de leg. 2,24; Livy 5,22, 4; Prop. 3,10,13; the secubitus was often mentioned by the elegiac poets (Tib. 1,3,25; 1,6,11; Prop. 2,33,1; 4,5,34; Ovid, amor. 1,8,74; 2,19,42).

⁷⁷Ovid, amor. 3,10,1-4:

Annua venerunt Cerealis tempora sacri:
secubat in vacuo sola puella toro.
flava Ceres, tenues spicis redimita capillos,
cur inhibes sacris commoda nostra tuis?

This was the sacrum anniversarium Cereris held every year in August. The priestess of the goddess must practice continence during the duration of the rites; cf. Tertull. de monog. 17: "Cereris sacerdotes viventibus etiam viris et consentientibus amica separatione viduantur"; Serv. ad Aen. 3,139; 4,58 says that for this reason Ceres became the goddess of divorce.

This ritual exclusion of the opposite sex might be further explained by reflecting that chthonian rites were usually secret⁷⁸ and participation in them reserved to initiates; in this connection then Bayet⁷⁹ reminds us of the phenomenon of alternance:

Un seul et même dieu se réservant tantôt à un sexe, tantôt à l'autre: en Phocide, Héraclès Misogyne confie son culte à un prêtre tenu à l'absolue continence; à Thespies, il le remet à une vierge. Dira-t-on qu'en ce cas le sexe est secondaire, que seule compte la pureté, et que la virginité n'est que l'idéale de la continence? . . . A Cos, le culte privé d'Héraclès Diomédonteios exclut les femmes; à Sparte, une prêtresse assure le service κατὰ γένος d'Héraclès Γενάρχας.

So it would seem to be not so much a matter of the exclusion of the opposite sex which these rites have in mind, but rather the separation of the sexes so as to insure sexual continence for the duration of rites which have a chthonic character. Men could not participate in certain rites at the feast of Demeter Mysia at Pellene,⁸⁰ for instance: on the road from Sicyone to Phliunte, in the grove and the temple sacred to Demeter Prostasis and Persephone, the men sacrificed alone; the women did so at neighbouring

⁷⁸Cf. Macr. S. 1,12,21: "Eandem esse Bonam Deam et Terram, ex ipso ritu occultiore doceri posse confirmat . . ."; in addition, both chthonian deities and heroes received their offerings at night, see Stengel, Griech. Kultusaltert., o.c., 150.

⁷⁹Origines, o.c. 445.

⁸⁰Paus. 7,27,4.

Nympheion.⁸¹ In the temple of Core, at Megalopolis, the women could always enter, but the men could only do so once a year.⁸² In fact, it is quite striking how similar the cult of the Bona Dea is to that of Demeter.⁸³

8.3.3 The Ban on Myrtle

This was puzzling at first, for the myrtle is connected very strongly with Aphrodite⁸⁴ and crowned the victorious goddess at the Judgement of Paris.⁸⁵ But it is also connected with Demeter, especially in her capacity as death-goddess.⁸⁶ At Eleusis the torches were decorated with garlands of myrtle and purple bands.⁸⁷ So it seems that the

⁸¹Ibid., 2,11,3.

⁸²Ibid., 8,31,8.

⁸³Cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 448 f.: ". . . le culte hellénisé de la Bonne Déesse, en ses prescriptions sévères, reproduisait-il exactement celui de Déméter Thesmophore ou de toute autre Déméter qui distingue les sexes." It is also to be noted that the priesthood of Ceres was reserved for women, RuK², 301.

⁸⁴Paus. 6,24,7: ῥόδον μὲν καὶ μυρσίην Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὰ εἶναι; cf. Verg. eclog. 7,62; georg. 2,64; Ovid, fast. 4,138; 607; ars amat. 3,181.

⁸⁵Nicand. Alex. 618 ff. with Schol.; cf. Bömer, Fasten 2, 207.

⁸⁶See Stengel, Griech. Kultusaltert., o.c., 109: "nur die Myrte scheint allgemein als den Todesgöttern lieb gegolten zu haben."

⁸⁷Stengel, o.c., 48; for the purple bands, cf. Prop. 4,9,51 f.: "at talibus alma sacerdos, / puniceo canas stamine vincta comes."

myrtle combined erotic meanings with funereal ones.⁸⁸ The ban on myrtle from the rites of the Bona Dea would then appear to indicate that the goddess is not worshipped in her death aspect, but as a chthonic deity of fertility and fruitfulness; and if our tentative identification of her with Demeter-Ceres is correct, a further explanation for the ban might be that since the myrtle symbolizes both erotic love and the power of death it would be hateful to Demeter because of love's passion which snatched her daughter away and the invincible bonds of death which never wholly gave her back again.⁸⁹ The myrtle is only allowed at the rites of Eleusis, when Demeter's loss is mourned. This symbolism of the rape and return of Persephone appears to have had its counterpart in Rome during the sacrum anniversarium Cereris (RuK², 300) when the Orci nuptiae were celebrated, at which no wine was spilled.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Cf. Norden, Aeneas⁴, 250 (on 6,443 f.): "Die Myrte (murtea silva) ist hier genannt, weil sie mit der erotischen Beziehung die sepulkrale vereint ist."

⁸⁹Paus. 1,22,2 says that Phaedra pierced the leaves of a myrtle with a hair pin out of her disgust with love.

⁹⁰Serv. ad georg. 1,344: "aliud est sacrum, aliud nuptias Cereri celebrare, in quibus revera vinum adhiberi nefas fuerat, quae Orci nuptiae dicebantur, quas praesentia sua pontifices ingenti solemnitate celebrarunt"; cf. with this the ban on naming wine as such at the rites of the Bona Dea. Plautus, Aulul. 355 says Cereris nuptias facere to indicate a feast without wine. The ban on wine and the drinking of meal mixed with water and mint was an important element in the Eleusinian mysteries, Hom. h. Dem. 2,207 ff.

8.3.4 The Presence of Snakes

The snake is of course the chthonic animal par excellence and seems to be especially associated with mystery rites and hence with Demeter. Bömer says⁹¹ that "Man trifft sie [= Schlange] allgemein im Kultus und in Mythos der Demeter" and this is illustrated from a relief on a beautiful urn of white marble in the Thermenmuseum in Rome and described by Stengel (o.c., 180; cf. Figure 12); this shows Demeter sitting and holding a torch in her left hand and a snake entwined around her; on her right stands Core, also holding a torch. Next to them sits Hercules, wrapped up in a lion's skin and holding a torch in his right hand. The connection of Ceres with the Underworld is seen from the mundus being called the mundus Cereris⁹² (Fest. p. 126 L.); at Capua there was a sacerdos Cerialis mundalis (CIL 10,3926) and Macrobius (1,16,17) says that the mundus was sacred to the Greek deities Dis and Proserpina.

⁹¹Fasten 2, 251; cf. Ovid, met. 5,642; Frazer, Golden Bough 5³ 2,17 ff.

⁹²Cf. Ovid, fast. 4,821: "fossa fit ad solidum, fruges iaciuntur in ima / et de vicino terra petita solo" and Bömer's comments, ad loc.: "Dass Ceres, die Herrin der Feldfrüchte, damit in Verbindung stand, ist trotz Wissowa RuK², 194 . . . nicht zu bezweifeln." Cf. the Demeter Chthoneia of Hermione, Ael. hist. anim. 11,4; Stengel, o.c., 253.

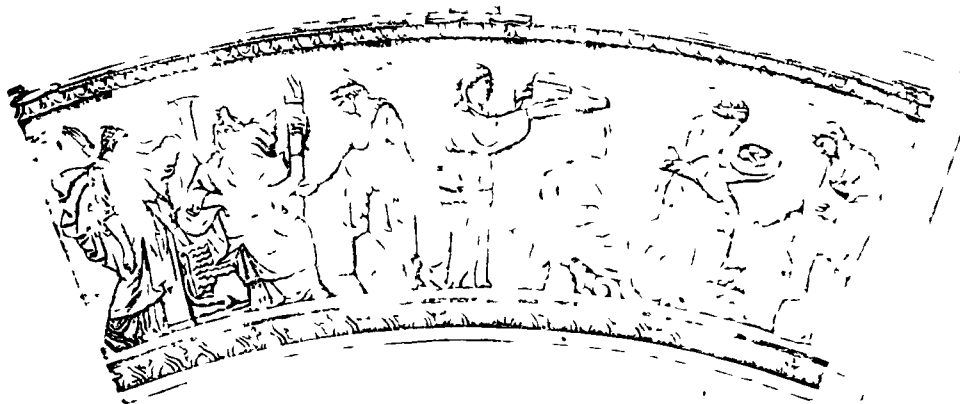


Fig. 21. Mysterienweihe. Relief von einer Aschenurne in Rom.

FIG. 12

Demeter, Core and Hercules

8.3.5 Sacrifice of a Porca

The sow was the sacrificial animal most beloved by Demeter-Ceres.⁹³ Cato in the agric. 134 (cf. Fest. p. 243, 250 L.) prescribes the offering of a porca praecidanea to Tellus and Ceres, and a pig was offered at the Cerialia (Ovid, fast. 4,414). Now it is an interesting fact that the pig, along with the bull, was an agreeable animal to Hercules.⁹⁴ This is true even for the rites of the ara Maxima where the praetores urbani made a yearly offering of a pig to Hercules.⁹⁵ All of these various threads which we have been discussing--the importance of December to the Tenth Labour, the cult attraction of Hercules and the Bona Dea, the identification of the Bona Dea with Demeter-Ceres, and the common sacrifice of a pig to all three deities--seem to be marvellously united in the joint sacrifice of a sus praegnans to Hercules and Ceres on December 21.⁹⁶ This was

⁹³Ael. de nat. anim. 10,16; Hygin. Fab. 277; Stengel, o.c., 122: "Demeter zieht die Schweine vor . . ."; Bömer, Fasten 2, 43: "Demeter selbst hatte an den Anfang aller Kulte, des Ackerbaus, das Schweinsopfer gestellt."

⁹⁴Cf. the altar dedicated to Hercules Victor Pollens Potens Invictus, where Hercules is figured with Cerberus, a sacrificial pig and the bow with quiver, Bayet, Origines, o.c., 430 f.; cf. CIL 6,309; 328; RuK², 274,7; Boehm, a.c., 593,5 ff.

⁹⁵Boehm, a.c., 564,2 ff.; Bayet states (Origines, o.c., 430 with n. 4): "Le porc, d'ailleurs, semble avoir été dès l'origine, où plutôt être devenu en Italie, la victime préféré d'Hercule dans les sacrifices privés."

⁹⁶Macr. S. 3,11,10: "notum . . . quod a.d.

followed the next day by a rollicking plebeian assembly "in the temple of Hercules."⁹⁷ Since the aedes Cereris was a specifically plebeian temple (indeed, for the Plebs, it was simply the aedes)⁹⁸ and since the Plebs assembled on December 22 in the temple of Hercules after the joint sacrifice on the 21st, it would be reasonable to suppose that the Hercules worshipped on December 21 was a special type of Hercules, having some relevance to plebeian interests and the domaine of agriculture including the fertility of soil and crops.

The cult of the Megalai theai (= Demeter and Core) at Megalopolis was held jointly with Hercules and was said to be a copy of the Eleusinian mysteries,⁹⁹ while at Syracuse Hercules was said to have founded the cult of Demeter-Core.¹⁰⁰ The Hercules of these associations with Demeter-Ceres who, like them and the Bona Dea, displays the

duodecimum kalendas Ianuarias Herculi et Cereri faciunt sue praegnante panibus mulso"; RuK², 282; 302. Here again the tenth month and its associations with the Tenth Labour and Capricorn. The number 10 is very strongly linked with the ara Maxima, for it is here that the ancient custom of offering the tenth part of the victim was practiced. This was known as the decuma (Fest. p. 63 L.) and like the ara, so was this custom instituted by Hercules. Plutarch, Quaes. Rom. 18 connects it with the very Tenth Labour itself, as does Fest. p. 270 L.; see Boehm, a.c., 567,25 ff.

⁹⁷Lex Tappula (Dessau, 8761); cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 358.

⁹⁸RuK², 300.

⁹⁹Paus. 8,31,2.

¹⁰⁰Diod. Sic. 4,23.

attributes of a chthonic and fertility deity, would be Hercules Rusticus, hinted at by Propertius in lines 19 f.

8.4 Rusticus

Porphyrio¹⁰¹ says: res rustica in tutela eius (sc. Herculis) nam illi sacrificia reddunt rustici, cum iuencos domaverint, and it is to Rusticus that the farmers sacrifice when they attach the young bulls to the yoke for the first time;¹⁰² in this Hercules plays the role of the Greek Ἡρακλῆς Βουζύγης. Pliny also informs us that Hercules introduced into Italy the art of manuring the land.¹⁰³ As dispenser of agricultural fertility Hercules, along with Demeter-Ceres, is figured with the cornucopia. The Hercules of the Tenth Labour, returning from the Underworld and having tasted of the abundance of Elysium, comes to the mysteries of Demeter and borrows from her the Cornucopia;¹⁰⁴ another bas-relief shows him with an overbrimming Cornucopia, accompanied by Bacchus;¹⁰⁵ on a bronze medallion of Antoninus

¹⁰¹ad Horat. sat. 1,6,12.

¹⁰²Cf. Boehm, a.c., 593; Bayet, Origines, o.c., 337.

¹⁰³Plin. n.h. 17,50.

¹⁰⁴A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung d. Vasensamm. im Antiquarium (Königliche Museum zu Berlin), Berlin, 1885, 3879.

¹⁰⁵W. Amelung, Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums, Berlin, 1903, 2,121, no. 79; see too Boehm, a.c., 593,14 ff.; Bayet, Origines, o.c., 403 ff.

Pius,¹⁰⁶ a woman holding a sceptre¹⁰⁷ extends to Hercules the Cornucopia. There is a statuette from Albano which, according to the inscription (CIL 14,2251), is identified with the Bona Dea, and which represents her with the Cornucopia;¹⁰⁸ this representation however does not fit well with the usual description of her as holding a sceptre in her left hand (cf. n. 107) and figured with a snake (Plut. Caes. 9; CIL 6,55);¹⁰⁹ even though this difficulty exists, Bayet accepts the statuette as authentic (cf. n. 108).

From the dispenser of fertility to crops and fields Hercules extends his protection, like that of Silvanus,¹¹⁰ over all facets of home and family life: thus we have the veneration of Hercules as Domesticus (CIL 14,3542), Tutor (CIL 10,3799), Defensor (CIL 6,210; 308; 333), and Conseruator (CIL 6,305-307). It is in his capacity as Tutor that we must understand CIL 6,30738: "Hercules Invicte Sancte Silvani nepos, huc advenisti, ne quid hic fiat mali." As Defensor he mirrors the Ἡρακλῆς Ἀλεξίκακος of the Greeks.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶H. Cohen, Med. Imp. Anton., 383; cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 377,3 and CIL 6,274.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Macr. S. 1,12,23.

¹⁰⁸Bayet, Origines, o.c., 374.

¹⁰⁹Cf. Wissowa, RE art., 693,11 ff.

¹¹⁰RuK² 215; 281.

¹¹¹Wissowa (RuK², 282,3) notes that at CIL 6,309 the Latin inscription reads: Herculi Defensori Papirii, while the Greek translation renders Defensori as Ἀλεξίκακω (cf.

This conception of Hercules as a god of natural life then is clearly illustrated by his close association with Demeter-Ceres, goddess of nature and fecundity, and receives its most striking outward manifestation from their joint sacrifice on December 21, a sacrifice which was of purely chthonian nature.¹¹² If an identification of Demeter with the Roman Bona Dea is correct, then the union of Hercules and Ceres in Roman religion is a further explanation of the presence of the Bona Dea in the aetiology of the ara Maxima.

8.5 The Poplar Tree

At line 29 Propertius gives us rather a striking clue to the identity of the Bona Dea:

populus et longis ornabat frondibus aedem.

We know that the poplar had very close affinities with Hercules.¹¹³ Servius (ad Verg. eclog. 7,61) tells the tale of Leuce (Gk. λεύκη, 'silver poplar') which in many respects is quite similar to that of the rape of Persephone.

Usener, Göttern. 313,32 quoting Aristeides, r. 5, p. 60: Κῶοι δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ μέμνημαι, καὶ Ἀλεξιν τὸν Ἡρακλέα νομίζουσι). Would it be naive to see in this epithet the germ of the Latin legend of Hercules as defender against Cacus?

¹¹²Stengel, o.c., 125 f.

¹¹³Cf. Vergil, eclog. 7,61: populus Alcidae gratis-
sima; see Gossen, art. 'Pappel' in RE 18,3 1081,42 f.;
Boehm, a.c., 565,44 f.; Paus. 5,13,3, says that at Olympia
the Pelopium was held to have been a foundation of Hercules
and that the only wood used for the sacrifice was that of the
white poplar.

Accordingly, she was a nymph, the daughter of Ocean and Tethys, who was beloved by Hades and taken below by him as his wife. Not being immortal, she in due course died and in order to immortalize her Hades turned her into a poplar which grew in Elysium. It was from this tree that Hercules fashioned his garland of poplar leaves on his return from the Underworld. When Vergil is describing the original rites of the ara Maxima as practiced by Euander and his companions, he of course takes care to recreate as exactly as he can the rites as they were in illo tempore; and so he describes Euander:

dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus umbra
velavitque comas foliisque innexa pependit
(Aen. 8,276 f.).

This description by Vergil is discussed in Macrobius (S. 3, 12,2) where objection is made to Vergil's use of poplar leaves at the rites of the ara Maxima, since in the rites at the Altar the praetores urbani, as well as all those participating, wore laurel leaves.¹¹⁴ However, Varro's authority is quoted for the fact that after the foundation of the City the practice of wearing laurel replaced the original poplar wreaths, for a laurel tree had begun to grow on the Aventine¹¹⁵ and the proximity of this tree accounted for the

¹¹⁴Cf. Wissowa, RuK², 274.

¹¹⁵Another aition by Dion. Hal. 1,40 states that after the defeat of Cacus Hercules and the people in the area crowned themselves with leaves from a laurel which was growing nearby.

change in custom. Vergil's description is consequently vindicated, for he was describing the rites as they were performed before the founding of the City, when poplar leaves were in fact used.¹¹⁶

Yet Propertius connects the poplar with the Bona Dea and only secondarily with Hercules. We know what tree was anathema to her cult, but there is no information linking her with the poplar. I should like to suggest that if the identification of the Bona Dea with Demeter-Ceres is acceptable, then that goddess' association with the poplar is easily explained. The poplar was regularly sacred to the $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\iota$ ¹¹⁷ and Demeter (together with Core) had by far the most important place in the cult of the Underworld;¹¹⁸ λεύκη, the white poplar, was used to make the garlands of the Mystae at Eleusis¹¹⁹ and according to Callimachus the poplar is

¹¹⁶Cf. Macr. S. 3,12,3 f.: "nam ut primum de frondis genere dicamus, constat quidem nunc lauro sacrificantes apud aram Maximam coronari, sed multo post Romam conditam haec consuetudo sumpsit exordium, postquam in Aventino laurentum coepit virere, quam rem docet Varro Humanarum libro secundo. e monte ergo proximo decerpta laurus sumebatur operantibus, quam vicina offerebat occasio. unde recte Maro noster ad ea tempora respexit, quibus Euander ante urbem conditam apud aram Maximam sacra celebrabat"

¹¹⁷Cf. the λευκὰς πέτρην of Od. 24,11 at the entrance of Hades and see Plin. n.h. 35,160; Paus. 5,14,3 mentions that the white poplar first grew by the Acheron.

¹¹⁸Rohde, Psyche 1,160.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 2,565,102.

Demeter's holy tree which grows in her sacred grove.¹²⁰ We are also informed that in parts of northern Europe on Trinity Sunday (8th Sunday after Easter) girls with brightly coloured flowers in their hair, representing the spirit of fructifying Nature, were called "Poplars".¹²¹ In one superb symbol Propertius has managed both to unify and to associate Hercules with the Bona Dea.

Still providing, of course, that the identification of the Bona Dea with Demeter-Ceres is valid, other events in Elegy 9 might similarly be explained. For instance, the lack of sympathy on the part of the priestess of the Bona Dea for the thirst of Hercules (53-60) might be due to the lack of water suffered by Demeter on her search for Persephone when she, like Hercules, travelled to the Hesperides.¹²² This event was celebrated in Rome by a feast known as the ieiunium Cereris,¹²³ which took place every five years (annually by Augustan times, on October 4) and was similar in many ways to the sacrum anniversarium Cereris; during this time no bread was eaten and a period of sexual abstinence

¹²⁰Callim. h. to Dem. 6,40: ἤσθετο Δαμάτηρ, ὅτι δι ξύλον ἱερὸν ἄλγει; cf. too line 37: ἡς δέ τις αἰγείρος, μέγα δένδρεον αἰθέρι κῦρον; cf. Paus. 5,5,5 where the town of Lepreus had a temple of Zeus Λευκαῖος (Of the White Poplar) which contained a sanctuary of Demeter.

¹²¹Mannhardt, WuFk², 1,319.

¹²²Callim. h. to Dem. 6,12-16.

¹²³Livy 36,37,4.

was in effect.¹²⁴ The well from which Hercules could not drink and which was in reserve for the use of the devotees of the goddess would be the Roman equivalent of the Παρθενίω φρέατι at Eleusis where Demeter rested on her search for her daughter.¹²⁵

8.6 The Ara Maxima

Propertius is not concerned with the ritual or cult connected with this but lists it solely in terms of its aition: it was founded by Hercules, says the poet, for two reasons: (a) to commemorate his victory over Cacus and the return of his cattle and (b) to serve as a lasting reminder of the slight offered him by the priestess of the Bona Dea:

Maxima quae gregibus devota est Ara repertis,
 ara per has inquit maxima facta manus,
 haec nullis umquam pateat veneranda puellis,
 Herculea aeternum nec sit inulta sitis
 (67-70).

As we have seen, Hercules is returning from Elysium after his victory over the triple-headed Geryon, a Hades-like figure, and leading the cattle/souls of the departed out of the bonds of death; he meets in Italy a similar figure, the triple-headed Cacus, son of Vulcan, whose cave strangely resembles the interior of Hades and who has probably been confused with the Celtic triple Garanus during the legend's

¹²⁴RuK², 301.

¹²⁵Hom. h. Dem. 2,99.

westward migration. After the victorious hero has slain the monster, he suffers a terrible thirst. This brings him into contact with the cult of the Bona Dea; like the hero, Demeter-Ceres too suffered great thirst in her search for Persephone and, while not completely conquering death, she at least fought him to a standoff and represents the hope of resurrection.

It has already been noted that the Hercules of the ara Maxima was honoured in his capacity as Victor or Invictus, due to his defeat of Cacus.¹²⁶ Varro now informs us that Hercules is to be identified with Mars; not just any Hercules, however, but specifically Hercules Invictus: "Et sane ita Menippea Varronis adfirmat quae inscribitur "Ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς, in qua, cum de Invicto Hercule loqueretur, eundem esse ac Martem probavit. Chaldaei quoque stellam Herculis vocant, quam reliqui omnes Martis appellant."¹²⁷ It seems that in Roman ritual the pontifices did the same: "Secundum pontificalem ritum idem est Hercules, qui est Mars."¹²⁸ Varro further informs us that beside Mars only Hercules, and only Hercules Victor of Tibur, is worshipped by the Salii,¹²⁹

¹²⁶Boehm, a.c., 560,54 ff.

¹²⁷Macr. S. 3,12,6.

¹²⁸Serv. ad Aen. 8,275; cf. 3 Vat. Myth. 13,8; Macr. S. 3,12,5.

