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THE ARRANGEMENT OF TIBULLUS BOOKS 1 AND 2[1]

In a fairly recent article entitled "The Symbolic Structure of Tibullus Book 1", R. J. Littlewood proposed the following thematic arrangement for Tibullus' first book of elegies[2]:

1. Introduction (*Divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro*)
2. Separation I (A Paraclausithyron)
3. Separation II (the poet languishes alone and ill at Corfu)
4. Genre Poem I (*Priapus de Arte amandi*)
5. Delia's Infidelity I (Regrets and Grief)
6. Delia's Infidelity II (Cynical exposure)
7. Genre Poem II (Birthday ode to Messalla)
8. Infidelity I (Marathus and Pholoë. A Lecture)
9. Infidelity II (Marathus and *Dives*. An indictment)
10. Conclusion (*Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protuli enses?*)

This scheme is nearly correct; Littlewood, however, has overlooked the relationships between poems 1. 2—1. 8 and 1. 3—1. 9 and the numerical patterns that confirm this arrangement.

Recent studies on the organization of Vergil's Eclogues, the Propertian Monobiblos, Horace's Odes I—III, and Ovid's Amores[3] have shown that the Augustan

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[1] For previous theories on the arrangement of Book 1 prior to 1926, see W. Port (Die Anordnung in Gedichtbüchern augusteischer Zeit, Philologus 81, 1926, 436—444). Port's thesis (pp. 441—444) that 2 through 9 formed two symmetrical groups (2—6, 3—7, 4—8, and 5—9) was rejected as unconvincing first by J. Martin (Die Anordnung von Tibulls 2. Buch, Würzburger Jahrbücher f. Altertumswissenschaft 3, 1948, 196) and later by J. Michelfeit (Das augusteische Gedichtbuch, RhM 112, 1969, 353, n. 10) and B. B. Powell (The Ordering of Tibullus Book 1, CP 69, 1974, 111—112). W. Wimmel (Der frühe Tibull, Studia et testimonia antiqua 6 [München 1968], 15—16 and 254ff.) has classified and grouped poems in Books 1 and 2 as one of five "types" with the exception of 2. 2, which he has excluded on the grounds that "it lacks the characteristics of a full Tibullan elegy" (p. 16). R. J. Littlewood (The Symbolic Structure of Tibullus Book 1, Latomus 29, 1970, 661—669), as the diagram above indicates, sees the organization of Book 1 as a ring composition.

Concerning the order of Book 2, Port (Die Anordnung, 445) observed that Tibullus alternated long poems with short ones. Michelfeit (Gedichtbuch, 353), after classifying the "Nemesis" poems as (b) and the poems dealing with festive occasions as (a), proposed the following scheme: aabbab.

[2] P. 663.

[3] For the best discussion of the arrangement of the Eclogues, see O. Skutsch (Symmetry and Sense in the Eclogues, HSCP 73, 1969, 153—169). For the Monobiblos, O. Skutsch (The Structure of the Propertian Monobiblos, CP 58, 1963, 238—239); B. Otis (Propertius' Single Book, HSCP

Poets ordered their Poetry-books in ring patterns of similar, or sometimes contrasting, themes with numerical patterns confirming the arrangement.

For the purpose of our discussion here, however, we need deal only with the order and numerical patterns in the Eclogues and Monobiblos. In two important articles[4] O. Skutsch has demonstrated that the Eclogues and Monobiblos are organized in ring patterns based on theme with two numerical patterns confirming the thematic order. In the first numerical pattern of the Eclogues the sum of the lines in corresponding poems produces a pattern: 1 + 9 = 150, 2 + 8 = 181[5], 3 + 7 = 181, and 4 + 6 = 149. The same poems are involved in the second numerical pattern. Here the sum of 1 through 4 = 330 (lines) and 6 through 9 = 331. Each pattern exhibits a slight inequality and shows Ecl. 5 as the center of the book. (Vergil may have omitted Ecls. 5 and 10 from both numerical patterns as an indication that their correspondence is "slight"[6].) In his earlier article on the organization of Propertius Book 1 Skutsch divided the poems into the following groups: Elegies 1—5 formed panel A^1; 6—9, B^1; 10—14, B^2; 15—19, A^2; and 20—22, C (the last three poems function as a tag). A numerical pattern exhibiting a slight inequality confirms that poems in panel A^1 correspond to those in A^2 and poems in B^1, to those in B^2[7]: the sum of the distichs in $A^1 = 89$; $B^1 = 71$; $B^2 = 70$; and $A^2 = 88$[8]. The second numerical pattern exhibits exact equality: the sum of B (141) + C (36) = A (177). Numbers, therefore, provide a useful tool for determining order in Poetry-books because they support and confirm thematic patterns[9].