¹²⁹Macr. S. 3,12,7.

and Vergil (Aen. 8,285 ff.) has the Salii celebrate Hercules at the ara Maxima with chants and dances.¹³⁰ This identification of Hercules with Mars is likely to be understood by the characteristic of both to be warders-off of evil and conquerors of threatening enemies and by the fact that both equally will grant victory or success to a solicitous worshipper. This is most clearly seen from the erection of two temples on the conflux of the Rhone and Isara rivers in 121 BC by Q. Fabius Maximus to commemorate his victory over the Allobroges: one was dedicated to Mars, the other to Hercules.¹³¹ We also know of the existence (but not the location) of a sacrarium to Mars Invictus (CIL 1², p. 318) and Livy tells us (9,44,14 ff.) that a statue of Hercules was erected on the Capitol to commemorate the end of the second Samnite War. The assimilation of Hercules and Mars in Roman cult is further heightened through the fact that the rites of both are carried out at a special altar;¹³² further, the special priesthoods of Mars, the fratres Arvales, the Salii and the Luperci, were exclusively male preserves. It seems likely that Propertius intends to

¹³⁰Dion. Hal. 2,70: ὁ μνηστὴς τῶν ἐνοπλίων θεῶν, declares that the Salii sing only of war gods.

¹³¹Strab. 4,185: νεῶς δύο, τὸν μὲν Ἄρεως, τὸν δ' Ἡρακλέους. CIL 6,2819 (AD 266) speaks of a collegium Herculis et Martis.

¹³²The ara Martis in campo; cf. Livy 35,10,12; 40,45, 8 and see RuK², 142.

recall this ritual similarity of Hercules Invictus to Mars when at line 70 he makes the hero say:

Herculea aeternum nec sit inulta sitis
with inulta, of course, calculated to recall Mars Ultor who, like Hercules Invictus, was a god of avenging fury and who, in his temple in the Augustan forum, was also closely associated with a female deity.¹³³ Ultor also seems to have punished those who violate sacred rights or property, as Hercules did the cattle thief Cacus.¹³⁴ Up until now, we have seen how Propertius, directly or indirectly, illustrates the various ritual epithets of the Roman Hercules--Invictus, Rusticus, Tutor, Defensor, Conservator--and how he has presented the god in his relation to the Bona Dea and, to a lesser degree, with Mars and Juno.¹³⁵ With perhaps a touch of local pride he saves the most unique of Hercules' epithets to the last.

¹³³RuK², 146; cf. Ovid, trist. 2,295 f.

¹³⁴Mars Ultor played a role in the return of the standards by the Parthians (Cass. Dio 54,8,3; Monum. Anc. 5, 42); at the site of the Varus disaster Germanicus erected a victory monument to Mars Ultor (Tac. ann. 2,22), as did Trajan on the same spot where, in the reign of Domitian, the Romans suffered a severe defeat (CIL 3,12467).

¹³⁵The ritual alliance of Hercules Sanctus and Juno Seispes is referred to at line 71 and discussed by me in Chapter 7 above, pp. 238f. with n. 1.

8.7 Sancus

In the final four lines of the poem (now usually numbered 73, 74, 71, 72) the word Sanct(e)um/Sanc(e)um occurs three times. The MSS are in doubt as to which form goes where and the three principal texts to which I have been referring provide a perfect example of the operative validity of the doctrine of aurea mediocritas: Rothstein's edition opts for Sanct(e)um in all three places, that of Butler and Barber use Sanc(e)um exclusively, and Camps chooses to incorporate both, with his text thus reading:

hunc, quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem,
 sic sanctum Tatiae composuere Cures.
 Sancte pater salve, cui iam favet aspera Iuno:
 Sance, velis libro dexter inesse meo.

Camps is probably right, for both words occur with reference to Hercules. Peter long ago remarked that in Roman religious parlance the epithet Sanctus was commonly applied only to Hercules and to Silvanus, particularly at Rome.¹³⁶

As we advance to the usage under the Empire, the epithet is used rather indiscriminately but is still reserved

¹³⁶Myth. Lex. 1,2967 f.; for Hercules Sanctus, cf. CIL 6,294; 327; 340; 341; 629; for Silvanus Sanctus cf. CIL 6,294; 543; 628; 629; 637; 653-657; 659-697. But see Latte, RRG², 220: "Auffällig ist, dass Hercules der einzige Gott ausser Apollon ist, der in voraugusteischer Zeit das Epitheton sanctus erhält (CIL 1², 632)." I think first of all of sancta Venus, Cat. 36,3; 68,5. For sanctus in its religious sense cf. Marcianus Dig. 1,8,8: "Sanctum est, quod ab iniuria hominum defensum atque munitum est" and see Link, art. 'Sanctus' (1) in RE 1A, 2,2248,37 ff. For Sanctus Silvanus cf. Höfer, art. 'Sanctus' in Myth. Lex. 4,315,6 ff.: "Keine Gottheit führt so häufig das Epitheton Sanctus wie Silvanus."

mostly for deities who embody the idea of fertility.¹³⁷ It then appears that, at least in earlier times, the name had close associations with Hercules. But what of Sancus? Sancus is the partial name of a god very unique in Roman cult. His full name is Semo Sancus Dius Fidius,¹³⁸ which appears to be a combination of the names of two distinct but functionally related gods,¹³⁹ one of which was of Umbrian¹⁴⁰ origin (Semo Sancus)¹⁴¹ and the other Roman (Dius Fidius). Wissowa (RuK², 130) conjectured that all four names pointed to one and the same god, but then how to explain the system of four names, unique at Rome to this god? The four-name system however is common with Umbrian gods, e.g. Prestota Šerfia Šerfer Martier and Tursa Šerfia Šerfer Martier and is most likely to be explained as a politico-religious

¹³⁷Cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 385 and n. 1.

¹³⁸CIL 6,567; 568; 30994 f.; the epithet Sanctus is also attached to this god, cf. CIL 6,568: Sanco Sancto Semon(i) deo Fidio, and cf. August. civ. Dei 18,19: "Sancum sive ut aliqui appellant Sanctum."

¹³⁹Link, art. 'Sancus' in RE 1A, 2,2253,14 ff.; Latte, RRG², 127.

¹⁴⁰Sancus is Umbrian in origin, not 'Sabine'; cf. Radke, art. 'Umbri' in RE Suppl. 9,1815,17 ff.: "Wenn Aelius Stilo (b. Varro I.1. V 55; durch Varros Vermittlung auch b. Lyd. de mens. IV 90 p. 138 W.) den Namen für sabinisch hält, könnte das gleichbedeutend sein, da 'sabinisch' ein Sammelbegriff für die antike Sprachforschung war"; and see Tab. Iguv. VIb, 57 f. and passim.

¹⁴¹Cf. CIL 14,2458: a sacellum dedicated to Semoni Sanco alone.

syncretism of an Umbrian with a Roman god whose functions were sufficiently close to facilitate such a union.¹⁴²

Sancus appears on the Tab. Iguv. as epithets of Fisos (or Fisovius) and of Juppiter; cf. 2b, 24: iupater saçe and 6b, 9,10: fisovie sanšie. The Umbrian Fisos appears linked to Lat. Fidius < 'fides'; cf. Tab. Iguv. 1a, 15: fise saçi ukriper fisui = 'Fiso Sancio pro arce Fisia'. If we look at the two examples of the four-name Umbrian deities, we notice that both have the name Šerfus in common; Šerfus defines or makes precise the area in which Prestota or Tursa has influence. Following this example then it would seem that since in Iguvium Sancus is defined by his relationship to Fidius, in Roman cult Dius must correspond to Sancus. We are informed by Varro (de l.l. 5,66) that di(u)um id est caelum,¹⁴³ and the identification of Dius with Sancus led to the further identification of Sancus with 'sky'. Despite Latte's objection¹⁴⁴ there does appear to be something to this, as can be seen from the existence in augury of the

¹⁴²This appears to be the point of the statement of Verrius Flaccus in Fest. p. 276,11 L.: "Sancus, qui deus dius fidius vocatur."

¹⁴³Cf. Lyd. de mens. 4,90: τὸ Σάγκος ὄνομα σημαίνει τῇ Σαβίνων γλώσσῃ and Fest. p. 198,36 f. L.: "Dialis, quia universi mundi sacerdos, qui appellatur Dium"; cf. further Paul. p. 3,11; 421,1 L.

¹⁴⁴RRG², 128,2: "Dass sancus im Sabinischer Himmel bedeutet hätte (Lyd. mens. 4,90), ist freie Erfindung um des vermeintlich sabinischen Ursprungs des Sancus willen."

aves sanquales (Fest. p. 420,16 ff. L.),¹⁴⁵ indicating that Sancus manifested his will through meteorological signs.

This is also evident through his association with Dius Fidius, translated by Dionysios of Halicarnassos as Ζεὺς Πίστιος.¹⁴⁶

The connection with Juppiter's lightning is further evidenced from the statue of the god with a lightning bolt in his left hand and the accompanying inscription¹⁴⁷ (CIL 6,30994):

"Semoni Sanco Sancto Deo Fidio sacrum. Decuria sacerdot(um) bidentalium."

8.7.1 IITOSAN.QVOS

The engravings and inscriptions of the Val Camonica are extremely useful for our knowledge of the development of Italic language, history and religion. One in particular, from the "Roccia delle iscrizioni" is rather pertinent to our discussion. This consists of the letters, running right to left: IITOSAN.QVOS, and has been examined by Altheim.¹⁴⁸ He sees this as composed partly of the genitive Sanqvvos

¹⁴⁵Cf. Livy 41,13,1; Plin. n.h. 10,20; see Link, a.c., 2254,18 ff.

¹⁴⁶Dion. Hal. 9,60,8: τὸν γεῶν τοῦ Πιστίου Διός; cf. 4,58,4: ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Πιστίου, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι Σάγκον καλοῦσιν.

¹⁴⁷Cf. Thulin, Disciplin 1,42 f., and see Wissowa, art. 'Sancus' in Myth. Lex. 4,318,18 ff.; as a lightning god, cf. Mart. Cap. 1,56: "ex duodecima . . . regione . . . Sancus tantummodo evocatur"; see Dumézil, RRA, 651.

¹⁴⁸Gesch. d. lat. Sprache, o.c., 101 ff.

(cf. senatus, -uos in the SC. de Bacchanal., 1,7) and of the word tito; *titos, titus of course means 'phallus' (cf. Walde-Hofmann 2,686 s.v. 'Titulus') and since in Etruria the Genius was represented as a phallus,¹⁴⁹ Altheim interprets tito Sanqvvos as 'genio Sanci':¹⁵⁰ however, the primary meaning 'phallos' must not be lost sight of, for it designates Sancus as a god of abundance and of the male element of fecundity. His connection then with Hercules on one level becomes apparent if we compare the extraordinary interest of Commodus in the phallic cult of Hercules Rusticus. The devotion of this emperor to Rusticus must not be thought of as due entirely to the depraved tastes of a jaded aristocracy.¹⁵¹ In the cult of Hercules Rusticus the phallus, symbol of the male power of regeneration, played an important role.¹⁵²

In addition to the very probable symbol of fertility which linked the two gods, Hercules was also associated with Sancus because, like him, he was a god of oaths. The similarity between the usual male oath mehercle and the ordinary oath of protestation me dius fidius¹⁵³ led L. Aelius Stilo

¹⁴⁹Cf. Pallottino, The Etruscans, o.c., 158; Vacano, Die Etrusker, o.c., 63 f.; Altheim, RRG 1,18.

¹⁵⁰Altheim, Sprache, o.c., 102.

¹⁵¹Cf. Bayet, Origines, o.c., 450.

¹⁵²According to Ael. Lamprid. 10,9 Commodus made one of his favourites pene prominente ultro modum animalium a priest of Hercules Rusticus.

¹⁵³Plaut. Asin. 23; Cato in Aul. Gell. 10,14,3; Paul. p. 147 L.

to state that the Graeco-Roman Hercules was the same as the Sabine Sancus, son of Juppiter, otherwise called Dius Fidius.¹⁵⁴ The relation of Sancus to Juppiter's circle is further heightened by the fact that one only swore by him under an open sky,¹⁵⁵ and it is this very relation to Juppiter that accounts for the identification of Hercules with Sancus for, as Sancus is related to Juppiter--is indeed his son--so Hercules is the vera Iovis proles (Aen. 8,301). There is also the further similarity, perhaps coincidental, but perhaps not, that they both share the number twelve; Hercules of course completed twelve Labours and Sancus sends his lightnings from the twelfth region of the heavens.

Sancus and Hercules are further linked through the symbolism of the solar disk. We have noticed above Hercules' connection with the sun. It appears that a similar connection existed for Sancus as well. In the Umbrian town of Iguvium anyone making an offering of a young bull to Iupater

¹⁵⁴In Varro, de l.l. 5,66; cf. Fest. p. 254,12 L.: "Herculi aut Sanco qui scilicet idem est deus"; this is in reference to a sacrifice propter viam, "quod est proficiscendi gratia," involving the total consumption of the sacrificial offerings, the same practice as that followed at the rites of the ara Maxima (cf. Macr. S. 2,2,4: "Sacrificium apud veteres fuit quod vocabatur propter viam. in eo mos erat ut, siquid ex epulis superfuisset, igne consumeretur"). This seems to be a universal custom with sacrifices of the propter viam type; Bayet, Origines, o.c., 307,1 recalls the Jewish Passover feast in Exodus 12,9-10.

¹⁵⁵RuK², 131.

Sancios had to follow a prescribed ritual: urfeta manuve habetu (Tab. Iguv. 2b, 23). These urfeta (cf. Lat. orbita) seem to "désigner un objet de forme ronde [cf. orbis], employé dans le rituel, gâteau, disque de bronze, peut-être symbols solaire" (Ernout, 138).¹⁵⁶ The Umbrian Juppiter either took his epithet from Sancus or else it was a special term for him outlining a distinct area of specialization. It happens that in 330 BC, during the insurrection of Privernum and Fundi against Rome, the house of the rebel leader Vitruvius Vaccus was destroyed by legal decree.¹⁵⁷ This had stood on the Palatine in Rome on a spot later called the Vacci prata. Livy then continues: ". . . bona Semoni Sango censuerunt consecranda, quodque aeris ex eis redactum est, ex eo aenei orbis facti positi in sacello Sanguis adversus aedem Quirini." It thus appears that in Rome Sancus was offered round balls as he was in the ritual at Iguvium.¹⁵⁸ Having begun with the solar hero Hercules returning from the Gate of Capricorn, Propertius now ends with the identification of him with Sancus¹⁵⁹ and the round

¹⁵⁶Cf. Devoto, Tab. Iguv., Rome, 1937, 366; Altheim, Sprache, o.c., 103; Koch, Gesternverehrung im alten Italien. Sol Indiges und der Kreis der Di indigetes (Frankfurter Stud. z. Relig. u. Kultur d. Antike 111), Frankfurt a.M. 1933, 50 f.; cf. Röm. Juppiter, o.c., 45,5.

¹⁵⁷Livy 8,20,8.

¹⁵⁸Link, art. 'Sancus', a.c., 2253,57 f. calls these orbes aenei "Bündnisymbole."

¹⁵⁹Claiming that the image of the Sancus statue (for

balls of the Sancus-cult suggestive of the solar disk.

Finally, Propertius appears to derive the words Sanctus and Sancus from the verb sancire.¹⁶⁰ He may well be right. At least certain modern philologists follow him in this. Walde-Hofmann (2,460) relate sancire to sacer and Link (a.c., 2253,40 f.) says: "Sancus hängt zweifellos mit sancire und sanctus zusammen . . . ; vgl. sanctum foedus und foedus sancire" Radke (282) suggests *Sanq-uos, the god who brings *sanq-, i.e. the Light-bringer. This etymology certainly does make the round balls of Sancus in the Val Camonica, in Umbria and in Rome much more intelligible and indeed suggests that perhaps just the opposite of Propertius' etymology is in fact the case: that perhaps the god gave his name to the verb, that indeed to sancire foedus means to call upon Juppiter in his guise of Sancus to witness the treaty; might that not in fact be what Vergil has in mind when he says that Juppiter, to signify that he has heard and approved the oath of Aeneas and Latinus (Aen. 12,

a picture of which see Myth. Lex. 4,318) represents an "Apollotyp," Link (art. "Sancus", 2256,18 ff.) says that "Alle weitgehenden Folgerungen aus dieser Identität von Semo S., Dius Fidius und Hercules sind darum nichtig." This seems rather an extreme statement, denying as it does the authority, not only of Propertius, but of Cato (Dion. Hal. 2, 49,2), Varro (de l.l. 5,66) and Festus, p. 254, 12 L. It seems to me that the image could equally well be that of a young Hercules (cf. the youthful, laurel-crowned head of Hercules pictured in Myth. Lex. 1,2,2166.)

¹⁶⁰Cf. line 73: "quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem."

200), "Foedera fulmine sancit"?¹⁶¹ Propertius however seems strangely aware of this connection between Sancus, sancire and lightning bolts, as can be seen from what is generally regarded as the poem's final line:

Sance, velis libro dexter inesse meo
(72).

The adjective 'dexter' is the correct one here in matters of augury, for while the Romans, employing a southern orientation in augury, regarded the left as the lucky side,¹⁶² the Greeks who oriented northward felt that the right side was the lucky one.¹⁶³ Since Hercules was honoured at Rome Graeco ritu, he would then quite naturally be expected to show his approval from the right side.

This has been a lengthy and well-travelled chapter, extending as it does from the confusion of Cacus with the Graeco-Celtic Geryon/Garanus, the functional opposition of Hercules to the Bona Dea and her possible identification with Demeter-Ceres, the various ritual epitaphs of Hercules

¹⁶¹Cf. Servius' comments, ad loc.

¹⁶²Cf. Cic. de div. 2,43: "Itaque comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus optimum auspiciū habemus, si sinistrum fuit," and see the note on pp. 76 f. in Pease's edition; Fest. p. 351 M.: "Sinistrum in auspicando significare ait Ateius Capito laetum et prosperum auspiciū."

¹⁶³Cf. Il. 9,236: Ζεὺς δὲ σφί Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων/ἄστραπτει; cf. Cic. de div. 2,82 and see RuK², 525,2.

himself--Victor, Invictus, Rusticus, Domesticus, Tutor and finally Sancus and the symbolism of the solar disc. Hopefully, the chapter has served in some way to show that Propertius in Elegy 9 presents an accurate and faithful aetiology of Roman Hercules-worship and that as religious iconography it is scarcely surpassed.

CHAPTER 9

9.0 JUPPITER FERETRIUS AND THE SPOLIA OPIMA

In keeping with his policy of presenting Roman religion from its earliest development, Propertius here sets forth the aition ('causae', line 1) of the founding of the first of the Roman State-cults of Juppiter;¹ this was the temple of Juppiter as Feretrius, situated on the southern summit of the mons Capitolinus, whose foundation antedated even that of Juppiter O.M.² The temple was reported to have been a foundation of Romulus himself,³ the first in the new State, and was the object of special attention by Augustus, the second founder.⁴ It was to this spot on the Capitoline,

¹Cf. Livy 1,10,5 ff.: "Haec templi est origo, quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est," and Dion. Hal. 2,34; see too CIL 10,809.

²Thulin, art. "Juppiter" in RE 10,1 1127,67 ff.

³See outside of our poem, Livy 1,10,5-7; Dion. Hal. 2,34; Plut. Rom. 16; Cass. Dio 44,4; Serv. ad Aen. 6,859.

⁴For Augustus as second founder, see Suet. Aug. 95; Wissowa, RuK², 155; Taylor, The Div. of the Rom. Emp., o.c., 155; Stübler, Religiosität d. Livius, o.c., 10 ff.; Alföldi, "Bildsymbolik," a.c., 8,212; for his involvement in the restoration of the temple of Juppiter Feretrius, cf. Mon. Anc. 4,5: "aedes in Capitolio Iovis Feretri et Iovis Tonantis . . . feci"; Livy, 4,20,7; Dion. Hal. 2,34,4; ostensibly the Princeps did this on the instigation of Atticus, cf. Nepos Att. 20,3: "ex quo accidit, cum aedis Iovis Feretrii in Capitolio ab Romulo constituta vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficiendam curaret."

where he later built the temple, that Romulus and only two others after him in all of Rome's long history brought and dedicated the spolia opima, i.e., the arms of an enemy commander who had been slain in single combat by a Roman commander, quae dux duci detraxit, as Livy (4,20,6) puts it.

Similar to the way in which the poet effected a connecting link between the subject matter treated in Elegy 8 and that of Elegy 9, represented by the chronological progression from 8 to 9 as well as by the relation of Hercules to Juno, implied in 8 and expressly stated in 9, so too the poet has created a means which allows him to pass effortlessly and artistically from the end of Elegy 9 to the beginning of 10, and that is the relation of Hercules Sancus to Juppiter. This has, of course, already been alluded to in the previous chapter, but the close functional relationship between Sancus and Juppiter Feretrius has not. Sancus, as the common god of oaths, is of Juppiter's circle and it is specifically to Feretrius that he appertains, for Feretrius is the Roman national god of sacred oaths and treaties, in whose temple were the holy lapis silex and the sceptre;⁵ this lapis was in the care of a special priestly College, the fetiales, in whose care was also a specified area of

⁵Paul. 81,16 L.: "Feretrius Iuppiter . . . ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum, per quod iurarent, et lapidem sili-cem, quo foedus ferirent"; Serv. ad Aen. 12,206.

sacred law, the ius fetiale,⁶ and who were empowered, in the name of the Roman People, to declare war, make peace, and demand restoration from an enemy. Feretrius is thus also called Lapis after the sacred flint (symbolic of Juppiter's lightning) with which the fetiales concluded a treaty and took their solemn oath.⁷ The fetiale who concludes the treaty and swears by the sacred lapis is called the pater patratus, of whom Livy says (1,24,6): "Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est, sanciendum fit foedus," in which can be clearly seen the close connection between Juppiter Feretrius (i.e. Lapis) and Sancus (= sanciendum fit foedus).⁸ Having thus neatly forged a connecting link between Elegies 9 and 10, Propertius then goes on to the business of Elegy 10 itself which includes (a) the founding of the temple of Juppiter Feretrius by Romulus and (b) the institution by him of the rite of the spolia opima and an account of the history of that rite, weaving both of these

⁶Cic. de off. 1,36; Livy 1,32,5; Aust, art. "Iuppiter" in Myth Lex. 2,678 ff.; Wissowa, RuK², 550 ff.

⁷Livy 1,24,8: "'Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum tu ille Diespiter populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes pollesque.'" Id ubi dixit porcum saxo silice percussit."

⁸Cf. Thulin, a.c., 1128,55 ff.: "Der Schwur beim I. Lapis enthält die schwerste Bekräftigung (Cic. ep. VII 12,2 . . .).--Während aber der I. Lapis dem Volkrecht angehörte, so heiss der Schwurgott für den täglichen Gebrauch Dius Fidius"; Dumézil, RRA, 184: "Le Juppiter Lapis . . . ne paraît pas séparable du très ancien Juppiter Feretrius"; P. Boyancé, "Fides et le serment," Coll. LATOMUS 58 (1962), 329 ff.

themes into (c) an exemplum with particular relevance to the Rome of his own day.

9.1 The Cult

Propertius does not provide a great deal of information on the cult of J. Feretrius, except to associate it exclusively with the rite of the spolia opima and to intimate that it was founded by Romulus; that in effect both the cult and the rite came into existence simultaneously:

hunc videt ante cavas librantem spicula turre
 Romulus et votis occupat ante rates:
 'Iuppiter, haec hodie tibi victima corruet Acron'
 voverat, et spolium corrui ille Iovi
 (13-16).⁹

Apart from that, the only other reference to Feretrius is in the last four lines of the poem, where the poet speculates on the etymology of the epithet, deriving it either from 'ferire' (46) or from 'ferre' (47).

Yet perhaps there is no more to add. The cult stood in very close association with Romulus as founder and with the rite of the spolia opima; apart from that, we know of no other function of J. Feretrius. In fact the epithet seems specifically designed to separate the function of Juppiter as Lapis, who sanctions by his bolt the treaty struck by his

⁹Cf. Propertius' version of Romulus' words with that of Livy 1,10,6: "Iuppiter Feretri' inquit, 'haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero'."

priest with the flint-stone,¹⁰ from that of Feretrius, which obviously bears some relation to war and victory; the supreme deity's flash of lightning on this occasion would be in recognition of the supreme commander's prayer for victory.¹¹ It certainly does appear at any rate that the splendid and hard-won arms which the Roman commander had stripped from the body of the enemy leader whom he had slain in single combat were presented at the temple of J. Feretrius to the accompaniment of a rite which suggested a thank-offering by the general on the part of himself and the Roman People.¹² Indeed, the dilapidated state in which the temple found itself in Augustus' time¹³ strongly suggests that it was little used except as a storage area for the spolia opima;

¹⁰Cf. Livy 9,5,3: "eum ita Iuppiter feriat, quemadmodum a fetialibus porcus feriat"; Verg. Aen. 12,200: "audiat haec genitor, quid foedera fulmine sancit"; Serv. ad Aen. 8,641: "eum ante gladio configeretur, a Fetialibus inventum, ut silice feriretur ea causa quod antiquum Iovis signum lapidis silicem putaverunt esse"; Paul. p. 102,11 ff. L.: "lapidem silicem tenebant iuraturi per Iovem, haec verba dicentes: 'si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter salva urbe arcesque bonis eiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem.'"

¹¹Prop. 4,10,45 f.: "causa Feretri, / omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem"; cf. Plut. Rom. 16,4: εὐξάμενος οὖν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, εἰ κρατήσειε καὶ καταβάλῃ, τῷ Διὶ φέρων ἀναθήσειν αὐτὸς τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἀνδρός.

¹²Fest. p. 204,9 ff. (quoting from the libri pontifices): "Pro primis spoliis bove . . . publice fieri debere"; see too RuK², 119.

¹³Dion. Hal. 2,34,4; Mon. Anc. 4,3; Nepos Att. 20,3; Livy 4,20,7.

the cult could hardly have played an important role in the religious life of the State. The temple, which legend says was renovated by Numa¹⁴ and which we first hear of in historical annals at the dedication of the spolia opima taken by the consul A. Cornelius Cossus from Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, in 428 BC,¹⁵ is figured on a denarius of P. Cornelius Marcellinus c. 38 BC and appears there as little more than a sacellum in tetrastyle.¹⁶ The cult of J. Feretrius then, so closely attached to the rite of the spolia opima, is rightly only barely mentioned by Propertius, who devotes the majority of his elegy to a discussion of the three occasions of the winning of the spolia and their significance. We shall do the same.

9.2 Etymology

Propertius gives two possible etymologies for the name of Feretrius (46 f.), either from ferire or from ferre, a state of affairs which has remained largely the same to the present.¹⁷ Among the ancients, Livy (1,10,6) connects

¹⁴Livy 1,33,9: "egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretri amplificata."

¹⁵Livy 4,20,3 ff.; Dion. Hal. 12,5; Diod. Sic. 12,80; Val. Max. 3,2,4; Plut. Rom. 16,7; Serv. ad Aen. 6,855.

¹⁶Cf. Babelon, Desc. des monn . . ., o.c., 1,352, no. 11 and see my Figure 13.

¹⁷Dion. Hal. 2,34 gives a choice between the following three translations: τροπαιοῦχος, σκυλοφόρος and ὑπερφερέτης.

the word "richtig mit ferire" (Thulin, a.c., 1128,29 ff.), while Paulus gives both derivatives: at page 92 L. he opts for ferire ("quo foedus ferirent"), but also adds "a ferendo quod pacem ferre putaretur," a notable example of fence-straddling if ever there was one. Modern philology is every bit as undecided: Wissowa (RE 6,2 2209,58 f.) comes down on the side of 'ferire', with reference to the lapis silex, because Juppiter "mit seinem Blitze den Schuldigen, insbesondere den Eidbrüchigen tufft" (cf. RuK², 119,6). Latte (RRG², 126,2) is very definite in his opinion: "Es scheint, als ob der Name des Iuppiter Feretrius mit dem Darbringer dieser Waffen zusammenhängt, wie schon die alten Gelehrten angenommen haben (Fest. 210 L. dictus a ferendo). Die heute geltende Ableitung von ferire, die auch schon antike ist (Prop. 4,10, 45), ist lautgesetzlich unmöglich," whereas Radke (p. 124) is somewhat more cautious: "So sehr auch der Inhalt des Fetialenspruches bei Liv. 1 24,8 eine Erklärung von ferire zu begünstigen scheint, ist diese jedoch sprachlich noch nicht nachgewiesen." Walde-Hofmann (1,481) made no definite stand, but lean in the direction of ferire: "nach Wissowa (RuK², 119) Reichelt KZ 46,347, Güntert Reimw. 214 als 'Schleuderer (des Blitzes bzw. des Steines als seines Symbols)' von *ferere neben ferire 'treffen, stossen'," and Ernout-Meillet, Dict. Etymol. lang. lat.⁴, Paris, 1967, 226, confessing that we really do not know for certain what the 'correct' etymology is, say that the derivations from ferire

and ferre are "Sans doute étymologies populaires. Mais le sens précis de l'épithète nous échappe." Thus the etymological state of affairs remains precisely where Propertius left it.

9.3 The Spolia Opima

The rite of the spolia opima was very exactingly and explicitly defined by the Pontifical College.¹⁸ Specifically, they could only be dedicated by a Roman commander who, upon taking his own auspices, had slain the enemy commander and stripped him of his arms.¹⁹ The fact that the emphasis here is both on individual combat and on the direct involvement of the commander argues the extreme antiquity of the rite. Inasmuch as the spolia opima are uniformly dedicated to Juppiter Feretrius, thus making him in effect a war-like god of battles and of military victory, the god appears in this guise as a special development of Roman religion, apparently not in evidence in the rest of Italy.²⁰

¹⁸See Nilsson, "Wesensverschiedenheiten der römischen u. der griechischen Religion," MDAI(R), 1933, 245 ff.

¹⁹Livy 4,20,6: "praeterquam quod ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur"; Fest. p. 202 L.: spolia quoque, quae dux populi Romani duci hostium detraxit."

²⁰See Latte, RRG², 126,3: this concept is, however, common among the Celtic and Germanic peoples, to whom the Romans were linguistically very close: the northern Odinn, "das allmächtige, alldurchdringende wesen" (Grimm, DM 1,109),

As for the theory of the rite of the spolia opima themselves, Dumézil (RRA, 171 ff.; earlier discussed by Latte, RRG², 204 f.) recalls to mind that it consisted of two variants. The one, that followed by Livy and, as it seems, here by Propertius as well, defining those spoils taken by a Roman commander with the auspices from an enemy commander in single combat, makes them all dedicated to J. Feretrius and simply notes the rarity of the feat.²¹ Only three Roman commanders have ever succeeded in accomplishing this and one of those, Romulus, is a figure of legend. Propertius, in naming three commanders only (viz., Romulus, Cossus and Marcellus) and in uniformly making them dedicate their spolia to Feretrius, is an adherent of this theory.

The other variant is much more detailed and is favoured by Latte and Dumézil, probably because its many and exacting details suggest a religious rite designed by committee and reveal the hands of the Pontifical College busily at work. It also happens to favour Dumézil's thesis of the tripartite functions. Festus, who provides us with

was also "vor allem ordner der kriege und schlachten" (ibid., 110); cf. the Celtic Taranis, whose name is connected with the Germ. Thōrr and Welsh taran, 'to thunder'. A second cult of Juppiter, that of Stator, also places the god in a direct relationship with war and was equally a foundation of Romulus (Livy 1,12,6).

²¹Livy 1,10,7: "Bina postea, inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit"; cf. Fest. p. 202 L.: "quorum tanta raritas est, ut intra annos paulo . . . trina contigerint nomini Romano."

this second variant (p. 204 L.),²² does in fact cite the libri pontifices as quoted by Varro for one of his references, together with a "law of Numa Pompilius," according to which the spolia were opima if taken from an enemy commander but are classed, according to the military rank of the Roman who captures them, as prima, secunda and tertia spolia: the first are those spolia taken by a Roman commander with the auspices and must be offered to J. Feretrius,²³ on which occasion a bos is sacrificed in the name of the State; the second are dedicated to Mars in campo and a solitaurilia (i.e., suovetaurilia) is offered; the third are for "Ianus Quirinus" and a male lamb is sacrificed. In the case of the secunda and tertia, a piaculum is also offered for the dux under whose auspices the spolia were taken. Since Festus quotes Varro as saying that even a manipularis miles could celebrate the rite of the spolia opima,²⁴ provided that he took them from a dux hostium in single combat, it appears that the prima spolia opima, offered at the temple of J. Feretrius, were reserved for

²²See too Serv. ad Aen. 6,859 and Plut. Rom. 16; Marc. 8.

²³Cf. Fest. p. 204,13 f. L.: "cuius auspiciis classe procincta opima spolia capiuntur, Iovi Feretrio darier oporteat et bovem caedito"

²⁴Ibid., line 4 ff.: "M. Varro ait opima spolia esse, etiam si manipularis miles detraxerit, dummodo duci hostium"

only those commanders with the auspices, while those war leaders without imperium, although they might indeed be accorded the honour of the spolia opima, could not offer them to J. Feretrius. This would appear at least to make sense of remarks like those of Valerius Max. 3,2,6: "sed quia sub alienis auspiciis rem gesserant, spolia Iovi Feretrio non posuerunt consecranda" and Cass. Dio 51,24: κἄν τὰ σκῦλα αὐτοῦ τῷ Φερετρίῳ Δίῃ, ὥς καὶ ὄπιμα, ἀνέθηκεν, εἴπερ αὐτοκράτωρ στρατηγὸς ἐγεγόνει.²⁵ It may even be the case that Propertius was not at all ignorant of this other version but, since he was dealing with the cult of J. Feretrius, confined himself to listing only those three who had succeeded in attaining the prima spolia opima. There was, however, no small amount of confusion in this matter, with the adjectives prima, secunda, tertia being understood, not on a qualitative basis, but on a chronological one. Servius for instance (ad Aen. 6,859), confusing the two theories, has Romulus dedicate the prima spolia opima to J. Feretrius,²⁶ Cossus offer the secunda to Mars and Marcellus the tertia to Quirinus. The line of Vergil upon which Servius comments is the following:

tertiaque alma patri suspendet capta Quirino

²⁵See F. Lammert, art. "Spolia Opima" in RE 3A,2 1846,20 ff.

²⁶Thus making Romulus, in a curious anachronism, conform to the law of Numa, his successor!

and to be fair to Servius he does attempt to reconcile both versions, saying that the "tertia opima spolia suspendet patri, id est Iovi, 'capta Quirino', qualia et Quirinus ceperat, id est Romulus, de Acrone, rege Caeninensium, et ea Iovi Feretrio suspenderat." This explanation does seem a bit forced and he tells us he prefers the second version, "quod est melius," as we have outlined it above. Obviously, then, opinion on the rite of the spolia opima, from Varro, Livy, Vergil and on down to Servius, is in a state of confusion. Norden²⁷ tells us that "Properz 4,10 behandelt das Thema in der gewöhnlichen Fassung und zeigt, wie beliebt es in augusteischer Zeit war"; by "gewöhnlichen Fassung" one assumes he means the version of Livy, for we have seen that by Augustan times there was certainly no commonly agreed-upon version of the rite, and it will hopefully be shown in this chapter that Propertius chose to present an aition of the spolia opima, not out of any great love for the theme, but for quite a different reason.

9.4 The Recipients

9.4.1 Romulus

Propertius, in common with everyone else, makes Romulus the founder of the rite of the spolia opima:

²⁷Aeneis⁵, o.c., 341.

imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae
huius, et exuvio plenus ab hoste redis
(5 f.).

He accomplished this against Acron, the king of Sabine Caeninum,²⁸ when the Caeninenses and their king, impatient at the delay of the Sabine confederacy to exact vengeance upon Rome for the rape of their women, set out on their own to attack the City. In Livy's version of this encounter (and also that of Dion. Hal. 2,33,34) the name of the Sabine leader is not mentioned: he merely states that Romulus "regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliat" (1,10,4). The name Acron appears in an elogium to Romulus from Pompeii.²⁹ It was probably known before Propertius however, since in his account Festus (p. 204 L.), after mentioning the three names, lists Varro as his reference for the pontifical law on the spolia opima. It is probable then that he had used Varro for the names of the winners of the spolia as well.³⁰ Interestingly enough, where Livy does not even name Acron, Propertius alone even records his pedigree, styling

²⁸Cf. Plut. Rom. 16,3: "Ἀκρων δὲ βασιλεὺς Κενινητῶν, ἄνθρωπος θυμοειδὴς καὶ δεινὸς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς.

²⁹CIL 10,809: Romulus Martis [f]ilius urbem Romam [condi]dit et regnavit annos duodequadraginta isque primus dux duce hostium Acrone rege Caeninensium interfecto spolia opi[ma] Iovi Feretrio consecra[vit] receptusque in deoru[m] numerum Quirinu[s] appellatu[s est . . .].

³⁰Cf. Cichorius, art. "Akron" in RE, 1,1 1199,16 ff.; it is quite likely that Plutarch's list (Rom. 16,7) can also be attributed to Varro.

him "Acron Herculeus Caenina ductor ab acre" (9),³¹ and it is probably correct to say, with Rothstein (Elegien 2,336) that "die Abstammung des Acron von Hercules ist gewiss nicht freie Erfindung des Dichters, obwohl sie sonst nirgends erwähnt wird." Differing slightly from Livy's account, which describes the foundation of the temple and the rite of the spolia opima occurring after Romulus had slain Acron, Propertius has Romulus vow the spolia to Juppiter before he engages in single combat.

9.4.2 A. Cornelius Cossus

The second man to be accorded the prima spolia opima was A. Cornelius Cossus, cos. 428 BC (Livy 4,30,4) and tribunus militum consulari potestate in 426 (Livy 4,31,1),³² in single combat against Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii:

Cossus et insequitur Veientis caede Tolumni,
vincere cum Veios posse laboris erat
(23 f.).

Propertius describes Cossus as having decapitated the Veian king (37 f.), conforming with Livy's account which equates the manner in which Cossus slew the enemy king with that of Romulus in his defeat of Acron.³³ In fact, Cossus is very

³¹See CIL 1, 1², p. 189.

³²See Münzer, art. "Cornelius (no. 112)" in RE 4,1 1289,56 ff.

³³Livy 4,19,5 (Cossus): "Tum exsanguis detracta spolia caputque obscisum victor spiculo gerens terrore caesi regis

similar in several respects to Romulus and founds as it were a second time the rites of the spolia opima: "Longe maximum triumphi spectaculum fuit Cossus, spolia opima regis interfecti gerens, in eum milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Romulo canere. Spolia in aede Iovis Feretri prope Romuli spolia quae, prima opima appellata, sola ea tempestate erant, cum sollemni dedicatione dono fixit."³⁴ Indeed, by duplicating the feat of Romulus, even down to the way in which he killed the enemy king, and by solemnly rededicating the spolia opima at the temple of J. Feretrius, Cossus becomes in effect the new Romulus. Propertius seems to reflect this idea since the number of lines allotted to the description of Cossus' feat (15) is only slightly less than those reserved for Romulus (17), while Marcellus is disposed of in only five lines. There was some controversy in Livy's day (though not reflected here by Propertius) concerning the status of Cossus when he won the spolia from Tolumnius, whether he was a war-leader with his own auspices; at 4,20,5 Livy says that "omnes ante me auctores secutus," Cossus was a military tribune under the Dictator Mam. Aemilius (i.e., in 437) when he placed the secunda spolia opima in the temple of J. Feretrius; however, at 4,31,1 ff., Cossus is tribunus militum

hostes fundit"; 1,10,4 (Romulus): "Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur: regem in proelio obtruncat et spoliatur."

³⁴Livy, 4,20,2-3; on Cossus see Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. 2,187 ff. and cf. Alföldi, "Bildsymbolik" o.c., 8,204.

consulari potestate in 426 and together with Mam. Aemilius won a great victory over the combined forces of Veii and Fidenae. The matter is settled, for Livy at any rate, by the fact that Augustus, himself the second Romulus of his time, the templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem,³⁵ as Livy says (4,20,7), going about the business of his great predecessor in restoring the temple of J. Feretrius, is reported to have read the faded words on the spolia dedicated by Cossus: A Cornelius Cossus consul (cf. 4,20,11). Cossus could hardly have lied about such a thing when dedicating the spolia under the very gaze, so to speak, of Juppiter and of Romulus.

9.4.3 M. Claudius Marcellus

With this third winner of the spolia we leave the area of legend and semi-legend and enter into the full glare of history with the victory in 222 BC of the consul M. Claudius Marcellus over the Celtic Insubres at Clastidium (now Casteggio) and his defeat in single combat of the Celtic chieftan Virdomarus:³⁶

³⁵Cf. Cic. de republ. 1,7,12: "Neque enim est ulla res, in qua propius ad deorum numen virtus accedat humana, quam civitates aut condere novas aut conservare iam conditas," with Alföldi's comment ("Bildsymbolik," a.c., 8,204): "In den Augen des Römers war damals das grösste, was die menschliche Tugend irreichen konnte, die Rolle des Grunders und neben ihr die des Neugestalten."

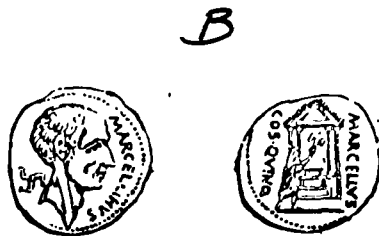
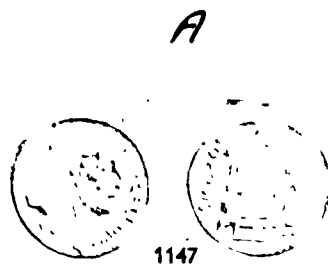
³⁶Called Britomartos by Plut. Rom. 16,7; Marc. 8;

Claudius at Rheno traiectos arcuit hostes,
 Belgica cui vasti parma relata ducis
 Viridomari
 (39 ff.).

An official record of this feat was preserved in the fasti triumph. ad ann. 532 (= 222) which reads: "M. Claudius M.f. Marcellus cos. de Galleis Insubribus et German. k. Mart. isque spolia opima rettulit duce hostium Viridumaro ad Clastidium interfecto," while a denarius minted c. 38 BC by a descendant of the great Marcellus, a certain P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, shows on the obverse the head of the consul while the reverse depicts Marcellus dedicating the spolia of Viridomarus at the temple of J. Feretrius (see Figure 13). Important for our understanding of the poet's purpose in writing this elegy is the fact that before the Battle of Clastidium and his winning of the spolia opima Marcellus had vowed a temple to Virtus, a vow which his son, M. Marcellus, was to fulfill seventeen years later at the dedication of the aedes Virtutis ad portam Capenam.³⁷ In fact, Romana virtus is the real topic of Elegy 10; it is

other accounts of the third and last winning of the prima spolia opima are to be found in Cic. Tusc. 4,49; Livy ep. 20; Val. Max. 3,2,5; Verg. Aen. 6,855 ff. and Servius ad loc.; Manil. astr. 1,787 f.; Sil. Ital. 1,133; 3,587; 12,280; Fest. p. 204, 3 ff. L. and see Münzer, art. "Claudius, no. 220" in RE 3,2 2738,6 ff.

³⁷Livy 29,11,13: "Aedem Virtutis eo anno ad portam Capenam M. Marcellus dedicavit septimo decimo anno postquam a patre eius primo consulatu vota in Gallia ad Clastidium fuerat"; cf. Münzer, art. "Claudius," a.c., 2753,29 ff.; see too Mommsen at CIL 1, p. 531.



11. MARCELLINVS. Tête nue du consul M. Claudius Marcellus à droite ; derrière, la *triquetra*.

Ṛ. MARCELLVS COS QVINQ. (*Marcellus consul quinquès*). Le consul M. Claudius Marcellus consacrant les dépouilles opimes du Gaulois Viridomar dans le temple de Jupiter Feretrius.

Denier. — 6 fr.

Ce denier a été restitué par Trajan.

FIG. 13

(a) and (b):

Coins Illustrating Marcellus Dedicating
the spolia opima

virtus which provides the common bond linking all three recipients of the spolia opima and it is this virtus of the Martia lupa which Propertius wants to reinstalled in a people who seem to have forgotten their origins.

9.5 The Exemplum of Virtus

virtutis vultus partem habet victoriae
Publ. Syrus, 647.

The winning of the spolia opima represents for Propertius the pinnacle of Romana virtus, the loftiest ideal which had made a community of simple peasants into a nation of empire-builders. Virtus is required even of the poet who writes about this most Roman of all the Roman qualities:

magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires:
non iuvat e facili lecta corona iugo
(3 f.).³⁸

Clearly, the feat of winning the spolia opima is intended by Propertius to be an exemplum for Romans of his own generation, a glorious and inspiring symbol which they might

³⁸Recalling somewhat the verses of Simonides, Anth. Lyr. Graec. 2, p. 78, no. 37:

"Εστι τις λόγος
τὰν Ἀρετὰν ναίειν δυσαμβάτοις ἐπὶ πέτραις,
συμφᾶν δέ μιν θοᾶν χορὸν ἄγνυν ἀμφέπειν.
οὐδὲ πάντων βλεφάροις θνατῶν ἔσοπτος,
ὃ μὴ δακέθυμος ἰδρῶς ἔνδοθεν μόλη
ἴκη τ' ἐς ἄκρον ἀνδρείας.

The meaning of virtus intended is, of course, that which is contained in its cognate vires, as Propertius here uses it, or as defined in its primary meaning by Varro, de l.l. 5,73: "Virtus ut viritus a virilitate"; cf. Cic. Tusc. 2,43: "a viris virtus nomen est mutuata"; Sal. Iug. 7,3 ff.

admire and strive to emulate, as he himself tells us:

imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae
huius, et exuvio plenus ab hoste redis
(5 f.).

Romulus then first set the exemplum and became, not only the father of his country, but virtutis parens as well:

urbis virtutisque parens sic vincere suevit,
qui tulit a parco frigida castra lare
(17 f.),

thereby setting a standard and a code of conduct which would become the catchword of all the generations of Romans who followed him: meminisse Romanae virtutis.³⁹ It is this quality of virtus, foremost among those characteristics propter quae datur homini ascensus in caelum (Cic. de leg. 2,19), which forms the common bond between the three winners of its highest prize. As well as being the virtutis parens Romulus, in his battle against the Caeninenses, taught that vanam sine viribus iram esse.⁴⁰ Cossus, the second Romulus, is described by Livy (4,19,1) as being of eximia pulchritudine, animo ac viribus par memorque generis, and we have already seen that Marcellus at Clastidium vowed a temple to Virtus.

Propertius appears to be saying that the degree of virtus exhibited by Roman men is inversely proportional to the size of the City: Romulus and his followers were able to

³⁹Spoken by C. Livius to his men in a naval battle in the war against Antiochus, Livy 36,44,9.

⁴⁰Livy 1,10,4.

conquer because they were unused to luxury and soft living, could stand cold and were not hampered by the lack of material possessions:

urbis virtutisque parens sic vincere suevit,
qui tulit a parco frigida castra lare.
idem eques et frenis, idem fuit aptus aratris;
et galea hirsuta compta lupina iuba
(17 ff.).

This was the nation then for whom optima nutricum nostris lupa Martia rebus (4,1,55), and who in proud recognition of their mythical descent from the Wolf wore the galea lupina into battle.⁴¹ Indeed, the Roman army in those early days was an army of wolves,⁴² whose virtus was indomitable because modelled on that of the wolf: fierce, unyielding, unafraid, yet well-organized (hence 'exercitus'), systematic, disciplined. It is surely no accident that Propertius portrays Marcellus, who emulated the feat of the Founder, as also emulating his wolfish nature by tearing out the throat of

⁴¹Cf. Verg. Aen. 7,688 f.: "fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros / tegmen habent capiti"; 11,680 f.: "caput ingens oris hiatus / et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis." See Alföldi, "Bildsymbolik," a.c., 8,197 who feels that Propertius mentions the galea lupina of Romulus as symbolic of the simplicity and poverty of the early Romans; in the light of our discussion here, I don't think this is the case; rather the wolf-sign is a reminder of divine descent and a symbol of invincible, wolfish virtus.

⁴²Cf. Hor. c. 4,4,50 ff.:
cervi, lūporum praeda rapacium,
sectamur ultro, quos opimus
fallere et effugere est triumphus.

Note here the connection hinted at between wolves and the spolia opima; cf. too Val. Pat. 2,27; Plin. n.h. 10,5.

the Celtic chieftan:⁴³

illi virgatis iaculanti ante agmina braxis
torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula
(43 f.).

It was that rapacious courage, this reckless valour heedless of personal danger which made Rome great and which is specifically Roman; virtus differs from ἀρετή in that it is communal: it is cultivated not so much for personal aggrandizement (though this of course is important to a Roman conscious of his dignitas and auctoritas) but rather for the advancement of the State. The measure of a man's virtus consists in the degree to which he uses it in his country's service. Cicero explains (Phil. 10,10,20): "Omnes nationes servitutem ferre possunt, nostra civitas non potest, nec ullam ob causam, nisi quod illae laborem doloremque fugiunt, quibus ut careant, omnia perpeti possunt; nos ita a maioribus instituti atque imbuti sumus, ut omnia consilia atque facta ad dignitatem et ad virtutem referremus . . . non est viri minimeque Romani dubitare eum spiritum, quem naturae debent, patriae reddere."

From the etymological viewpoint the word describes the situation or the quality of the vir, i.e., of the man who merits this name (cf. Cic. Tusc. 2,43: "appellata est enim a viro virtus") and consequently most especially the

⁴³The wolf normally kills by ripping the jugular vein of its prey; cf. K. Lorenz, On Aggression, trans. M. Kerr Wilson, New York, 1967 (Vienna, 1963), 232.

quality or function of the "hero" or the warrior (cf. Livy 2,10,12, speaking of Hor. Cocles; 2,12,15, describing M. Scaevola). In historical times the word was used to describe the quality exhibited by the dux or by his soldiers in military action, and this use is particularly evident in, e.g., Caesar. Before a battle, the leaders would exhort their soldiers to remember their pristina virtus (cf. Caes. Gall. 2,21,2; Sall. Cat. 58,12; 60,3; Iug. 49,2; 97,5). Indeed, the highest duty of the Roman was to engage in warfare with all his strength in defence of the res publica,^{43a} and it is this military virtus which has indeed maintained the State: "plus in armis et virtute quam moenibus urbem tuerentur" (Livy 37,32,5).

Livy goes to great lengths to show that it was this prisca virtus which raised Hercules and Romulus to divine status (e.g., 1,7,8-15): this means that the man who performs the highest deeds which can be expected of him thereby becomes one with the gods, and when considered in this light it can be seen how closely virtus is connected with pietas. In his description of the fabulous career of Camillus, Livy

^{43a}See J. Hellegouarc'h, Le Vocabulaire latine des Relations et des Partis Politiques sous la République (Publ. de la Fac. de Lett. et Sciences humaines de l'Univ. de Lille, 11), Paris, 1963, 478: ". . . cette place donnée à la virtus est une préoccupation strictement nationale et qu'il n'est pas besoin de l'expliquer par une influence grecque"; cf. too K. Büchner, "Altrömische u. Horazische Virtus" in Horaz (Stud. z. röm. Literatur, Bd. 3), Wiesbaden, 1962, 2.

states (5,49,5) that the close convergence and indeed harmony of the three forces of consilium, virtus and fortuna are the prerequisites for victory and later makes Camillus, himself a second Romulus and "parens patriae conditorque alter urbis" (5,49,7), list the most characteristic of Roman qualities as virtus, opus and arma (5,27,8). All of this brings into clearer focus the meaning of the extraordinary "clupeus virtutis", a golden shield with which the Roman Senate and People rewarded Augustus in 27 B.C. for, as the inscription states, his virtus, clementia, iustitia, pietas (Mon. Anc. 34,2). The conclusion is inescapable: virtus, that most Roman of all qualities, is inextricably bound to pietas, and without them the Roman State would languish.

Propertius also gives voice to a commonly-held opinion both by literary men and by politicians of his generation, an opinion which finds expression in Livy's Preface, in Horace's so-called Roman Odes (c. 3,1-6), and as well in

the social programmes of the Principate. According to this view the old-time virtus of the Roman youth was being dissipated through soft living and moral lassitude and emasculated by the abandonment of military discipline.⁴⁴ Horace too calls for a return to an earlier life of deprivation and simplicity which had been the harsh school of virtus:

Angustam amice pauperiem pati
robustus acri militia puer
condiscat
(c. 3,2,1 ff).⁴⁵

Out of this confining poverty will grow the kind of virtus which is not afraid to dare all for the welfare of the State; by enabling one to conquer one's fear of death, following the example of Romulus, it leads one ultimately to the very heights of divinity:

Virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
intaminatis fulget honoribus,
nec sumit aut ponit secures
arbitrio popularis aurae.

⁴⁴Cf. Livy, praef. 12: "nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere."

⁴⁵Military discipline was the school of early Roman mores; cf. Sallust, Cat. 7 describing the youth of old Rome: "iuventus simulac belli patiens erat in castris per laborem usu militiam discebat . . . igitur talibus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus: virtus omnia domuerat"; cf. Wili, Horaz, o.c., 204 who says that in this verse of Horace, "Armut erscheint hier zusammen mit Abhärtung als die hohe Schule der virtus."

Virtus recludens immeritis mori
 caelum negat tentat iter via,
 coetusque volgares et udam
 spernit humum fugiente penna
 (Hor. c 3,2,17 ff.).⁴⁶

The point of Elegy 10 then is that victory over an enemy, whether individually or collectively, will be assured only so long as Rome remains true to herself and her ancient ideals and keeps faithfully to the example set by her early heroes: moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque (Enn. ann. 500). The great individual virtus-figures from the past are historical exempla, touchstones upon which the present generation must measure its own state of religious and moral preparedness as well as prove its own capability of preserving and emulating the sacred trust of the mos maiorum, the most ancient and venerable part of which was the exemplum of virtus divinely instituted at the very inception of the City's history and which has as its primary purpose the defence of the fatherland.⁴⁷ It was in conformity with this tradition that Marcellus vowed a temple to Virtus after Clastidium. The temple was originally to Honos alone,⁴⁸ but

⁴⁶Cf. Büchner, o.c., 18: "In der zweiten Römerode hat er (= Horace) dieser virtus ein berühmtes Denkmal errichtet. Armut zu ertragen, standhaftes Aushalten, Bereitsein, für das Vaterland zu sterben, und im Kampfe den Feinden ein Schrecken sein, das ist von der griechischen ἀνδρεία klar geschiedene römische virtus."

⁴⁷Cf. CIL 3,3802: virtuti Romanae pr(o) sa/l(uti) / imper(atoris) et s(enatus) / p(opuli)-q(ue) R(omani).

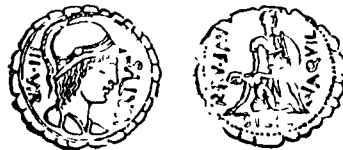
⁴⁸Vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus in 233 in a battle with the Ligurians; cf. RuK², 149; Dumézil, RRA, 338.

it was extended and that of Virtus added to it. It was to the wolfish Romana virtus, sanctioned and instituted by Romulus, that Marcellus owed his great feat, and he was quick to acknowledge it by building a temple as an example to posterity. Other outstanding embodiments of Virtus expressed their devotion as well: a temple to Honos and Virtus was built by C. Marius de manubiis Cimbricis et Teutonicis (Fest. p. 468,1 L.)⁴⁹ and Pompey had special affection for the pair, building statues to them, as to Venus Victrix and Felicitas, on his theater (RuK², 150); so too Scipio Minor built an altar to Virtus (Plut de fort. Rom. 5) after the capture of Numantia;⁵⁰ Augustus paid close attention to the pair as well (Cass. Dio 54,18,2). On coins of the Republic they are shown sometimes together (Babelon 1,512), sometimes apart (Virtus--Babelon 1,213; cf. Figure 14).⁵¹ It was from the aedis Virtutis ad portam Capenam that the great parade of Roman knights, the transvectio equitum (July 15) commenced (RuK², 146). The temple also gave its name to the City district in which it was

⁴⁹See too Plut. de fort. Rom. 5; Marius was not only an outstanding example of virtus, he owed his whole career to it (so Sallust has him say in Iug. 85); the fact that the novus homo must carve out a career on virtus alone also recurs in many of Cicero's speeches.

⁵⁰The virtus of the Corneli Scipiones is regularly mentioned on their tombstones: CIL 1², p. 6; 10 f.; 15.

⁵¹Cf. Myth. Lex. 1,2708 f. for further examples of Honos and Virtus on coins.



2. VIRTVS. III VIR (*Virtus. Triumvir*). Eusee eaequ  de la Valeur,   droite.
-  . NV AQVIL. NV. F NV. N. SICIL. (*Manius Aquilius, Manii filius, Manii nepos. Sicilia*). Le consul Man. Aquilius debout, arm  d'un bouclier, relevant la Sicile sous les traits d'une femme,   demi-nue, affaiss e et les cheveux  pars.
- Denier dentel . — 2 fr.*

FIG. 14

Coin Illustrating the Roman Virtus

located.⁵²

Accordingly, it is no exaggeration to say that throughout Rome's history the highest duty of a Roman was to commit himself with all of his might to the perfection of virtus in the defence of the res publica. Virtus is the ultimate ideal, the first prize, the supreme catalyst through which is distilled the quintessence of Romanitas. In Elegy 10 Propertius reminds his readers that this very essence of Rome must not be separated from its religious setting. The greatest single example of virtus which Roman mythico-history affords--the slaying of an enemy commander in single combat and the dedication of his arms to Juppiter Feretrius--was instituted by the divine Founder himself in illo tempore as an undying illustration of the invincibility of Roman will and valour as vouchsafed by the supreme deity to his regent on earth. Rome's might is assured so long as she follows the example of Romulus and places her trust and faith in the hands of the gods. Only by so doing, and by following the path of the mos maiorum, will Rome's sons acquire virtus, and only with virtus will Rome continue to attain gloria:

magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria vires
(3).

⁵²The vicus Honoris et Virtutis--CIL 6,449. For inscriptions to Honos and Virtus together, cf. CIL 8,1626; 6951; 15665; 11,2910 f.; on the cult of Honos and Virtus in Rome cf. Cic. de nat. deor. 2,61; 3,88; pro Sest. 116; 120; Augustin. civ. Dei 5,12; Wissowa, art. "Virtus" in Myth. Lex. 6,336 ff.

This appeal to the virtus of a warrior race was echoed politically by Augustus--Rome's second founder and pater patriae. Next to the gods, the Princeps' most sacred duty was the revival and propagation of the memory of the great generals of the past, the builders of the imperium Romanum,⁵³ causing their statues to be created, along with a record of their accomplishments, in his forum. In the re-establishment of this ideal, Italian as well as Roman, he was of course willingly assisted by Rome's patriotic men of letters. It was saeva pauperitas⁵⁴ which had produced the tough, stubborn Italian embodiment of Romana virtus and which in turn had won Rome an empire.⁵⁵ This strong and vigorous peasantry, which had so long ago provided the background for the aristocratic ideal of virtus, was now fast disappearing in Italy, and as aristocratic virtus declined, so did the Empire. But under Augustus' plan of national regeneration, these old virtues were being restored and by 17 BC it could confidently be stated that the old morality had prevailed:

iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
audet
(carm. saec. 57 ff.).

⁵³Suet. Aug. 31,5: "Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p.R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent."

⁵⁴Hor. c. 1,12,43.

⁵⁵Verg. georg. 2,173 f.

It was the return of just such virtues that Propertius argues for in Elegy 10.

In thus celebrating the cult of Juppiter Feretrius and the sort of courage needed to win the spolia opima, Propertius enters firmly into the spirit of the age, along with Vergil, Livy and Horace, with this reminder to his generation of the supreme importance which the pious maintenance of the sacred Romana virtus has for the continued welfare of the State. In so doing he recalls the tone of Elegy 4, with its appeal for a return to pietas, Elegy 6 which argued the continued workings of the divine in contemporary affairs and maintained the vitality of religio, and Elegy 7 which stressed the existence of a continuing after-life. All of these qualities, divinely sanctioned and present in Rome from its beginnings, must be maintained and strengthened today if the City is to enjoy continued success. Elegy 10, then, an aition of the religious basis of Roman virtus in the affairs of the City, thus leads naturally and effortlessly to the final poem of the Book, for Cornelia is really nothing less than an exemplum of the female embodiment of Romana virtus.

CHAPTER 10

10.0 THE LAUDATIO OF CORNELIA: virtus muliebris

Elegy 11 is a very significant poem, for it ends the Book; appropriately, it would seem, it takes the form of a laudatio funebris in honour of a noble Roman lady named Cornelia who had familial ties with the house of the Princeps himself. The poem is in the form of a monologue in which the deceased Cornelia speaks from beyond the grave--a practice common enough in funerary inscriptions. However, in this case Propertius presents Cornelia as uncharacteristically delivering her own laudatio; the honour of eulogizing the departed was customarily given to the eldest son, or most important surviving male member of the family.¹ The poem is not an aition of anything, but the religious spirit pervades throughout, deep and tranquil, and ends the Book in a manner similar to the finale of a great symphony--on a tone of peace and quiet exultation, giving the Book a sense of finality, of goals reached, of a certain and successful completion. As stated above, the poem is a significant one,

¹Cf. Polyb. 6,53,2: περίξ δὲ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου στάντος, ἀναβᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, ἂν μὲν υἱὸς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καταλείπεται καὶ τύχη παρών, οὗτος, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τις ἀπὸ γένους ὑπάρχει, λέγει περὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιτετευγμένους ἐν τῷ ζῆν πράξεις.

chiefly for three reasons: (a) it represents the symphonic counter-point to Elegy 10 which celebrated the theme of Romana virtus and the paths of glory which lead ad astra; here the subject is the female aspect of that virtus, which together strike a fitting and harmonious balance between the male and female halves of the Roman psyche: male virtus fulfills Heaven's will and builds an Empire; female virtue fulfills the will of Heaven by producing and rearing males who have been taught the virtues which will win an Empire; (b) just as Propertius began his poetic career with a poem in celebration of a woman,² so here he ends it with a poem in celebration of Woman; (c) the poem in a very meaningful and symbolic way represents a concluding summation of the poet's attitude throughout the entire Book, in that the fate of Cornelia is a reflection and completion of all of Rome's previous history as well as a fulfillment of it; she represents the concrete elaboration of the Roman religious spirit which finds its consummation in a reunion with the divine: moribus et caelum patuit (101).

10.1 Cornelia

Cornelia, either by birth or by marriage, was connected with several of the most notable families in Rome and

²_{1,1,1}: "Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis."

well could it be said that "domus est titulis utraque fulta suis" (32). Her mother was Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo and a certain Sentia (CIL 6,31276), who was later married (40 BC) to Octavian, giving him his only daughter Julia, who thus became Cornelia's step-sister. Cornelia's father was Scribonia's second husband, a man named P. Scipio, probably the consul of 38, from which marriage also resulted Cornelia's brother, P. Scipio, consul in 16 BC. The blood of the Scipiones also nurtured the family tree in the person of Cornelia's husband, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, consul 34 BC, the son of L. Aemilius Paullus, consul 50 BC. Cornelia was further related to the house of the Princeps through the marriage of her son, L. Aemilius Paullus, consul AD 1, with Augustus' granddaughter Julia. Pompeian connections were also present in the family, since the daughter of her uncle L. Scribonius Libo, consul 34 BC, was married to Sex. Pompeius, the young son of Pompey the Great. Thus the houses of the Scipiones, the Iulii, the Pompeii and the Libones³ were all connected in the family and consular honours decorated it like jewels. Interestingly, in addition to the Cornelia of our poem, the wife of Pompey was also named

³The Pompeii and the Libones were of non-Latin stock, the former probably deriving from Picenum (Vell. 2,29,1 ff.; Syme, *o.c.*, 28) and the latter from Caudium (CIL 1,1224 f. = 9,2171-73). The Libones were connected politically with the Aemilii as early as 210 (Livy 23,21,6; cf. 22,61,7 and Münzer, *art.* "Scribonius (Libo)" in *RE* 2A, 881,28 ff.)

Cornelia, a daughter of Metellus Scipio, and she too was remarkable for the excellence of her character (Plut. Pomp. 55); in addition, the second wife of Julius Caesar was a Cornelia, daughter of Cinna (Vell. Pat. 2,41,2; Suet. Iul. 1,1), also the subject of a laudatio by her husband who, it was said (Plut. Caes. 5), was the first to give a laudatio over a woman who had died so young. As an exemplar of female virtue, our Cornelia also recalls that most virtuous Cornelia of all, the daughter of Scipio Africanus Maior and mother of the Gracchi. For a clearer picture of the family ties of Cornelia, cf. the stemma at the end of this chapter.

10.2 The Laudatio

From ancient times it had been the custom of the ruling patrician gentes to make a wax death-mask (imago) of family members who when alive had held curule office. These were then displayed in the atrium⁴ and beneath them were inscriptions (tituli) which listed the various political and religious offices the deceased had held.⁵ In time these

⁴Val. Max. 5,8,3: "effigies maiorum cum titulis suis idcirco in prima parte aedium poni solere, ut eorum virtutes posterius non solum legerent, sed etiam imitarentur"; cf. Premerstein, art. "Elogium" in RE 5,2 2442,21 ff.

⁵Cf. Suet. Galb. 3; these tituli were quite similar to the oldest grave inscriptions and in fact, in the glosses, the word elogium was translated by titulus (Corp. Gloss. lat. 6,1 p. 382).

tituli were made public, as when Appius Claudius (cos. 307 and 296) decorated the temple of Bellona, dedicated by him in 296 BC, with the imagines of his ancestors and their accompanying tituli (Plin. n.h. 35,12). Augustus did somewhat of the same thing in his forum by erecting in the hall of his temple to Mars Uitor statues and tituli of famous Republican generals.⁶

These lists of offices held, achievements in peace and war and geneological affiliations were also affixed to the tombs of the great men, and the inscriptions were then called elogia, with these elogia becoming in time something of a literary genre.⁷ Very close to the elogia (inscriptions generally in verse) are the carmina epigraphica,

⁶Suet. Aug. 31,5. M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 78 and the grandfather-in-law of Cornelia, placed the imagines of his family with their tituli in the Basilica Aemilia (Plin. n.h. 35,13).

⁷Aul. Gell. 3,7,19: ". . . monumentis, signis, statuis, elogiis, historiis aliisque rebus"; an inscription in Saturnian metre which Cicero read on the tomb of A. Atilius Caiatinus (cos. 258) was described by him as an elogium (Cat. m. 61; de fin. 2,116); in honour of Drusus, Augustus composed an elogium in verse to be inscribed on the tomb (Suet. Claud. 1); cf. too the inscriptions on the tombs of the Scipiones, CIL 1¹, 29-38 = 6,1284-91. Atticus composed elogia of famous people in verse (cf. Schanz-Hosius, Gesch. d. röm. Lit. 8,1,330) as did Varro (ibid., 561 f.) in a book called the Imagines; cf. Premerstein, a.c., 2441,28 ff.: "Von den uns erhaltenen Denkmälern können zweifellos als elogia benannt werden die Grabschriften auf den Sarkophagen der Scipionen." Cicero composed two such laudationes in book form, one on Cato's suicide in 46 and another to Porcia, the wife of M. Brutus (cf. Cic. ad Att. 13,37,3 and 13,48,2). Such literary laudationes appear on the monuments in hexameter form, e.g., at CIL 6,12.

usually 'spoken' by the dead man himself, while in the case of epitaphs of women, a husband or patron usually makes the elogium, the most ancient example of which is the elogium of Claudia.⁸ Among the lower classes the funerary inscription tended to take the place of the laudatio,⁹ which itself probably originated during the meal which terminated the obsequies, called the silicernium,¹⁰ when the orator

⁸CIL 1², 1211 = 6,15346 = Ernout, Textes archaïques, no. 133:

Hospes quod deico paullum est: asta ac pellege.
 Heic est sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrai feminae.
 Nomen parentes nominarunt Claudium.
 Suom mareitum corde deilexit souo.
 Gnatos duos creavit, horunc alterum
 In terra linquit, alium sub terra locat.
 Sermone lepida, tum autem incessu commodo.
 Domum servavit, lanam fecit. Dixi. Abei.

⁹M. Durry, Eloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine (Eloge dit de Turia), Paris, 1950, xxix.

¹⁰Paul. p. 377 L. (after Verr. Flaccus): "Silicernium erat genus farciminis, quo fletu familia purgabatur"; in modern Italy the funeral meal still occurs, called consuolo: the following is a description of a Sardinian funeral lament, called attittu: "Le attittadoras [= women skilled in the ritual of funeral laments] in sul primo entrare presso il defunto tengono il capo chino, le mani composte, il viso ristretto e procedono in silenzio quasi di conserva oltre passando il letto funebre, come se per avventura non si fossero accorte che nè bara nè morto, ivi fosse. Indi, alzati come a caso gli occhi, e visto il defunto a giacere, danno repente in un altissimo strido, battono palma a palma e gittano i manti dietro le spalle, si danno in fronte ed escono in lai dolorosi e strani. Imperochè, levato un crudelissimo compianto, altre si strappano i capelli, squarcian coi denti le bianche pezzuole che ciascuna ha in mano, si graffiano e sterminano le guance, si provocano ad urli ad omei, a singhiozzi gemebondi e affocati, si dissipano in larghissimo compianto Questi carmi funebri sono dalla prefica declamati quasi a guisa di canto con appoggiature di ritmo, e intrecci di rima e calore d'affetti e robustezza

attempted to illustrate how the dead man had contributed to the gloria of his family and his race.¹¹ The typically Roman custom¹² of having the funeral cortège of an important person, followed by hired actors who wore the imagines of the ancestors of the deceased and by the sound of horns and cymbals, stop at the rostrum in the forum where a leading member of the dead man's family or a representative gave a public laudatio impressed Polybios very much.¹³ The most ancient laudatio which we have preserved is that pronounced in 221 over L. Caecilius Metellus, cos. 251 and 247, dict. 224, conqueror of the Carthaginian elephants and saviour of the

d' immagini, scioltezza di frasi e voli di fantasia rapidissimi: termina ogni stoffa in un augurio doloroso gridando: --ahi! ahi! ahi!--e tutto il coro delle altre donne, rinnovellando il pianto, ripetono a guisa di eco: --ahi! ahi! ahi!" P. Toschi, Il Folklore. Tradizioni, vita e arti popolari (Conosci l'Italia, vol. x), Touring Club Italiano, Milan, 1967, 25.

¹¹Cf. Durry, o.c., xvii and P. Lejay, Histoire de la littérature latine 1, Paris, 1923, 183: "Car alors toute cette littérature avant la littérature est au service d'une seule passion, la gloire." See too the speech of Appius Claudius Crassus before the comitium (Livy 6,40,4), itself probably modelled on a family elogium or titulus imaginis: "nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium inter quos nos esse voluistis dici vere posset."

¹²Dion. Hal. 5,17 called the rite 'Ρωμαίων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον εὖρημα τὸ παρὰ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπαίνους τῆς ἀρετῆς αἰτῶν λέγεσθαι.

¹³6,54,2: ἐξ ὧν καινοποιουμένης ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμης ἀθανατίζεται μὲν ἡ τῶν καλῶν τι διαπραξαμένων εὐκλεία, γνῶριμος δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ παραδόσιμος τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἡ τῶν εὐεργετησάντων τὴν

Palladium. He was lauded as follows (Plin n.h. 7,139):

"decem maximas res optumasque, in quibus quaerendis sapientes aetatem exigerent, consummasse eum; voluisse enim primarium bellatorem esse, optimum oratorem, fortissimum imperatorem, auspicio suo maximas res geri, maximo honore uti, summa sapientia esse, summum senatorem haberi, pecuniam magnam bono modo invenire,¹⁴ multos liberos relinquere et clarissimum in civitate esse, haec contigisse ei nec ulli alii post Romam conditam."¹⁵ Cicero, however (along with others)¹⁶

πατρίδα γίνεται δόξα; for a description of the cortège and the rites at the rostra, see Durry, o.c., xi-xiv and the literature there cited.

¹⁴Cf. Polybios 6,56,3 talking about financial morals at Rome: καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἐν καλῷ τίθενται τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου χρηματισμόν, κατὰ τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐν ὀνειδέει ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπειρημένων πλεονεξίαν.

¹⁵Cf. Marrou, Hist. of Educ. in Antiq. (Mentor MQ 552), trans. G. Lamb, New York, 1956 (Paris, 1948), 324: "Together these various elements (the mos maiorum, study of law, military experience) made up a kind of culture and education that were typically Latin. There is a strikingly succinct picture of it--and it is an excellent example of the plainness and sobriety of Roman eloquence before it came under the Greek influence--in Pliny's account of the funeral oration delivered by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in the year 221 at his grandfather Lucius' funeral"; cf. too Münzer, art. "Caecilius" no. 72 (Lucius) in RE 3 ,1 1203.

¹⁶Brut. 16,62: "et hercules hae quidem [= laudationes mortuorum] exstant: ipsae enim familiae sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant et ad usum, si quis eiusdem generis occidisset, et ad memoriam laudum domesticarum et ad illustrandum nobilitatem suam. quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. multa enim scripta sunt in eis, quae facta non sunt, falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum eiusdem nominis infunderentur genus"; cf. Livy 8,40,4: "vitiata memoriam

complains that in these laudationes funebres history was often falsified, as were geneologies and honours attained, in order to increase the importance of the life which the dead man had lived. Yet despite this Mommsen (CIL 1¹, p. 282) valued the historical validity of the elogia very highly indeed, claiming that they derived from the old annals and contained much valuable historical and biographical information.

The right of women to a public laudatio dates at least from the fourth century when, according to Livy (5,50, 7), the matronae who had given their gold and jewels to help ransom Rome from the Celts were accorded a laudatio: "matronis gratiae actae honosque additur ut earum sicut virorum post mortem sollemnis laudatio esset." Cicero credits Q. Lutatius Catulus (fl. c. 100 BC) with having been the first to deliver a laudatio for a woman: "a te est Popilia, mater vestra, laudata, cui primum mulieri hunc honorem in nostra civitate tributum puto" (de orat. 2,11,44). In general, however, only women who had lived very long and outstandingly virtuous lives were accorded this honour. Caesar reportedly made an innovation when he gave the

funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familia ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallenti mendacio trahunt, inde certe et singulorum gesta et publica monumenta rerum confusa," and see ibid., 27,27,12.

laudatio for his young wife Cornelia.¹⁷

In the 2nd Book of his de Oratore (2,43-48; 341-348) Cicero outlines the plan of a laudatio, stating that it was best to proceed along a chronological format by reviewing first the bona naturae et fortunae, aut corporis aut extraneae,¹⁸ and to finish by listing the various virtues which illustrate the qualities and exploits first listed.¹⁹ As Quintilian reminds us,²⁰ the chronological plan--rerum ordinem sequi--came first in the oratorical development of the laudatio and the plan according to virtues--in species virtutum dividere laudes--only later. In relation to this, it will be remembered from the laudatio of Metellus that he had fulfilled a ten-point programme of personal success and it is interesting to note how they proceed: first the cursus and then the private life per virtutes. When this is compared to the laudatio of a woman, it will be noticed that in place of the history of the aristocratic honores et

¹⁷Plut. Caes. 5,1-2: νέαις δ' οὐκ ὁ ἐν ἔθει, πρῶτος εἶπε Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀποθανούσης; cf. ibid., de mul. virt. 1 (242 F): ἄριστα δ' ὁ Ῥωμαίων δοκεῖ νόμος ἔχειν, ὥσπερ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ δημοσίᾳ μετὰ τελευτῇ τοῦς προσήκοντας ἀποδίδους ἐπαινοῦς.

¹⁸de orat. 2,45-46: "pecuniae, propinquorum, amicorum, formae, virium, ingeni et ceterarum rerum, quae sunt aut corporis aut extraneae."

¹⁹Ibid., 2,46: "quid sapienter . . . , quid liberaliter, quid fortiter, quid iuste, quid magnifice, quid grate, quid humaniter"

²⁰3,7; cf. 11,3,153.

virtutes one substitutes the traditional bona domestica.

For example, this is the case in the two most famous laudationes of women which have been preserved for us, the laudatio Turiae (CIL 6,1527), which dates from the time of Augustus, and the so-called laudatio "Murdiae" (CIL 6,10230) of uncertain date, but probably some time in the first century of our era. In the former (1,30 ff.), the husband praises his wife for her pudicitia, obsequium, comitas, facilitas, lanificium, modestia, probitas, diligentia and fides, adding the further remark (2,19): quid hac virtute efficacius?, alluding thereby to her almost manly virtue; in the latter, a son praises his mother (27 ff.) "quod modestia probitate pudicitia opsequio lanificio diligentia fide par similisque ceteris probeis feminis fuit,"²¹ after having earlier (17) informed us that she was awarded a laudatio "consensu civium" due to her "gratum fidumque animum in viros, aequilitatem in liberos, iustitiam in veritate" (19 f.). Quite similar lists of female virtues reappear over and over again in the inscriptions; at CIL 5,7116 the woman is praised for being casta pudica decens sapiens generosa and probata, while at CIL 6,11602 another is lanifica, pia, pudica, frugi, casta, domiseda. CIL 8,11294 is to a "mater

²¹The two laudationes list seven qualities in common, while the one to Murdia has as well caritas, aequalitas and iustitia--virtues which it is quite appropriate for a son to ascribe to his mother and which as well have a strangely Christian flavour about them.

bona, avia piissima, pudica, religiosa, laboriosa, frugi, efficax, vigilans, sollicita, univira, unicuba, totius industriae et fidei matrona"; 8,7384 describes a woman as "conservatrix dulcissima, mater omnium hominum, parens o[mn]ibus subvenies, innocens, castissima, praestans, rarissima, v(ixit) a(nnos) LXXXI. tristem fecit neminem" and at 10,1909 the writer, rather than go through the entire list, simply says: "castissimae fidelissimae pientissimae cuius plura mirabilia bene facta per singula perscriberf (sic) volui; set nusquam neque tempus neque locus sufficebat."²²

In comparison with the virtues listed in these inscriptions, the literary laudatio which Propertius writes for Cornelia contains remarkably similar sentiments, with one notable exception: Cornelia begins her laudatio of herself by listing her pedigree (29-32; again at 47), which is quite consistent with the usual practice for the laudatio of a notable male. Cornelia then has one quality the women of the usual inscriptions lack--nobilitas. Her aristocratic

²²For further illustrations cf. CIL 2,487, 4403, 5677; 3,3355, 5825, 10222; 5,1778, 4187, 5202; 6,1527, 7290, 9275, 12056, 13017, 23773; 8,1288, 1542, 8500, 11294, 16286, 24986, 27505; 10,1909; 11,1800; 13,2244, 2774; 14,3579,4276; for the traditional qualities of the Roman woman, see Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine⁹, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1919, 1,314. The laudationes of famous women include those of Popilia in 102 by her son Lutatius Catulus, of Cornelia in 68 by her husband Caesar, of Iulia in 68 by her nephew Caesar (Suet. Caes. 6), of Caecilia in 42 by her son Atticus (Nep. Att. 17,1), of Octavia in 11 by her brother Augustus.

blood-line is quite naturally emphasized, with the proud and dignified statement that her virtutes are not the result of a cloistered life nor due to a base fear of reprisal, but of breeding and the innate patrician reverence for the mos maiorum:

mi natura dedit leges a sanguine ductas,
ne possis melior iudicis esse metu
(47 f.).

It seems significant too that the next quality to which an allusion is made is that of fides: she is faithful to her class, to her traditions and to her husband:

mox, ubi iam facibus cessit praetexta maritis,
vinxit et acceptas altera vitta comas,
iungor, Paulle, tuo sic discessura cubili:
in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar
(33 ff.).²³

There follow next in quick succession the virtues of obsequium, modestia, probitas morum, familiae pietas and innocentia:

²³Cf. the laudatio Turiae 1,27 f.: "Rara sunt tam diuturna matrimonia finita morte, non divertio in/terrupta; nam contigit / nobis ut ad annum XXXXI sine offensa perduceretur"; Cornelia's statement (36) that uni nupta fuisse legar recalls the fact that the epithet univira (univiria) or something expressing a similar idea was found often in funerary inscriptions, cf. CIL 5,7763; 6,2318, 3604, 12405, 25392, 26268, 31711; unius marita 13,2216; 6,14404; 9,3158; univira unicuba 8,11294; unicuba uniuga 3,3572; uno contenta marito 2,78; 11,2538; cui virgo nupsit et vixit cum eo in diem fati sui 14,1641; cf. 3,2217. The word virginia was much used in inscriptions to denote this relationship; cf. CIL 10,3720: "cum quo vixit ab virginitate sua ad finem vitae suae"; see CIL 6,19253, 37207; 11,216; 13,2000.

me neque censurae legem moluisse neque ulla
 labe mea vestros erubuisse focos.
 non fuit exuviis tantis Cornelia damnum:
 quin et erat magnae pars imitanda domus.
 nec mea mutata est aetas, sine crimine tota est:
 viximus insignes inter utramque facem
 (41 ff.).

Cornelia claims to have done nothing to embarrass the moral authority of her husband's censorship, to which post he was appointed by Augustus in 22 BC after there had been an interval of some years in the holding of that office. This being the case, it would of course be especially important that the holder of the revived office of censor be particularly blameless in his private life; Cornelia is justifiably proud of the fact that the Princeps picked her husband for the position.²⁴ Her statement in line 42 recalls the laudatio Turiae where (1,1) the first thing that is praised by the husband is his wife's [mo]run probit[ate], while the mention in line 44 that Cornelia upheld the great traditions of her forefathers and was an example to others finds its echo in the laudatio Turiae as well, where the wife is praised for her familiae pietas (1,31 ff.): "[cur dicam de tuorum cari]tate, familiae pietate, cum aequae matrem meam ac tuos

²⁴In line 67 she again makes reference to it, alluding this time to the birth of her only daughter, a specimen censurae . . . paternae; through her fides and fecunditas Cornelia adds increased moral weight to her husband's au-
toritas in his attempts to uphold the precepts of the Lex
Iulia. Discouragement of celibacy was in fact one of the
 traditional activities of the censorial office, cf. Cic. de
leg. 3,7: "caelibes esse prohibento, mores populi reguntō,
 probum in senatu ne relinquento."

parentes col[ueris eandemque cum omnibus] matronis dignam
f[a]mam co[l]entibus." The whole tone in fact of this section of the elegy recalls that of an elogium (also written in elegiacs) written a century or so earlier for one of Cornelia's relatives, Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Hispanus, in which this famous Scipio is praised in almost the same terms as is Cornelia (= CIL 1², p. 15 = 6,1293 = Ernout, no. 18):

Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Hispanus
pr. aid. cur. q.
tr. mil. 11, X vir sl. iudik.
X vir sacr. fac.

Virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi,
progeniem genui, facta patris petiei.
maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibi me esse creatum
laetentur: stirpem nobilitavit honor.

In illustration of her pudicitia, Cornelia lists two famous past examples of female chastity: the one, Claudia Quinta, successfully dislodged the ship carrying the Magna Mater up the Tiber in 205 BC. The ship had run aground and Claudia drew it off the shoal after first publicly praying, as Suetonius says (Tib. 2,3): "ut ita demum se sequeretur, si sibi pudicitia constaret"²⁵; the other, Aemilia, a Vestal of long standing, left one of her charges to tend the sacred fire and it went out. As we have seen from Elegy 4, this was normally taken as a sign that the Vestal responsible had been unchaste. Aemilia prayed to the goddess to deliver a

²⁵See too Ovid, fast. 4,299 ff.

sign that she was innocent and laid her linen garment upon the hearth; immediately the fire blazed up again.²⁶ But as the ultimate witness to her chastity, Cornelia calls upon her mother Scribonia, thereby illustrating her caritas.²⁷ Even the great Augustus said that Cornelia had been a (half)sister worthy of his daughter Julia and shed tears at her passing:

nec te, dulce caput, mater Scribonia, laesi:
 in me mutatum quid nisi fata velis?
 maternis laudor lacrimis urbisque querelis,
 defensa et gemitu Caesaris ossa mea.
 Ille sua nata dignam vixisse sororem
 increpat, et lacrimas vidimus ire deo
 (55 ff.).

Lines 57 f., with their mention of public mourning for Cornelia, recall the statement in the laudatio Murdiae (17 ff.): "post decessum consensu civium laudaretur, quom discriptio partium habeat gratum fidumque animum in viros, aequalitatem in liberos, iustitiam in veritate."

Given the moral climate of Augustan Rome, it is perhaps no surprise that Cornelia places much emphasis upon her fecunditas. In 18 BC the laws which the Princeps felt would

²⁶Cf. Dion. Hal. 2,68; Val. Max. 1,1,7; for pudicitia see too CIL 6,19128: "Alexandriae insignis exempli ac pudicitiae, quae etiam filios suos propriis uberibus educavit."

²⁷Cf. Cic. part. 56: "aut caritate moventur homines ut deorum, ut patriae, ut parentum" and see the laudatio Turiae (1,31) where the wife is mentioned as having tuorum caritas; so too that of Murdia, lines 5 f.: "Amor maternus caritate liberum, aequalitate partium constat." Cornelia exhibits her suorum caritas further at lines 63 f. and 67 f.

contribute to the re-establishment of morality and the production of offspring, the Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus and the Lex Iulia de adulteriis, were enacted with the avowed aim of bringing the size of aristocratic families under the encouragement and protection of the State. However, the wealth needed to support adequately a patrician family in Augustan Rome placed a rigorous limit on its size. Accordingly, Augustus proposed rewards, both financial and socio-political, to encourage the breeding of children among the aristocracy. Cornelia, a model matrona in every way, did not disappoint the Princeps in this respect as well: she had three children by Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, and it is to this that she refers in lines 61 f.:

et tamen emerui generosos vestis honores,
nec mea de sterili facta rapina domo.

The vestis referred to is the stola: as a married woman of high rank Cornelia had the right to wear this garment.²⁸ It also appears as if the honos mentioned was something similar to the ius trium liberorum which was conferred upon the fathers of three children.²⁹ Cassius Dio (55,2) tells us that Livia (in 9 BC) was given the status of a woman who had borne three children and it must be to such a status or

²⁸Fest. p. 112,26 L.: "Matronas appellabant eas fere, quibus stolas habendi ius erat"; cf. Cic. Phil. 2,44: "qui te . . . , tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit."

²⁹Cf. Cass. Dio 54,16.

position which Cornelia is here referring, a position which evidently included some type of distinctive dress.³⁰

Following this, Cornelia then turns to her daughter and urges her to imitate her mother's example and be faithful to one husband (67 f.):

filia, tu specimen censurae nata paternae,
fac teneas unum nos imitata virum.

This sentiment was expressed in remarkably similar terms by a certain Pompeia (CIL 8,3123): "Opto meae caste contingat vivere natae ut nostro exemplo discat amare virum." The laudatio Turiae³¹ also shows that at this time life-long monogamous unions were the ideal, not the norm, especially among the aristocracy.³²

At lines 77 ff. Cornelia addresses her husband for the last time in words remarkable for the lofty sentiments

³⁰Cf. Friedländer, Sittengesch. 1,281: "Den Müttern dreier Kinder war (wie es scheint bereits unter August) ein besondres Ehrenkleid bewilligt worden, eine durch irgend- weichen Schmuck ausgezeichnete Form der allen unbeschatnten Frauen zustehenden Stola; auch als diese (unter den ersten Kaisern) aus der Mode kam, erhielt sich das Ehrenkleid und der Titel der Stolatträgerin (stolata femina), und zwar ohne Zweifel nicht bloss für die Mütter, sondern auch für die Frauen, denen die Kaiser das Kinderrecht verliehen hatten"; see too Marquardt, Privatl.², 575 ff.

³¹1,27 f.: "Rara sunt tam diuturna matrimonia finita morte, non divertio in[terrupta]."

³²Cf. Syme, o.c., 444: "In the aristocracy of the last age of the Republic marriage had not always been blessed with either offspring or permanence. Matches contracted for the open and avowed ends of money, politics or pleasure were lightly dissolved according to the interest or the whim of either party."

of tenderness and love which they contain; even in death Cornelia's last thoughts are for her surviving family--for the welfare of her children and the happiness of her husband; she is the exemplary wife and mother to the end:

oscula cum dederis tua flentibus, adice matris:
 tota domus coepit nunc onus esse tuum.
 et si quid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis.
 cum venient, siccis oscula falle genis.
 sat tibi sint noctes, quas de me, Paulle, fatiges,
 somniaque in faciem credita saepe meam.

This is a masterful psychological touch; Cornelia bids Paullus to hide his grief in public and from the children and to give way to it only at night, a time when he would, of course, be most likely to miss her.³³ The day was, for a busy public figure like Paullus, given over to business and politics but the nights were when husband and wife were together; it was their special time and Paullus would miss his wife most acutely in the painful loneliness of his bed. This sentiment of grief over the loss of the woman with whom one has spent a lifetime sharing the most intimate of human relationships is echoed in the laudatio Turiae (2,63 ff.): "Naturalis dolor extorquet const[an]tiae vires; maerore mensor et quibus [angor luctu taedioque] in necutro mihi consto; repeten[s p]ristinos casus meos futurosque eve[ntus ab omni spe de]cido. Mihi tantis talibusque pr[aesi]diis orbatus, intuens famam tuam n[on tam fortiter pa]rtiendo haec quam ad desider[ium] luctumque reservatus

³³Cf. CIL 6,9792: "praecedere voluisti sanctissima coix ut me relinqueres in lachrimis."

videor."

Masterful too is the suggestion that he will be able to see her in his dreams and speak with her. This sentiment was actually voiced on an inscription (CIL 6,18817; cf.

Friedländer, Sittengesch. 1,314): "Furia spes L. Sempronio Firmo coniugi carissimo mihi. Ut cognovi, puer puella obligati (sumus) amor[e] pariter; cum quo vixi tempor[e] minimo, et quo tempore vivere debuimus a manu male disparati sumus. Ita peto vos, [Ma]nes sanctissimae, commendat[um] habeatis meum ca[ru]m et vellitis huic indulgentissimi esse, horis nocturnis ut eum videam, et etiam me fato suadere vellit, ut et ego possim dulcius et celerius apud eum pervenire."

Indeed, the appearance in dreams of the dead to the living is for Jung a proof of the existence of life after death:

"Aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle ist die Frage nach der Immortalität so dringend, so unmittelbar und auch so unausrottbar, dass man den Versuch wagen muss, sich irgendeine Auffassung darüber zu bilden. Aber wie könnte das möglich sein?

Meine Hypothese ist, dass wir dazu instande sind mit Hilfe von Andeutungen, die uns das Unbewusste schickt, z.B. in Träumen."³⁴

The practical and dutiful Cornelia even takes steps to relieve the loneliness of her husband and to smooth over

³⁴Erinnerungen, etc., o.c., 304; cf. too 312 f.

MVRDIAE · L · F · MATRIS

SED · PROPRIIS · VIRIBVS · ADLEVENT · CETERA · QVÓ · FIRMIORA
PROBÁBILIORAQVE · SINT

OMNES·FÍLIOS·AEQVE·FECIT·HEREDÉS·PARTITIONE·FILIAE·DATA·AMOR

- 5 MATERNVS · CARITATE · LIBERV · AEQUALITATE · PARTIV · CONSTAT
VIRO·CERTAM·PECVNIAM·LEGAVIT·VT·IŪS·DOTIS·HONORE·IVDICĪ·AVGERETVR
MIHI·REVOCATÁ·MEMORIÁ·PATRIS·EÀQVE·IN·CÓNSILIV · ET·FIDÉ·SVÁ·AD
HIBITÁ·AESTVMATIONE·FACTÁ·CERTÁS·RES·TESTAMENTO·PRAELEGAVIT'
NEQVE·EÁ·MENTE·QVO·MÉ·FRATRIBVS·MEIS·QVOM·FORVM·ALIQVÁ *sic*
10 CONTVMELIÁ·PRAEFERRET·SED·MEMOR·LIBERALITATIS·PATRIS·MEI
REDDENDA·MIHI·STATVIT·QVAE·IVDICIO·VIRI·SVI·EX·PATRIMONIO
MEÓ·CEPISSET·VT·EA·ŪSSV·SVO·CVSTODITA·PROPRIETATI·MEAE·RESTI *sic*
TVRENTVR

CONSTITIT·ERGO·IN·HOC·SIBI·IPSA·VT·Á·PARENTIBVS·DIGNIS·VIRIS·DATA

- 15 MATRIMONIA · OPSEQVIO · PROBATE · RETINERET · NVPTA · MERITEIS·GRA
TIOR·FIERET·FIDE·CARIOR·HABERETVR·IVDICIO·ORNATOR·RELINQVERE
TVR·POST·DECESSVM·CONSENSŪ·CIVIVM·LAVDARETVR·QVOM·DISCRIPTIO
PARTIV · HABEAT·GRATVM · FIDVMQVE·ANIMVM·IN·VIROS·AEQUALITA
TEM·IN·LIBEROS·IVSTITIAM·IN·VERITÁTE
20 QVIBVS·DE·CAVSEIS·Q·QVOM·OMNIVM·BONARVM · FÉMINÁRV · SIMPLEX·SIMI *sic*
LISQVE·ESSE·LAVDATIO·SOLEAT·QVOD·NATVRALIA·BONA·PROPRIÁ·CVSTO
DIÁ·SERVATA·VARIETATÉS·VERBORVM · NON · DESIDERENT·SATISQVE · SIT
EAD · OMNES · BONÁ·FAMÁ·DIGNA·FECISSE · ET·QVIA·ADQVIRERE
NOVAS·LAVDES·MVLIERĪ · SIT · ARDVOM · QVOM · MINORIBVS · VARIETA
25 TIBVS·VITA · IACTETVR·NECESSARIO·COMMVNIA·ESSE·COLENDÁ·NE·QVOD
ÁMISSVM · EX·IŪSTIS · PRAECEPTIS·CETERA·TVRPET
EÓ·MAIOREM·LAVDEM·OMNIVM·CARISSIMA·MIHI·MÁTER · MERVIT·QVOD
MODESTIÁ·PROBATE·PVDICITIA·OPSEQVIO·LANIFICIO·DILIGENTIA·FIDE·
PÁR·SIMILISQVE·CETEREIS·PROBEIS·FEMINIS·FVIT·NEQVE·ŪLLI·CESSIT·VIR
30 TŪTIS·LABORIS·SAPIENTIAE·PERICVLORVM·PRAECIPVAM·AVT·CERTE

FIG. 15

The Elogium Murdiae

this most difficult period of transition by suggesting that Paullus might indeed marry again and accordingly advising her children to accept their father's choice. She knows that she will ever be in their memory and she is solicitous only for the well-being of her family:

coniugum, pueri, laudate et ferte paternum:
capta dabit vestris moribus illa manus;
nec matrem laudate nimis: collata priori
vertet in offensas libera verba suas
seu memor ille mea contentus manserit umbra
et tanti cineres duxerit esse meos
(87 ff.).

Once again the laudatio Turiae may afford a parallel. There, after 41 years of marriage and no children, out of a rare affection for her husband, the wife selflessly and magnanimously suggests that her husband find a woman who can bear him children and that she will regard them as her own; she will not even ask for her dowry back again but will continue to live with him like a sister or mother-in-law;³⁵ this deepest expression of the love and fidelity of his wife profoundly moved the writer of the laudatio and he finally says (2,45 ff.): "Sed quid plura? [permansisti] aput me; neque

³⁵2,31 ff.: "Diffidens fecunditati tuae [et do]llens orbitate mea, ne tenen[d]o [in matrimonio] te spem habendi liberos [dep]onerem atque eius caussa ess[em] infelix, de divertio] elocuta es, vacuumque [do]mum alterius fecunditati t[e] tradituram, non alia] mente nisi ut nota con[co]rdia nostra tu ipsa mihi di[g]nam con]dicionem quaereres p[ara]-resque, ac futuros liberos t[e] communes pro]que tuis habituram adf[irm]ares, neque patrimoni nos[tri, quod adhuc] fuerat commune, separa[ti]onem facturam, sed in eodem [arbitrio meo id] et si vellem tuo ministerio [fu]turum: nihil seiunctum, ni[hil separatum te] habituram, sororis soc[rusve] officia pietatemque mihi d[e]inceps praestitutam."

enim ced[er]e tibi sine dedecore meo et co[m]muni infelicitate poteram."

10.3 The Stream of Elysium

Her accomplishments having been listed, her fate pleaded before the bar of the Underworld and the welfare of her family having been tended to, Cornelia ends her laudatio with the observation that as a result of her meritorious life she is worthy of the rewards of Elysium:

moribus et caelum patuit: sim digna merendo,
cuius honoratis ossa vehantur aquis
(101 f.).

There has been some discussion over just exactly what Propertius wrote in line 102 as the substantive which accompanies honoratis: is it aquis or avis? Those in favour of the latter (first conjectured by Heinsius in 1742) refer to a similar phrase in the Consolatio ad Liviam (line 330): "ille pio . . . in arvo / inter honoratos excipietur avos." But for me at any rate the phrase honoratis . . . aquis is to be preferred because of what Propertius says at 4,7,55 ff. In that passage the dead are conceived of as going either to Elysium or to perdition by separate channels of the infernal river:

nam gemina est sedes turpem sortita per amnem,
turbaque diversa remigat omnis aqua.
una Clytaemestrae stuprum vehit, aut ea Cressae
portat mentitae lignea monstra bovis:
ecce coronato pars altera rapta phaselo,
mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas,
qua numerosa fides, quaque aera rotunda Cybebes.
mitratisque sonant Lydia plectra choris.

It will be noticed that in both passages the verb used to express the method of travel is vehere, which in both passages can only refer to conveyance by boat over a river; the waters which lead to Elysium are termed honoratis in Elegy 11, just as those which lead to Hades are called turpem in 4,7,55 (cf. as well the term sceleratus with reference to the burial ground of disgraced Vestals).³⁶ The effect of this final distich is to recall that in illo tempore a life of exemplary virtue and good deeds had been rewarded by apotheosis; Hercules, Romulus and Caesar have shown the way. On a more human level, the inspiring elogia of heroic men such as Cossus, Marcellus, the Scipiones, and other great generals and statesmen bear eloquent witness that a lifetime lived in accordance with the ius divinum and the mos maiorum will both give glory to the State and open the way to heaven. By thus having Cornelia express her confidence in a similar reward, Propertius is in fact stating that the protection vouchsafed by Heaven so long ago³⁷

³⁶For honoratus referring to burial in a sense contrary to that of sceleratus, cf. Tac. ann. 2,63: "responsum Caesare tutam ei honoratamque sedem in Italia fore."

³⁷Cf. the words of the apotheosized Romulus to Julius Proculus (Livy 1,16,7): "Abi, nuntia" inquit "Romanis, caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse." Obviously, the gods will protect Rome as long as her sons cultivate their virtus; it was Cornelia's virtues which won her heaven.

is still operative in his own time; in writing a laudatio for Cornelius Propertius is really praising Rome herself.

10.4 The Scribonii Libones

While on her paternal side Cornelia was related to the great houses of the Scipiones and the Aemilii, she also praises highly her maternal forebears, the Scribonii Libones (31 f.):

altera maternos exaequat turba Libones,
et domus est titulis utraque fulta suis.

The use of exaequare indicates that the Libones are placed on an equal footing with the Scipiones: they too have their tituli³⁸ and have rendered great service to the State. Our commentators are not very helpful on the subject of the Libones: Camps has nothing to say at all, while Butler and Barber (p. 381) dismiss them with the observation that "The Libones were not a particularly distinguished family; but it is a natural compliment to pay to the family of one who had been the wife of Augustus." This would seem to be in flat contradiction of Cornelia's statement. Rothstein is little better, saying merely that they "in der römischen Geschichte eine Rolle gespielt haben" (p. 352). It would appear that the family deserves better treatment than this.

³⁸Cf. Tac. ann. 2,27 speaking of M. Scribonius Libo Drusus (pr. AD 16):—"dum proavum Pompeium, amitam Scriboniam, quae quondam Augusti coniunx fuerat, consobrinos Caesares, plenam imaginibus domum ostentat."

The Libo branch of the gens Scribonia, of Sabine stock and originating probably from Caudium (CIL 1,1224 f. = 9,2171-73) is first heard of in 216, at which time a L. Scribonius Libo was tribunus populi (Livy 23,21,6; cf. 22,61,7). Even then the Libones were associated with the Aemilii.³⁹ In 204 he was praetor peregrinus in charge of Gaul and in possession of an army (Livy 29,11,11; 13,2). A L. Scribonius Libo was curile aedile in 194 (Livy 34,54,3) and in 149 another of the same name was again tribunus populi.⁴⁰ The family built fortifications at Caudium (CIL 1, 1224 f.) and dedicated a basilica there as well (CIL 1,1226 = 9,2174). The most famous member of the family, and the first to attain consular office, was Cornelia's uncle, L. Scribonius Libo, cos. 34. His only daughter, named also Scribonia, was married to Sex. Pompeius, the younger son of Cn. Pompeius. It was doubtless to gain political connections with Sextus that the twenty-three year old Octavian married the much older sister of Libo in 40 BC.⁴¹ Libo was very closely tied to Pompey, accompanying him to Greece and serving in his fleet as the lieutenant of Bibulus; when Bibulus died, Libo obtained sole command of the Pompeian

³⁹Cf. Münzer, art. "Scribonius (Libo)" in RE 2A, 880, 28 ff. (no. 16).

⁴⁰Ibid., 881 (no. 18).

⁴¹App. bell. civ. 5,53: ὃν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέλετο δὲ

naval forces. After the Battle of Pharsalus, he, like many another, made his peace with the victor; at the end of 43 he was proscribed and fled to Sex. Pompeius. His position improved when he arranged for the marriage of Octavian with his sister Scribonia together with that of his granddaughter, the daughter of Pompeius and his own daughter Scribonia, with the nephew of Octavian, C. Marcellus.⁴² In 34 he held the consulship with Antony. The association with the Aemilii is again marked, for Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, the husband of Libo's niece Cornelia, jointly minted coins with his uncle-in-law. Many inscriptions dating from the time of Augustus mention L. Scribonius Libo as patron (CIL 6,4651; 26023; 26029).

Libo's sister Scribonia (CIL 6,7467; 26032 f.; 31276), the mother of Cornelia, was married three times and, Suetonius to the contrary,⁴³ all three unions bore fruit. She was first wed to Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, cos. 56 BC,⁴⁴ by whom she bore a son, Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus

αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθενῶν εἰς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαικὴν
 συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνίᾳ, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος
 Πομπηίου, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν εἰς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν.

⁴² Ibid., 5,73.

⁴³ Aug. 62: "(Caesar) Scriboniam in matrimonium accepit nuptam ante duobus consularibus, ex altero etiam matrem."

⁴⁴ Fluss, art. "Scribonius" in RE 2A,1 891, no. 32; cf. RE 4,1389, no. 228.

(CIL 6,26033). Her second marriage was to a Scipio, in all probability the consul of 38, P. Scipio, which resulted in two children, a son P. Scipio, cos. 16, and a daughter Cornelia, the wife of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 34. In 40 BC she wed Octavian, a marriage which lasted but a year yet which produced the Princeps' only child, his daughter Iulia. The affection of Scribonia for her daughter may be measured by the fact that in 2 BC she accompanied Iulia into exile.⁴⁵

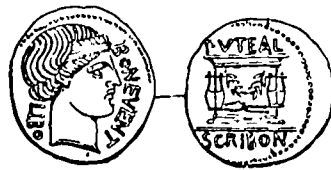
10.5 The Puteal Scribonianum

In 54 BC⁴⁶ Scribonius Libo, in association with Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, minted a denarius with the diademed head of Bonus Eventus and the legend LIBO on the obverse, while the reverse had the words: PVTEAL SCRIBON(ianum)⁴⁷ with an illustration of the puteal formed somewhat like an altar decorated with a garland of laurel and two lyres, while lying beneath the altar is something variously described as either (a) a hammer, (b) a pair of

⁴⁵Vell. 2,100,5: "voluntaria exili permansit comes"; cf. Cass. Dio 55,10,14 and see Fluss, a.c., 892,20 ff.

⁴⁶According to Mommsen, Münzwesen, 632 f., no 274; Babelon 2,426-428.

⁴⁷Paullus Lepidus also minted coins with the legend PVTEAL SCRIBON.; on the obverse was a head of Concordia (Babelon 2,428, no. 9).



8. BON. EVENT. LIBO. (*Bonus Eventus. Libo*). Tête diadémée de *Bonus Eventus*, à droite.
- ṛ. PVTEAL SCRIBON. (*Puteal Scribonianum*). Margelle du puits Scribonien ornée d'une guirlande de laurier et de deux lyres; au-dessous, un marteau ou des tenailles ou le bonnet de Vulcain.
- Denier.* — 2 fr.

FIG. 16

Coin showing the puteal Libonis

tongs, or (c) the hat of Vulcan;⁴⁸ Babelon (2,428) explains all of these as "emblèmes de la frappe des monnaies."

Mommsen (cf. p. 24, n. 46) describes the Scribonius coin as follows: "Altar mit Lorbeerkrantz und zwei Leiern, darauf Hammer oder Zange oder Vulcanushut; um den Altar puteal Scribon(ianum)."

The puteal Scribonianum (also called Libonis⁴⁹) was a low circular wall marking a spot in the Comitium between the temples of Castor and Vesta which had been struck by lightning and hence was regarded as religiosus.⁵⁰ Scribonius' coin marks his restoration of it, though it was probably built by the Libo who was tr. pop. in 149 (Münzer, no. 18). Paulus records in a somewhat mutilated passage that a certain Scribonius "cui negotium da[tum a senatu fuerat]" performed the religious rites involved in the burial of the thunderstone which had struck a sacellum in the

⁴⁸This same device is seen in association with Vulcan on a Caesarian marble relief found at Civit  Castellana; cf. I.S. Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art (Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome, 22), Rome, 1955, p. 7; 16; Weinstock, Div. Iul., o.c., pl. 14, facing p. 128.

⁴⁹Cf. Hor. epist. 1,19,8: "Forum Putealque Libonis / mandabo siccis"; cf. sat. 2,6,35; see as well Schol. Pers. sat. 4,49; Prop. ad Horat. sat. 1,9,1; Ovid, remed. amor. 561; Cic. pro Sest. 8,18.

⁵⁰Cf. Paul. p. 92 L., s.v. bidentalibus: "fulguritum . . . , qui locus statim fieri putabatur religiosus"; Plin. n.h., 17,124. See Viedebant, art. "Forum Romanum" in RE Suppl. 4,511, no. 46 ("Das Puteal Libonis"); Schneider, art. "Puteal" in RE 23,2 2035,50 ff.

Comitium.⁵¹ If lightning struck a locus publicus the pontifices had to be consulted and the lightning buried according to prescribed ritual,⁵² which included the erection around the sacred area of a round wall (puteal) with the inscription fulgur conditum.⁵³ Involved in this as well was the distinction between a fulgur Dium and a fulgur Summanum, since those bolts which fell by day were from Juppiter, while those which flashed at night were sent by Summanus.⁵⁴ Are we to assume from this that the Scribonii Libones were sacerdotes bidentales,⁵⁵ connected with the 'Sabine' thunder-god Semo Sancus,⁵⁶ or indeed with Vulcan? Verrius Flaccus records that the bones of an actor who had been struck by

⁵¹Paul. p. 448,33 ff. L.: "[Scribonianum ap]pella-
tur ante[a] atria [puteal, quod fecit Scri]bonius, cui nego-
tium da[tum a senatu fuerat, ut] conquereret sacella
att[acta . . . pro]curavit, quia in eo loco . . . sacellum
fuit, quod igno . . . ut quidam, fulgur conditum, quod [ne]
fas est integri semper foramin[e . . . aper] to caelum
patet."

⁵²See Thulin, Etrusk. Disciplin, o.c., 1,92-107.

⁵³CIL 6,30877; 9,1047; 10,1603, 6990, 7015; 12,1047,
2769, 2888, 2970, 3023, 4100; cf. Wissowa, RuK², 122.

⁵⁴Fest. p. 254,1 ff. L.: "Provorsum fulgur appella-
tur, quod ignoratur noctu an interdiu sit factum. Itaque
Iovi Fulguri et Summano fuit, quod diurna Iovis, nocturna
Summani fulgura habentur."

⁵⁵Cf. the decuria sacerdotium bidentalium, CIL 6,567,
568, 30994; 14,2839.

⁵⁶Sancus is father of Sabus, the eponym of the
Sabines; cf. Cato in Dion. Hal. 2,49,2; Sil. Ital. 8,420 ff.;
Lact. div. inst. 1,15,8; Augustin. civ. Dei 18,19.

lightning were buried in Volcanali⁵⁷ and Thulin (1,101) cites Jordan⁵⁸ for the following: "Münzbilder und eine wie es scheint genaue Nachbildung [= of the puteal Scribonianum], in Veji gefunden, zeigen uns die bekannte Gestalt eines puteal--: unerklärt sind bis jetzt die darauf sichtbaren Embleme, die Leier und der Hut des Vulcan." If indeed Vulcan had something to do with the burial of lightning bolts, this would explain the (possible) presence of his hat on the Scribonian coin.⁵⁹ Radke however, (p. 345) denies that Vulcan was in any way a god of lightning; the burial of a man struck by lightning in the Volcanal proves nothing, since "in diesem durch den Blitzschlag gegebenen Ausnahmefalle der altertümliche Begräbnisplatz innerhalb der Stadtgrenzen gewählt werden musste." Yet he ignores the

⁵⁷Fest. p. 370,29 ff. L.: "Statua est ludi eius, qui quondam fulmine ictus in Circo, sepultus est in Ianiculo. Cuius ossa postea ex prodigiis, oraculorumque responsis senatus decreto intra Urbem relata in Volcanali, quod est supra Comitium, obruta sunt; superque ea columna, cum ipsius effigie, posita est." The Volcanal is situated above the Comitium and is also called the area Volcani (Fest. p. 276,1 L.).

⁵⁸Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum, 2 vols., Berlin, 1871-1907, 1,2,403.

⁵⁹Cf. Thulin, o.c., 1,101 f.: "Nach diesen Zeugnissen [i.e., the denarius of Scribonius] zu urteilen, stand das Blitzgrab [= the puteal] in Rom unter dem Schutze des Vulcanus und zwar nicht des etruskischen Blitzgottes, sondern des römischen Beschützers vor Feuersbrunst." There is the further fact that Romulus seems to have had a special relationship to Vulcan: he dedicated a captured chariot to the god after the conquest of Cameria and his second triumph (Plut. Rom. 47; Plin. n.h., 16,236) and appears to have been the founder of his cult. It will be remembered that in his

possible evidence of the Scribonian coin as well as the fact that when the statue of Horatius Cocles was struck by lightning it was moved from the Comitium to the Volcanal (Aul. Gell. 4,5,1-4); in addition, it is curious that in Varro's list of the gods introduced to Rome by T. Tatius, Volcanus is placed beside Summanus. Pure coincidence perhaps, but it could also indicate a certain functional affiliation. And what of the presence of the two lyres and the garland of laurel on the coin of Scribonius Libo? These would appear to be symbols of Apollo (cf. 4,6,10 and 69): but what has Apollo to do with a puteal and with lightning? Is the Greek Apollo to be thought of as a god of lightning? According to Sophocles he is: at Oedipus Rex 469 f. he carries lightning:

ἔνοπλος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπενθρόσκει
 πυρὶ καὶ στεροπαῖς ὁ Διὸς γενέτας

while he protects his temple in Delphi against the attacks of the Phlegyans,⁶⁰ the Celts⁶¹ and Xerxes⁶² with

first triumph he dedicated the spolia opima to Juppiter on the Capitol; further, Vulcan appears together with Romulus on a relief at Civit  Castellana (RE 8A, 2504; 2515; cf. Weinstock, Div. Iul. 55). This is all strangely evocative of the motif of Romana virtus with which both Elegies 10 and 11 are concerned.

⁶⁰Paus. 9,36,3: τὸ μὲν δὴ φλεγυῶν γένος ἀνέτρεψεν ἐκ βάθρων ὁ θεὸς κεραυνοῖς συνεχέσι καὶ ἰσχυροῖς σεισμοῖς.

⁶¹Ibid., 10,23,1: Βρέννῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐς Δελφοῦς ἀθροισθέντες ἀντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀντεσήμεινε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχύ τε καὶ ὧν ἴσμεν φανερώτατα. ἥ τε γὰρ γῆ πᾶσα, ὅσῃν ἐπεῖχεν ἡ τῶν Γαλατῶν στρατιᾶ, βιαίως καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐσειέτο τῆς ἡμέρας, βρονταὶ τε καὶ κεραυνοὶ συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο.

⁶²Justin. 2,12,8.

thunderbolts. On a coin of Man. Fonteius there is what Babelon 1,506 f., no. 10 describes as a head of Apollo-Veiovis: beneath the head there is figured a lightning bolt.

10.6 Woman as Religious Exemplum

As stated at the outset, Elegy 11 is not an aition, nor does it celebrate any particular cult or god. It is a laudatio, actually an elogium and serves as the concluding poem to a Book which has concerned itself with a poetic and creative examination of the origins of Roman religious life. The poem is indeed an elogium in celebration of the special connection between Rome and her gods, actualized as it were in the life and person of Cornelia, who also represents, in a very palpable yet mystical way, the ewige Weiblichkeit, the eternal matrona Romana upon whose firm moral base the imperium Romanum has always rested (= fulcire, cf. line 32). In Rome the elogia were a connecting link between the world of the sacred and that of the profane which served as exempla to posterity illustrating the way in which a man, by his virtus and through keeping faith with divine ordinance, can become one with his gods. They demonstrate how a life piously lived and devoted to the service of the State can lift one beyond the mere limitations of Time and Space and render one immortal, thereby fulfilling the promise made by Heaven to Rome and imitating the very history of the Founder himself. Compare, for instance, the elogium of Romulus with that of

L. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio, cos. 298:

ELOGIUM ROMULI
(CIL 10,809)

Romulus Martis
[f]ilius. urbem Romam
[condi]dit et regnavit
annos duodequadraginta
isque primas dux duce hos-
tium Acrone rege Caeninen-
sium interfecto spolia
opi[ma] Iovi Feretrio con-
secra[vit] receptusque in
deoru[m] numerum Quirinu[s]
appellatu[s est . . .].

ELOGIUM L. CORNELI
Cn. f. SCIPIONIS
(CIL 1², 6,7)

[L. Corneli]o Cn. f. Scipio
Cornelius Lucius Scipio
Barbatus
gnaivod patre prognatus,
fortis vir sapiensque,
quoius forma virtuei
parisuma fuit,
cosol censor aidilis quei
fuit apud vos,
Taurasia Cisauna Samnio
cepit
subigit omne Loucanam opsi-
desque abdoucit.

Cornelia is not saying that she hopes for an apothe-
osis similar to that of Hercules, Romulus, Caesar or any of
the great men of the past; however, these people, through
their virtus and exemplary lives, have paved the way for
others to obtain a union with the blessed gods. Propertius,
here in the final elegy of the Book, is concerned with
demonstrating the direct connection between the gods and the
course of the City and how the point of all Roman history
now focuses upon the life of each member; on a wider scale,
the whole of his Book had as a primary aim the task of estab-
lishing the continuity of Roman religion. The long unbroken
line which streches from Aeneas (4,1,1), through Romulus and
down the fabled ages of Rome's heroic past leads directly to
the present and the house of the Princeps himself; the link
between past and present is still intact and the pious Roman,

male or female, is assured of a continued existence among his ancestors as recompense for maintaining the faith which was entrusted to the City at its inception. Elegy 11 in fact represents the actualization of all of the preceding Book, as well as a return to the gods and the di Manes, a completion of the divine pattern. The cycle is complete, the ring is closed and so ends Book 4. The completion is also valid for Propertius' poetic life: as he began his career with a woman, so he ends it with one, but where in 1,1 he celebrated a love composed of cupidines (1,2), fastus (3), and furor (7), which taught him castas odiisse puellas (5) and adversos habere deos (8), here in 4,11 he writes of a much higher and more ennobling love, a love which truly conquers all, even death; it is his final statement on the purpose and meaning of human existence, his ultimate expression of faith in the future of Rome, and the indissoluble union between men and gods. Here at the end Cornelia, and every true Roman, can say with Ennius:

mi sola caeli maxima porta patet.

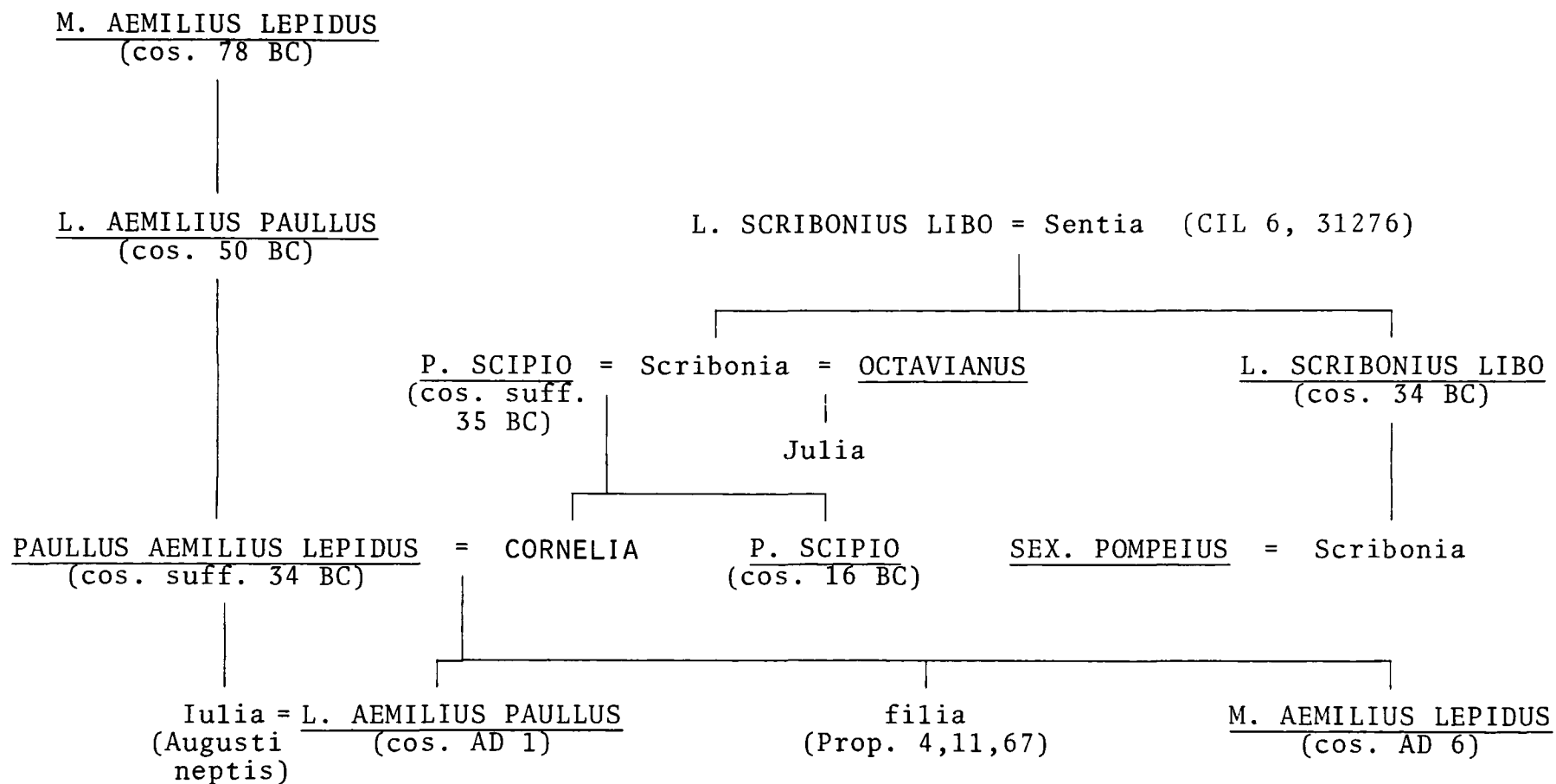


FIG. 17

A stemma of the family of Cornelia

CONCLUSION

Das schönste Glück des denkenden Menschen ist, das Erforschliche erforscht zu haben und das Unerforschliche ruhig zu verehren.

Goethe, Naturwissensch.
Schriften.

At this point in my work, where one is expected to draw valid conclusions which in some way encapsulate and crystalize what has gone before, I find myself faced with a most difficult task. Book 4 is immensely rich and varied, nearly all of Roman religion can be found there in some form or other, and any attempt to extract from the complex psychological, sociological and aesthetic matrix within which the genesis of the Book took place one or two 'conclusions' or 'influences' which might account for its composition seems to me, at best, ingenuous. The Book stands, a triumph of mythopoetic themes and literary art, defying the meagre attempts of academics to reduce it to a few easily labelled conclusions or dogmatically unchallenging theories. To conclude that the Book 'means' this or that, or to delude oneself into thinking that it can be reduced to any one set of viable interpretations, really means in effect that one is denying its validity as a piece of literature; if everything has been explained, all bumps and contours evened out, what need to consider it further as a vital force in contemporary affairs?

I do not, therefore, intend to offer the reader any absolute but ultimately ephemeral conclusions on the existence of Book 4; rather, I shall list several observations on the possible significance of the Book as a whole, observations which reflect the result of thorough study of the poems themselves and of many hours of hard work and careful thought. I do not claim that the observations which follow are conclusive; it is enough that they are logically plausible and consistent with psychological probabilities. It is to be hoped however that they, along with the main body of my work, may provide an impetus to scholars for further research.

The first thing to be noticed then is that with the publication of Book 4 Propertius demonstrated that he was fully active in the spirit of his age, not only as a vates in the Augustan meaning of that term nor even as a probably sincere adherent of Augustan religious policy insofar as this tallied with his own world-view, but in a much deeper and more fundamental cultural sense. There has been much written¹ about the influence of Callimachus' Aitia on Book 4, most of it more shadow than substance, for we really do not

²Cf. among others, G. Campagna, "Le elegie romane di Propertio" in Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti 85 (1925-6), 1253 ff.; Boucher, Etudes sur Propertius, o.c., 269 f.; W. Wimmel, Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit (HERMES Einzelschr. 16), Wiesbaden, 1960, 277 ff.; 262 f.

have enough of Callimachus to be able to state with certainty the extent of such influence. In fact, of the six times Callimachus is mentioned in all of the Propertian corpus, only twice does he occur in Book 4;² he seems to have played as important a role in Books 2 and 3. Indeed, in Book 4 Propertius relies more on the spirit of his Hellenistic predecessor than on his actual verse. In Callimachus Propertius sees a kindred spirit who followed a similar path. The age of Callimachus was after all not so very different from Propertius' own: common to both epochs was the alienation of the individual amidst a vast and impersonal bureaucracy, the growing impersonality of daily life as politics became the monopoly of a few aristocrats. Common to both periods as well was the corrosion of belief in traditional religion and a lack of faith in its inspirational force. There was a breakdown in the cohesiveness of society and in the feeling of belonging, essential for the maintenance of traditional values and of national pride. The increasing cosmopolitanism of society meant that those who were aware of and felt a deep measure of respect for the traditions and values of a past which had served people so well were correspondingly less and less in number: more and more the example of the past was shrinking from the horizon of man's consciousness and it became clearer to visionaries of both ages that

²2,1,39-40; 34,31-32; 3,1,1-2; 9,43-44; 4,1,63-64; 6,3-4.

if this tradition, which had once inspired men to greatness, was to survive it would do so only if concerned men studied it, preserved it and transmitted it to ages yet unborn.

This sense of urgency about the religious values of the past which were in great danger of disappearing from men's conscious concern is akin to what Spengler has called a zweite Religiosität³ and which he described as a necessary reaction to political aristocracy. Propertius seems to have been greatly aware of this spirit of his age which, incidentally, appears to be upon our own, and Book 4 represents his attempt both at preserving the true religious spirit and of counteracting the oppressive religion of materialism and rationalism which was the hallmark of his time. It was Rome's special relationship to her gods which had made her great; if she was to remain so, she must not break faith with her destiny and her responsibilities. Religion must not lose its sense of history, must not allow the nunc to become separated from the tunc. Propertius strives to preserve the continuity of religious time, to make the future merge once again with the past and so to re-create a timeless present. In order to accomplish this, he chooses the aition, not merely because Callimachus had done so, but because this form was uniquely suited to his purpose. For

³O. Spengler, Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte, DTV 838/9, Munich, 1972 (1923), Vol. 2, 941.

Propertius is not interested in the stuff of religion solely as aitia, i.e., the 'why', but in aitia as archai, i.e., the 'how'.⁴ Aitia conceived as archai explain how the greatness of Rome came about by referring this greatness to its source, the ever-present past of the human soul. By thus taking the City back to its origins Propertius hopes to effect its rebirth. Rome is eternal only through its myths, its cults and its legends. It is the timeless truths which these contain which he seeks to preserve and in which he so deeply believes.

The Book itself is conceived on at least two levels, which I would tentatively identify as (a) the universal and (b) the personal level. In practical terms this means that the poet's assumption of the role of vates in Book 4 indicates his abandonment of purely subjective love elegy in order to concentrate more exclusively on matters of Roman religion. Rome, as the new Troy and mistress of the world, had inherited the priceless gift of Greek myth. As Greece was once the guarantor of culture, so now Rome assumes that role: to her falls the awesome responsibility of conserving and transmitting the legacy of the past, a legacy which in the hands of Propertius shall be interpreted and enriched through the storehouse of Rome's own religious past and presented to the coming generations in a truly international

⁴Cf. Aristotle, Metaph. 4,2,1013 a.

(i.e., Roman) form. For Propertius, Rome herself has become the new mythos:

Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges
(4,1,87).

The moral reforms which Rome undertakes to sponsor for the rest of the world by virtue of her spiritual superiority will thus be grounded upon the spirit of her ancient religion. Book 4 is then partly an attempt to justify this spiritual authority by showing the solid base upon which it rests. This consciousness of their spiritual uniqueness made the Romans feel confident in their role as the religious guarantor for humanity: "sed pietate ac religione atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum numine omnia gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus" (Cic. de har. resp. 19).

On the universal level then Book 4 is representative of Rome as the conveyor of the spiritual heritage of the civilized world, with that heritage strengthened by its resting on the solid base of Roman piety and enriched through the addition of Rome's unique variety of religious experience.

On the narrower, but no less important, personal level the Book bears eloquent witness to the mature religiousness of a sensitive spirit. It provides us with a rare opportunity of viewing the poet in the final stages of his religious development and stands as a statement of that development. The poet's religious vision, wherein the past, present and future are connected by means of spiritual forces which interact with and influence each other in a very real

and meaningful fashion strikes one as being at once very mystical and very modern. Propertius conceives of the whole of human experience not as a static mechanism but as an inter-related and mutually inter-acting process, in much the same way, I might add, as does that modern religious philosopher, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.⁵ The poet leaves us several very clear statements in Book 4 attesting to his religious attitudes, statements which show that Propertius, far from being the pessimistic and melancholy figure he is sometimes made out to be, in reality viewed the human experience with an optimism as spiritually enobling as it was profound and which makes of his 4th Book a priceless page in the history of the development of man's spiritual consciousness and psychic awareness.

It of course goes without saying that there is still much to be done in our efforts to understand and to appreciate more fully the genius of our poet as represented in this Book and the importance of the Book itself, not only towards a better understanding of the religious development of a particular age and people, but ultimately of our own religious aspirations as well. There is yet to be examined, for example, the subtle interplay of religious and erotic themes throughout the Book and what this means for a deeper

⁵See, e.g., his The Phenomenon of Man (Le Phénomène Humain), Fontana Books 1153 R, London, 1966 (1955).

insight into the psychology of religious expression. In the final analysis however it little matters what I or even you think about Book 4; for poetry to be truly valid, it must make us feel and this is the one criterion by which the Book should be measured: by how much did it expand our vision of the Numinous or reveal the breathtaking heights to which the human soul may reach? After reading the Book do we find our consciousness expanded, have we looked into the mirror which the poet has held before us and seen our own reflection? Somewhere Jung has said: "So long as religion is only faith and outward form, and the religious function is not experienced in our own souls, nothing of any importance has happened. It has yet to be understood that the mysterium magnum is not only an actuality but is first and foremost rooted in the human psyche. The man who does not know this from his own experience may be a most learned theologian, but he has no idea of religion and still less of education."⁶ If a conclusion must be made, perhaps it might be that this Book, written by one who so very profoundly experienced the mysterium magnum, affords us the privileged opportunity of witnessing what is most unique in all the world--man's religious consciousness.

⁶See C.G. Jung: Psychological Reflections. A New Anthology of his Writings, 1905-1961, ed. by J. Jacobi, Princeton, 1970 (1953), 351.

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APPENDIX 1
BOOK FOUR AND THE GENS FABIA

1. Fabius Lupercus

On several occasions during the course of his study on the origins of Roman religion, Propertius presents certain cults, rites and legends which appear to be connected with the family history of the gens Fabia. The first and perhaps most obvious indication of this occurs at 4,1,26 where the poet mentions only one-half of the dual priesthood of the Lupercalia: "inde licens Fabius sacra Lupercus habet." To my mind, this omission of the other, and probably at one time more important,¹ half of the college of Luperci is both glaring and intentional. Conversely, A.M. Franklin² maintains that Propertius omitted any mention of the Quinctii only by pure chance.³ Yet it is inconceivable that Propertius should be so careless a poet and antiquary

¹Cf. Hanslik, art. "Quinctius" in RE 24, 988,55 ff., quoting Mommsen, RG 19,52: "Dass die quinctischen Luperker den fabischen im Rang vorgingen, geht daraus hervor, dass die Fabulisten dem Romulus die Quinctier, dem Remus die Fabier beilegen."

²The Lupercalia, New York, 1921, 42; cf. Marbach, art. "Luperci" in RE 13, 1832,32 f.

³Cf. Rothstein, Elegien 2, o.c., 196: "Properz erinnert auch an die Teilung der Priesterschaft der Luperci in die beiden Körperschaften der Fabiani und Quinctiales, indem er willkürlich den einen der beiden Namen herausgreift."

as to "forget" to mention one-half of one of the oldest priesthoods in the City's religious history while composing a prooemium outlining the origins of the oldest cults in Rome. A much more plausible explanation would appear to be that the omission was deliberate and intended as a mark of honour for the gens Fabia, which considered itself the oldest of the Roman gentes. But the Quinctii, who, according to Livy 1,30,2 were a Latin gens originally deriving from Alba under Tullus Hostilius, were at least as ancient a family as the Fabii; later tradition made them companions of Romulus on the Palatine in association with the Lupercalia, while the Fabii were associated with Remus and the Quirinal⁴ and Gjerstad⁵ points out that the rites of the Lupercalia can be traced back to the Bronze Age, thereby concluding that the history of the Luperci is just as ancient. Binder⁶ sees in the two families "zwei Gruppen eines alten Männerbundes" and concludes from Ovid, fast. 2,361-368 that the Lupercalia celebration was an old initiation rite wherein the young initiates had to repeat certain ritual acts which the clan god or founder had originally taught them in a

⁴Ovid, fast. 2,361 ff.; cf. the Orig. Gent. Rom. 22. This bipartition poses some difficult problems which are a long way from being solved; see a summation of these in Bayet, 80.

⁵E. Gjerstad, Legends and Facts of Early Roman History (Scripta Minora regiae societatis humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis), Lund, 1962, 27 f.

⁶G. Binder, Die Aussetzung des Königskindes, o.c., 100-102.

mythical past; the Luperci then engaged in part in ritual games and combat in imitation of the actions of Romulus and Remus and their band of robbers.⁷ These actions are listed by Ovid as the following (fast. 2,365-368):

Romulus et frater pastoralisque iuventus
solibus et campo corpora nuda dabant;
vectibus et iaculis et misso pondere saxi
bracchia per lusus experienda dabant.

It is notable that in these exercises and tests of strength, which also involved a long foot-race, Remus and his band of Fabii were the victors (377 f.). This same kind of ritual imitation appears to be implied in the description which Propertius gives us:

nec rudis infestis miles radiabat in armis:
miscebant usta proelia nuda sude
(27 f.).

The expression proelia nuda is usually taken to mean 'inermia',⁸ but as Ovid's description shows, it could very well mean what it says: that the early Roman soldier fought naked in religious imitation of Romulus and Remus and their band.⁹

⁷This tradition as recounted in Ovid is at least as old as the second century BC, when a certain C. Acilius wrote a Roman history in Greek, cf. Plut. Rom. 21,9.

⁸Cf. Camps, ad loc., 54; Butler and Barber, 324; Rothstein, 197.

⁹The early Celtic warriors also went naked into battle; these were the Gaesatae, a special class of warrior who fought naked in the belief that nudity afforded supernatural protection; of the Germanic Berserks of Odinn, it was said by Snorri in the Ynglinga Saga, 6 that they "went

2. Transvectio equitum

At the end of this section of the prooemium (32), Propertius presents us with a grand and awe-inspiring equestrian image: the spectacle of Romulus in his triumphal chariot drawn by four white horses.¹⁰ Is this meant to recall that spectacular parade which was the special feast of the Roman Knights, the transvectio equitum? This took place every year on July 15, the traditional date of the Battle of Lake Regillus,¹¹ and it is worthy of note that this feast was connected both with the Lupercalia and with a Fabius.¹² Since the censorship of Q. Fabius Maximus in 304 the transvectio equitum was fixed on July 15 and had as its central ceremony an offering to Castor.¹³ After the reform of the priestly collegia by Augustus, the position of

without mailcoats, and were frantic as dogs or wolves; they bit their shields and were as strong as bears or boars"; see Chadwick, The Celts, o.c., 134.

¹⁰For Romulus' two triumphs, see Dion. Hal. 2,34; 54, 2; 55,3; Plut. Rom. 16 and 25.

¹¹Wissowa, RuK², 268.

¹²Cf. Val. Max. 2,2,9: "equestris vero ordinis inventus omnibus annis bis urbem spectaculo sui sub magnis auctoribus celebrabat, Lupercalium enim mos a Romulo et Remo incohatus est . . . trabeatos vero equites idibus Iuliis Q. Fabius transvehi instituit"; cf. Wissowa, RuK², 561,4: "Daher erklärt es sich auch, dass die römische Ritterschaft die Statue des Drusus, Sohnes des Tiberius, beim Lupercal aufstellt"; see too CIL 6,31200b,9 and Marbach, a.c., 1834,4 ff.

¹³Dion. Hal. 6,13,4; for the act itself see Mommsen, Staatsr. 3,493.

lupercus was not, like the other ancient sodalities, reserved for the nobility but was made into an equestrian priesthood and it was regarded as a special mark of distinction to be enrolled in the college of Luperci.¹⁴

3. Rome and the Quirinal

The fact that the Fabii regarded themselves as originally Sabines¹⁵ and as the oldest of the Roman gentes leads to the second point: on three occasions--4,1,30; 2,52 and a good part of Elegy 4--Propertius alludes to the second or supplementary foundation legend, that which tells of the settlement of the Quirinal by T. Tatius and the Sabines. During the Sabine War Tatius, king of Sabine Cures, took the Capitoline while Romulus and the Romans were reduced to the Palatine.¹⁶ After a treaty with Romulus Tatius was said to have incorporated the Quirinal (Dion. Hal. 2,50,1) where he had encamped prior to conquering the Capitoline (Solin. 1,21). Numa, the other famous Sabine from Cures, was reputed to live on the Quirinal as well (Plut. Num. 14,1). In 504 BC the gens of Attus Clausus, together with all of its clientes,

¹⁴Cf. Fest. p. 308,14 f. L. and see CIL 6,2160: "eques Romanus, qui et Lupercus cucurrit"; 14,3442: "Lupercus desig(natus)"; 11,3205: "Lupercus Fabianus".

¹⁵Livy 5,46; cf. Unger, "Die Lupercalien," RhM 36 (1881), 53.

¹⁶Livy 1,11,5-8; 12; Dion. Hal. 2,38-46; Tac. ann. 12,24 and cf. Prop. 4,4,9-12.

arrived in Rome from the Sabine town of Regilli and was enrolled among the patrician gentes at Rome under the name of Claudius.¹⁷ It was said by some that this was accomplished because of the influence of T. Tatius in the City.¹⁸ The tribe received from the Senate some land as a family burial ground at the foot of the Capitoline,¹⁹ and from archaeological finds it appears that the gens Claudia had its abode on the Quirinal.²⁰ Thus topographical evidence as well as legend connects the Sabines with the Capitoline and the Quirinal as it does the Romans with the Palatine.²¹ Now we know from Livy that the religious centre of the gens Fabia was also located on the Quirinal.²² If not to honour the oldest family in Rome, then why does Propertius, in a

¹⁷Livy 2,16,4; 4,3,14; 10,8,6; Dion. Hal. 5,40,3-5; Tac. ann. 4,9; 11,24; 12,25.

¹⁸Suet. Tib. 1,1: "auctore Tito Tatius consorte Romuli."

¹⁹Ibid.; "locumque sibi ad sepulturam sub Capitolio publice accepit."

²⁰See Gjerstad, o.c., 43 who quotes Jordan-Hülse, Topogr. Stadt Rom 3,420. See also Radke, art. "Quirinalis collis" in RE 24,1299,64 ff.

²¹Cf. Tac. ann. 12,24: "Forumque et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatius additum urbi credidere"; Paul. p. 305 L.: "Quirinalis collis dictus est, quia in eum commigrarunt Sabini a Curibus venientes."

²²5,46,2: "Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae"; ibid., 52,3: "sollemne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali"; cf. RuK², 559,2: "die Zugehörigkeit der Fabier zur Quirinalgemeinde steht durch Liv. V 46,2. 52,3 fest."

relatively short Book dealing with the origins of Roman religion, insist so on the supplementary Sabine foundation legend?

4. Hercules and Fabula

One of the reasons that the Fabii declared themselves the oldest family in the City was their reputed descent from Hercules, a geneology which was solemnized in written form by M. Verrius Flaccus,²³ the greatest scholar of the Augustan Age. In a part of the Fasti which no doubt owed much to Verrius, Ovid mentions the Fabian descent from Hercules:

Ut tamen Herculeae superessent semina gentis,
credibile est ipsos consuluisse deos
(2,237 f.).

and in an epistle ex Ponto (3,3,99 f.) directed to his patron Paullus Fabius Maximus he again makes the allusion: "nobile namque / pectus et Herculeae simplicitatis habes." Juvenal followed suit,²⁴ and by the time of Sil. Italicus the terms Herculeus and Tirynthius had become almost standing epithets for the family (2,3; 7,35; 44; 8,217).

The Augustan scholars who were concerned with the history of the gens (besides Verrius, Atticus also wrote

²³Cf. Lact. div. inst. 1,20,5: "nec hanc solam Romani meretricem colant (sc. Larentiam), sed Fabulam quoque, quam Herculis scortum fuisse Verrius scribit," and see Münzer, art. "Fabius" in RE 6,2 1740,14 ff.

²⁴8,14: "natus in Herculeo Fabius lare."

about the Fabii)²⁵ sought after an etymology which would suitably reflect the family's descent from Hercules. The family derived its name either from fodere (Plut. Fab. 1,2) and its origin from Hercules,²⁶ or from the wolf-pit (fovea) in which Hercules sired the first Fabius.²⁷ The Herculean family connection is of course far older than the Augustan era. In 209 BC Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, cos. 233, set up a collosus of Hercules and an equestrian statue of himself in the area Capitolina,²⁸ thereby alluding to the family connections with both Hercules and the Dioscuri; similarly a colossal statue of Lysippus Heracles was dedicated in Tarentum by Fabius Cunctator²⁹ and a temple to Hercules in Gaul by Q. Fabius Allobrogicus, cos. 121.³⁰ It is also recorded that the Cunctator, upon seeing the army of Minucius in flight, shouted out in a burst of great emotion: ὦ Ἡράκλεις.³¹

²⁵Nep. Att. 18,4.

²⁶Plut. Fab. 1,1.

²⁷Fest. p. 77,15 ff. L.: "quod princeps gentis eius ex ea natus sit, cum qua Hercules in fovea concubuit."

²⁸Plut. Fab. 22,8.

²⁹See Münzer, RE 6,2 s.v. "Fabius", no. 116.

³⁰Cf. Strab. 4,185: ἔστησε τρόπαιον αὐτόθι λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ νεῶς δύο, τὸν μὲν Ἀρεως τὸν δ' Ἡρακλέους and see Münzer, RE art. "Fabius", no. 110.

³¹Plut. Fab. 12,2.

This close and constant association of the gens Fabia with the cult of Hercules, which goes all the way back to the time when the hero was leading the cattle of Geryon westward through Italy, could then partly explain the presence of Elegy 9 in Book 4. In that Elegy a rather close association is made between Hercules and the Bona Dea, and it is perhaps surprising to note that the Bona Dea as well is connected with the same cycle of legends as is the eponym of the Fabian family. Acca Larentia, a courtesan, married Faustulus and became the stepmother of the Twins: due to her previous profession, she was known as lupa. But the Twins had a goddess as stepmother who appeared to them in the form of a she-wolf; thus was worshipped the goddess Lupa (Lact. div. inst. 1,20,1 after Verrius) or Luperca (Arnob. 4,3). Now we are told by Lactantius 1,20,5 and by Plutarch Quaes. Rom. 35³² that Larentia had another name: Fabula. Sil. Italicus 6,653 further adds that she who bore the first Fabius to Hercules was a daughter of Euander. It thus appears that Fabula, who was Herculis scortum, is the same as the woman who bore the first Fabius conceived by Hercules in a fovea.³³ It is perhaps plausible that the identification of Fabula with the lupa who suckled the Twins derives

³² τῇ δ' ἑταίρῳ Λαρεντίῳ Φαβόλαν ἐπικλήσιν εἶναι λέγουσιν.

³³ Otto, art. "Faunus" in RE 6,2 2064,46 ff.

from the same root as 'fov-ea < *dhau-na;³⁴ it is to be noticed that Acca Larentia (= Fabula) appears in place of the she-wolf in connection with the Twins and has an intimate relationship with Hercules.³⁵ If it is true, as Otto maintains,³⁶ that at Rome Hercules belongs to the same family of legends as does Faunus, then one might draw a parallel between Hercules/Faunus/Faustulus :: Acca Larentia/Fabula/Fauna,³⁷ and this would, of course, serve to draw the Bona Dea into this same cycle of legends, since the other name for Fauna, i.e. Fenta Fatua, is also said to be that of the Bona Dea.³⁸ The fact that the feasts of both the Bona Dea and Larentia fall in December only serves to underline their functional similarity. It would then appear that the family legends of the Fabii are very much intertwined in the

³⁴See Walde-Hofmann 1,468 s.v. "Faunus", and cf. Radke, 116.

³⁵Plut. Quaes. Rom. 35.

³⁶"Römische Sagen", WSt 35 (1912), 71; cf. RE 6,2 2064,40 ff.

³⁷See Binder, o.c., 84: "Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die neuen Pflegeeltern der Zwillige Faustulus und Laurentia (bzw. Acca Larentia) heissen. Faustulus gehört mit dem Wolfsgott Faunus zusammen, den wir verbunden sahen mit den Toten und der Unterwelt. Die Göttin Acca Larentia hatte in Rom ein Fest, das am 23 Dezember stattfind, die Larentalia."

³⁸Cf. Macr. S. 1,12,21: "hunc eandem Bonam Deam Faunamque et Opem et Fatuam pontificium libris indigitari"; Arnob. 1,36: "Fenta Fatua, Fauni uxor, Bona dea quae dicitur"; Serv. ad Aen. 7,47: "huius [= Fatucii] uxor est Fatua. idem Faunus et eadem Fauna"; see too Otto, RE 6,2 2059 and Wissowa, RuK², 211,3.

mythical background of Elegy 9.

5. The Epithet *licens*

The other point in connection with all of this which needs to be mentioned is Propertius' epithet for his Fabius Lupercus at 4,1,26: *licens*. Commentators usually explain this epithet by pointing to the generally lascivious nature of the Lupercalia as described by Livy (1,5,2: "*per ludum atque lasciviam*") and to Augustus' reforms of the *licentia* connected with the feast. But there can be no question here of the Lupercalia as practiced in the poet's own day:

Propertius is referring to the very first Fabius, the one whose mother Fabula (= Acca Larentia) lied with Hercules in a wolf-pit, which could be interpreted as meaning that Hercules made love to the sacred she-wolf herself. Indeed Larentia/Fabula thereafter became the foster mother of the Twins and was accordingly worshipped as Lupa/Luperca. The designation of Fabula as a *scortum* would derive from the usual euphemism for such women, i.e. a *lupa*; accordingly, if *lupa* = *meretrix*, how might the wolf-pit in which one makes love be interpreted? It is known that *fossa*, a synonym for *fovea*, has erotic connotations;³⁹ as for *fovea* itself, there is a curious gloss in the Corp. Gloss. Lat. (Götz) which

³⁹Cf. Pierrugues, Gloss. erot. ling. lat., o.c., 228.

gives Lucanar as a synonym for fovea.⁴⁰ What is a Lucanar? Is it related to the Etruscan city of Luca, or cognate with the Etruscan title luxume, or does it come from Lucania in lower Italy? I don't know, but there appears in the same Gloss (4,362,24) shortly thereafter the entry: Lupanar. locus turpis meretricum. Could in fact Lucanar and Lupanar be synonyms? In any event I should like to suggest that, as "she-wolf" and "wolf den" are euphemisms for prostitute and brothel, so "wolf-pit" is used erotically to refer to the membrum muliebre, and that Fabius is called licens by Propertius, not with regard to the personal conduct of Fabius himself, but in reference to his mother Fabula, the scortum Herculis, who conceived him in a fovea.

6. Venus Erycina

A final remark in connection with the influence of Fabian family legends on the 4th Book of Propertius concerns the cult of Venus Erycina, the ancestral goddess of the Aeneadae, mentioned twice by Propertius at 4,1,46 and 6,59.⁴¹ It appears that the Iulii were not the only patrician Roman

⁴⁰4,361,53; cf. 5,506,45: Lucanar-fobea and 5,528,9.

⁴¹At 4,6,59 Propertius mentions Idalian Venus; for her connection with the cult on Mt. Eryx, cf. Verg. Aen. 5, 759 f.: "Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes / fundatur Veneri Idaliae" The mention of the Cyprian city of Idalion is a reminder of the Oriental origin of the Sicilian cult.

family with special devotion to Venus. In fact, the oldest dateable temple to that goddess in Rome was constructed by a Fabius in 295, the then curule aedile Q. Fabius Gurgus: the temple's founding day was August 19.⁴² The first temple of Venus Erycina, the divine ancestress, was set up at Rome in 217 during the 2nd Punic War by Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator.⁴³ The year 217 was a decisive one, both for Fabius, who as Dictator had reached the summit of his public life, and for the religious history of the City, for it saw the beginning of a massive Hellenization of Roman cult and ritual in the face of grave personal danger from Hannibal on the one hand and fearsome prodigies from the gods on the other.⁴⁴ Fabius set the tone for the year by ordering, as Dictator, a complete re-examination of the Sibylline Books,⁴⁵ declaring that the present state of affairs was the result of negligentia caerimoniarum auspicio- rumque (Livy 22,9,7), and

⁴²Livy 10,31,9; cf. the fast. Vall. on August 19: "Veneri ad circum maximum"; cf. Wissowa RuK², 289; Münzer, Röm. Adelsp., o.c., 79; Latte, RRG², 185.

⁴³Livy 22,10,10: "Veneri Erucinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset"; this explains his cognomen; cf. Fest. p. 152,28 ff. L.: "maixmum praetorem dici putant ali eum, qui maximi imperi sit; ali qui[a] aetatis maximae. Pro collegio quidem augurum decretum est, quod in Salutis augurio praetores maiores appellantur, non ad aetatem, sed ad vim imperii pertinere"; see too RuK², 290.

⁴⁴Wissowa, RuK², 60 ff.; Diels, Sibyllinische Blätter, o.c., 84 ff.; Münzer, RE 6,1819,53 ff.

⁴⁵Livy 22,9,8.

proposed as a partial remedy the ancient Italian custom of a ver sacrum, "si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim [vov] eamque, salva servata erit hisce duellis" (ibid., 22,10,2):⁴⁶ he also proclaimed the ludi magni with 300 oxen to be sacrificed to Juppiter, declared a supplicatio of the entire population and gave orders for a lectisternium shared by six pairs of gods: "sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt, Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Volcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri" (ibid., 22,10,9). Nor was it only the Capitoline deities who were thus propitiated. Gifts and sacrifices were made to Juno Regina on the Aventine and to Sospita of Lanuvium, while the old cult of Saturn received a complete reorganization along Greek lines.⁴⁷ Thus occurred at Rome a new religious regroupment in 217, with the divine pairs honoured according to Greek legend and cult practices. As a symbol of the new order, Fabius undertook to build and dedicate the temple to the Greek goddess of Mount Eryx in Sicily.⁴⁸

Contrary to Livy, who states that it was not out of

⁴⁶Cf. Livy 33,34,1 and 34,44,6.

⁴⁷Ibid., 22,1,17 ff.; cf. RuK², 61; see Schilling, Rel. rom. de Vénus, o.c., 234 ff.

⁴⁸CIL 10,7121, 7253-7255, 7257.

any great religious affiliation to Erycina that Fabius built her a temple in Rome but merely due to his having the greatest imperium in the State (22,10,10), I should like to propose here that there was indeed a special devotion to Venus among the Fabii, specifically to Venus Erycina. Not only was Erycina, as ancestress of the Roman people, identified with Venus Genetrix,⁴⁹ but also, and this is a most telling point for our discussion, the anniversary of the founding of her temple ad portam Collinam in 181 served as a special feast day for the meretrices.⁵⁰ Since Erycina was the patroness of meretrices, and since Fabula, the eponym of the gens Fabia, was known as the Herculis scortum, might the Fabii have associated their ancestress with Venus herself? Venus and Hercules are in fact associated in the legends surrounding Mt. Eryx. According to these,⁵¹ Eryx was the son of Aphrodite by Butes (< Βούτης, 'cow-herd'; cf. Prop. 4,1,25 'arator') and had a daughter Psophis who bore Hercules twin sons.⁵² This would mean that Psophis was the

⁴⁹Cf. RuK², 292; Latte RRG², 186 with n. 2; Weinstock, Div. Jul., o.c., 85.

⁵⁰See the fast. Praen. for April 25: "festus est puerorum lenociniorum, quia proximus superior meretricum est"; Ovid, fast. 4,865 f., with Bömer's notes; RuK², 291; Latte, RRG², 186.

⁵¹Diod. Sic. 4,83.

⁵²Paus. 8,24,2; cf. my remarks on 4,1,466 (Chapter 1, p. 76 f.).

granddaughter of Aphrodite or, in mythological terms, merely a different aspect of that goddess. Indeed, the circumstances under which Hercules mates with Psophis and with Fabula are strikingly similar and suprisingly interrelated. The episode with Eryx, a king of Sicily, took place during the Tenth Labour, as did Hercules' adventures with Euander. Eryx, coveting the cattle of Geryon, challenged Hercules to a wrestling match, staking his kingdom on the outcome.⁵³ Hercules killed Eryx and wed his daughter Psophis, taking her as far as the home of his friend Lycortas in Erymanthos; there she bore the twins Echephron and Promachos, who later called the city Psophis after their mother and built a temple to Aphrodite Erycine.⁵⁴ Similarly in Rome Hercules has to battle Cacus for his stolen cattle and afterwards lies with Euander's daughter (= Fabula); Euander himself had to fight with Erylus, the king of Praeneste and son of the goddess Feronia, who had three lives (i.e. bodies, a

⁵³Paus. 4,36,4: φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Ἐρυξ τότε ἐν Σικελίᾳ δυναστεύων ὀριμὸν οὕτως εἶχον ἐς τὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἔρωτα, ὥστε καὶ ἐπάλαισε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἄθλα ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ καταθέμενος τὰς τε βοῦς ταύτας καὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ; cf. Tümpel, art. "Eryx" in RE 6,1 604,46 ff., and see Bérard, Colonisation, o.c., 430 ff.

⁵⁴Cf. Paus. 8,24,2 ff.; for the temple, ibid., 8,24, 6: Ψωφιδίῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦτο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν Ἐρυκίνης ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησιν; cf. Tümpel, a.c., 606,47 ff.

Geryon-figure like Cacus).⁵⁵ Apart from the similarity in their names Erylus-Eryx, the Arcadian connection between the two episodes of Hercules-Euander and Hercules-Eryx is remarkable in other ways. There is, first, the city of Psophis in Arcadia, where as we have seen, there was a cult of Venus Erycine;⁵⁶ just as Pan (= Faunus) is associated with Euander, so he is associated with Psophis as well.⁵⁷ Malea is the name of a mountain in the neighbourhood of Psophis⁵⁸ and in an epigram by a certain Glaucos (A.P. 9,341) Pan pursues Daphne πρὸς Μαλέαν, πρὸς ὄρος Ψωφίδιον ἔρχεν. Callimachus (frg. 689 Loeb) calls Pan ὁ Μαλειήτης τρύπανον αἰπολικόν. The connection between Hercules-Euander-Fabula-wolfish Faunus in Rome and Hercules-Eryx-Psophis-wolfish Pan in Sicily and Arcadia, plus the fact that Fabula, as Herculis scortum, comes under the protection of Venus Erycina, together with the relation of Psophis to Aphrodite Erycina, seems altogether too patent and coincidental to be merely fortuitous.

⁵⁵Verg. Aen. 8,561 ff. and Servius, ad loc.; Lyd. de mens. 1,11 p. 2 W; cf. Rossbach, art. "Erubus" in RE 6,561; RuK², 33,3; Radke, 113 and see Schulze, ZGLE, 165 f.

⁵⁶Cf. n. 54 and see Bérard, o.c., 376.

⁵⁷Cf. Treidler, art. "Psophis" in RE 23,2 1428,10 ff.: "Da neben ist vor allem Pan bezeugt, einmal durch sein Erscheinen auf kaiserzeitlichen Münzen und vor allem durch seinen Beinamen Maleietes von einem Berge Malea im Gebiet von Psophis."

⁵⁸Wilamowitz, GdH², 1,388.

7. Paullus Fabius Maximus

In writing this Appendix it has certainly not been my intention to postulate definite and irrefutable affinities between Book 4 and the gens Fabia; we simply do not know enough about personal relationships and human causes and effects which took place so long ago to be dogmatic about such matters. But it does seem to me remarkable that in such a comparatively short Book, considering the vast selection of cults and rites, legends and myths about which Propertius might have written, those connected in some way with Fabian family history should come up so often. That this seeming occurrence has not hitherto been noticed and commented upon is in all likelihood due to the fact that this is the first time a work such as this, which concerns itself with an exclusive study of Roman religion as presented by Propertius in Book 4, has been attempted; not having to fear losing my way in the forest, I could better devote my time to a closer inspection of individual trees.

If the point of this Appendix might then be granted me as a viable hypothesis, the question then becomes, like the Book itself, an aetiological one: what would cause Propertius to celebrate legends connected with the history of the Fabii? What connection does the poet himself have with the family? There are of course no definite answers to these and other similar questions, no historical 'facts' at hand; what we do have are merely guesses, not wild and

irresponsible however, but plausible guesses postulated on whatever few related facts there are at our disposal. It should not therefore surprise anyone that what follows is an hypothesis; what I do however hope is that the following hypothesis is a plausible one which does violence neither to reason nor to verisimilitude.

The most famous member of Rome's oldest and most illustrious family who was also contemporary with Propertius was Paullus Fabius Maximus, cos. 11 BC. He was born about 46,⁵⁹ and thus would be roughly the same age as Propertius.⁶⁰ His connections and background were excellent and, apart from those accruing to his noble name, he further increased these connections by his marriage to Marcia, whose mother was the younger sister of Atia, the mother of the Princeps himself;⁶¹ Marcia was styled on a monument in Paphos as the ἀνεψία Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.⁶² Somewhere around 15 Horace (c. 4,1,15) calls him a centum puer artium as well as nobilis et decens (13). Fabius was on excellent terms with Augustus and in fact was an avid supporter of the cult of

⁵⁹Cf. Groag, art. "Fabius", no. 102, RE 6,2 1781,21.

⁶⁰For a discussion of Propertius' age, cf. Butler and Barber, Intro. xx.

⁶¹Ovid, fast. 6,809; ex Pont. 1,2,141.

⁶²CIG 2,2629: Μαρκία Φιλίππου θυγατρὶ ἀνεψία Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, γυναῖκὶ Παύλου Φαωίου Μαξίμου, Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

the Princeps.⁶³ Between 15 and 11 he was Proconsul of Cyprus and while there maintained his ancient family tradition of special affection for the goddess Venus.⁶⁴ It is perhaps highly significant that Fabius spent his proconsulship on the island and in the city most favoured by his special goddess.⁶⁵ This has been overlooked by most commentators on Horace, 4,1, for a great deal of the point in that poem to Paullus Fabius was his affection for that goddess. After his consulship of 11 Fabius was Proconsul of the province of Asia, during which time a statue was erected to him in Pergamon; in 3 BC he was legate in Spain. He belonged to two high priesthoods, that of the Pontifices (Ephem. epigr. 8,207) and that of the fratres Arvales (CIL 6,2023a).

He is well known as a patron of the arts through the

⁶³According to Tacitus, ann. 1,5 he was the comite uno of Augustus; cf. Groag, a.c., 1784,36 ff. and see Syme, o.c., 474.

⁶⁴Groag, a.c., 1781,44 f.; apart from the temple to Erycina built by the Cunctator, Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges had a temple to Venus built near the Circus maximus (Livy 10,31, 9; RuK², 289,3) and Fabius Fabricianus sacked the chief city of the Samnites and sent their statue of Venus back to Rome (Plut. Parall. Min. 315 B).

⁶⁵Of all her cult cities, Venus appears to have preferred Paphos; cf. Od. 8,362 f.: ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη, / ἐς Πάφον, ἔνθα δὲ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις, and see Verg. Aen. 1,415 ff.: "Ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit / laeta suas, ubi templum illi, centum Sabaeo / ture colent arae sertisque recentibus halant." on which see Servius, ad Aen. 1,415 and Schilling, Rel. rom. de Vénus, o.c., 362.

numerous references to him by Ovid,⁶⁶ who regards him as a patron and champion, and to judge from the warm tones of 4,1 he may even have assisted Horace at some point or other. However, what I should like to suggest is that before Fabius was a patron to Ovid, he was the friend and benefactor of Propertius; it is even feasible to suggest that it was Propertius who introduced the young prodigy to the well-connected aristocrat and confidant of Augustus. It is known from the pen of Ovid himself that while a young and ambitious would-be poet he was part of an admiring circle of literary people which formed itself around Propertius, among whom the famous man read his verse.⁶⁷ A friendship undoubtedly sprang up between the two, as can be seen from the many Propertian echoes and imitations in Ovid's work, and the older, established poet would have seen that this talented young Abruzzese met the right people. The acquaintanceship of Propertius with Paullus could very well have been the result of Fabian connections in northern Italy. The family's influence in Etruria extended into the legendary past with the private war of the gens against Veii.⁶⁸ The

⁶⁶E.g. ex Pont. 1,2,1; 3,3,1; 4,6,9.

⁶⁷Ovid, trist. 4,10,45 f.: "saepe suos solitus recitare Propertius ignes, / iure sodalicii, quo mihi iunctus erat."

⁶⁸Livy, 2,48 ff.

consul C. Fabius went to war with Tarquinia in 358,⁶⁹ while another, Fabius Rullianus, was in northern Etruria in 310; his son, Fabius Gurges, went against Volsinii in 265.⁷⁰ As a result of all this contact with Etruria, many Fabians were educated there, knew the language,⁷¹ and even followed Etruscan religious practices.⁷² Similar to the gens Licinia (Etr. lecne), which was brought to Rome from Etruria by the Fabii and entered in the patrician lists, the Umbrian Propertii could have been clientes of the Fabians, who from early times made their influence felt in Umbria as far as Camerinum.⁷³ This conjecture is made more plausible by the fact that the gens Propertia was enrolled in the tribus Fabia.⁷⁴

⁶⁹Ibid., 7,15,9; cf. Münzer, RE 6, 1752 (no. 40).

⁷⁰For Rullianus, cf. RE 6, s.v. "Fabius" no. 114; for Gurges, no. 112.

⁷¹See Livy 9,36,2 ff.

⁷²See Münzer, Röm. Adelssp., o.c., 56: "Die Auguraldisziplin war eine etruskische Wissenschaft, und der grösste der Fabier, der Cunctator, war damals ihr erster Kenner und eifrigster Verehrer."

⁷³Livy 9,36,7.

⁷⁴See CIL 6, 1501 and Hanslik, art. "Propertius" in RE 23,1 796,45 ff., no. 4. The inscription concerns a C. Propertius Q.f.T.n. Fab. Postumus, whom Rothstein, Elegien 2,103 and after him Butler and Barber, 293 identifies with the Postumus addressed by Propertius at 3,12,1 who left in 21 BC to follow Augustus to the Parthian front; Mommsen (HERMES 4 (1870), 370) assigned the inscription to the Augustan age. Syme writes (o.c., 384,6): "Postumus, the husband of Aelia Galla . . . may surely be identified with the senator C. Propertius Postumus."

As a result of all of this it would appear highly possible, indeed quite likely, that the Propertii had relations with Rome's most honoured family. This is not, of course, to say that our poet had no other influential friends; on the contrary, his connections were exemplary and included the Aelii Galli⁷⁵ as well as the Volcacii, a Perusine gens of consular rank,⁷⁶ not to mention his attachment to the great Maecenas. Yet the pervasiveness of Fabian family legend in Book 4 seems to indicate that, for Propertius at least, the relations with this family, and probably specifically with Paullus, were of paramount importance. It was indeed a singular honour to figure so prominently in a Book dealing with the origins of Roman religion and while we can only guess at the causes for such prominence, its presence in Book 4 seems undeniable.

⁷⁵A. Aelius Gallus was praefectus Aegypti c. 25 BC (Cass. Dio 53,29); a relative of his, likely his sister, was married to Propertius' kinsman C. Propertius Postumus (cf. preceding note).

⁷⁶The Tullus mentioned several times by Propertius (e.g. 1,1,9; 6,2; 14,20; 22,1; 3,22,2,6,39) is the nephew of L. Volcacius Tullus, consular colleague of Octavian in 33 and proconsul of Asia in 30/29 (cf. Gundel, art. "Volcatius Tullus (no. 8)" in RE 9A,1 754 ff.).

APPENDIX 2
DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Declining to accept the view that the complex entity that is Book 4 can be accounted for by any one motive or intention on the part of Propertius, the thesis instead examines singly and in order various elements of Roman religion as they occur poem by poem, with a view to understanding the Book as an integral part of our knowledge of the development of Roman religion and to appreciating the religious spirit of the poet himself.

Chapter 1 deals with Elegy 1, the prooemium. As such it contains many varied themes, some of which are elaborated on later in the Book. Several of the topics dealt with include (a) the conception of Tarpeius pater, (b) the feast of the Parilia, (c) the Vestalia and (d) the Compitalia. In the second part of Elegy 1, the suggestion is made that the astrologer Horos, far from being the figure of ridicule he is often made out to be, is a very competent astrologer indeed and that at lines 4,1,81-86 he in fact casts a progressed natal chart for the poet, on the basis of which he correctly describes the poet's past and foretells his future.

Chapter 2 deals with Elegy 2, and represents our major source of knowledge about the god Vertumnus. It is argued that under this name is to be found the Etruscan god

Veltune, the presiding god of the Etruscan League and symbol of cosmic unity, represented by the number 12. The Etrusco-Umbrian poet chooses this god of beginnings to preside over his Book of aetiological verse.

Chapter 3 concerns Elegy 4, the Tarpeia elegy, in which it is suggested that Propertius' intends the poem as an exemplum of the threat to the divine and social order which results from the abandonment of religious scruples. Vesta intervenes to avert disaster from the infant State and vouchsafes her lasting protection so long as Rome remains true to its origins.

Chapter 4, Elegy 5 treats of the element of magic which is present in Roman religion, in the person of Acanthis. By counteracting Acanthis' spells of black magic through the much more efficacious means of conventional religion, Propertius affirms his belief in the superiority of true religious piety over fear-ridden superstition.

Chapter 5, Elegy 6 concerns the epiphany of Apollo at Actium and represents the only contemporary aition in the Book. Apollo's theophany at Actium is a truly contemporary manifestation of the continuing power of the divine to influence events and Propertius bears witness to the still vital force of religion to inspire men and mould the course of history.

In Chapter 6, Elegy 7 Propertius treats of two questions vital to any discussion of religion--mysticism and the

psychology of the numinous. His triumphant affirmation--
Sunt aliquid Manes--is the utterance of a man who has pondered deeply over the mystery of death. The Chapter first examines the Roman conception of the Manes, then discusses why the poet asserts that they are "something," next looking at the poet's use of the term in his own work. The second part of the Chapter discusses the statement somnia pondus habent and ends in an attempt at revealing the connection between dreams and the Manes.

Chapter 7, Elegy 8 discusses the unique rite celebrated at Lanuvium and connected with the cult of Juno Sospita Mater Regina. It is seen that Sospita herself represents a syncretism between the duality of Hera/Athena, reflected in the Diomedes legend in Italy, among the Argive colonists on the one hand (Seispes), the quite normal Latin conception of Juno (Mater, Regina) on the other, and a third, Etruscan element contributing to her close association with Hercules. The snake-cult connected with her was originally an oracular hero-shrine of Diomedes connected with the cult of Lanuvian Juno by virtue of that hero's wife Aigialeia (she-goat?) and his relations with Hera.

Chapter 8, Elegy 9 deals with Hercules and the Bona Dea and gives the aition for the founding of the ara Maxima. It is suggested that the poem is a faithful reflection of Roman Hercules-worship and considers the various aetiological elements under the following headings: (a) Hercules

Invictus--here figures the Cacus episode and it is argued that the three-headed monster reflects a syncretic variation, with Celtic elements, of the Geryon-figure encountered by Hercules on his Tenth Labour; (b) Hercules as Tutor, Rusticus, Domesticus--here figures the founding of the ara Maxima and the episode with the Bona Dea; (c) Hercules Sancus, illustrating the Umbrian influences on the Roman cult.

In Chapter 9, Elegy 10 Propertius sets out the aition of the founding of the first of the Roman State cults of Juppiter, that of Feretrius. The rite of the spolia opima is for the poet an exemplum of Romana virtus, first set by Romulus. The poem represents a touchstone upon which the present generation might test its own state of religious and moral preparedness. With this Elegy Propertius fully enters into the spirit of his age, along with Vergil, Horace and Livy, and stresses the importance which the pious maintenance of the sacred Romana virtus has for the continued welfare of the State.

Chapter 10, Elegy 11 deals with the laudatio of Cornelia, wife of L. Aemilius Paullus Lepidus, and is intended as a companion piece to Elegy 10. In fact, the figure of Cornelia is the female embodiment of Romana virtus and represents virtus muliebris. Through her virtuous life lived strickly in accord with the ius divinum and the mos maiorum she has fully merited the ultimate reward which the

gods bestow upon their faithful--apotheosis. Propertius, who began his poetic career extolling the merely physical charms of a woman, is thus seen fittingly to end it in praise of the sanctity of Roman womanhood and the religious verities incorporated in the ewige Weiblichkeit.

It is concluded that, in his persona as vates, Propertius was probably a sincere adherent of Augustan religious policy and seems to have been greatly aware of the spirit of his age. Book 4 represents his attempts both to preserve the true religious spirit and to counteract the oppressive religion of materialism and rationalism which was the hallmark of his time. The Book is conceived on at least two levels, (a) the universal, in which Rome is represented as the spiritual inheritor of Greek myth and becomes in effect the new mythos, and (b) the personal, which bears eloquent witness to the mature religiousness of a sensitive spirit. Propertius conceives of the whole of human experience not as a static mechanism but as an inter-related and mutually interacting process in which the past and the future are bound up in the eternally present now of sacred time.

An Appendix follows which discusses the presence in Book 4 of many elements connected with the religious history of the gens Fabia. It is concluded that this was done to honour the present member of that illustrious family, Paullus Fabius Maximus who, before he was Ovid's patron, was likely acquainted with our poet. It is possible that the Umbrian

Propertii could have been clientes of the Fabii, a conjecture made more plausible by the fact that the gens Propertia was enrolled in the tribus Fabia.