70, 1965, 1—44); and E. Courtney (The Structure of Propertius Book 1 and Some Textual Consequences, Phoenix 22, 1968, 250—258). For the Amores, see my forthcoming article, "The Arrangement of Ovid's Amores." For Odes I—III, see my thesis, The Structural Pattern of Horace's Odes, Diss. Michigan 1976 (which is presently being expanded into a monograph that will include a discussion of the organization of the Epodes and Odes IV).

[4] See above, n. 3.

[5] In Ecl. 8 Skutsch excised line 76 and rejected Renaissance editors' insertion of a line after 28. Thus Ecl. 8 has 108 lines (Symmetry, 156). It should be noted that Skutsch was not the first to observe the numerical patterns in Vergil's Eclogues. They were discovered long ago by P. Maury (Le Secret de Vergile et l'architecture des Bucoliques, Lettres d'Humanité 3, 1944, 71—147) who unfortunately attributed more significance to the numbers than they actually possessed. The importance of Skutsch's article is that he put numbers into their proper perspective.

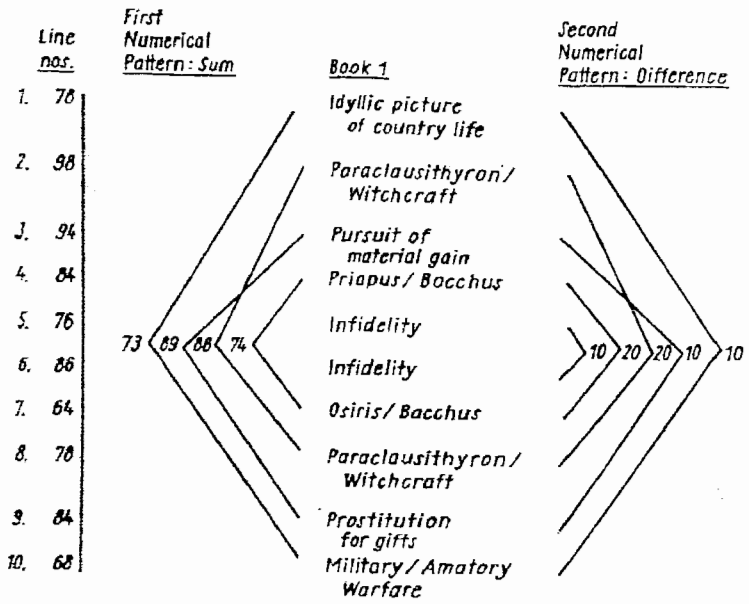
[6] Skutsch, Symmetry, 168.

[7] Skutsch did not pair poems in panel A^1 with those in A^2 while Otis and Courtney did (Single Book, 8—25 and Propertius Book 1, 251—257). I too believe that there are definite thematic correspondences between these ten poems.

[8] Some controversy has arisen over whether the first numerical pattern in the Monobiblos should exhibit a slight inequality or exact equality. Skutsch (Propertian Monobiblos, 238—239) followed A. E. Housman in assuming a missing couplet after 1. 11 and counted 7. 23—24. Otis (Single Book, 38, n. 11) rejected Housman's insertion of a distich after 1. 11 (thus panels A^1 and A^2 each have 88 distichs). Courtney (Textual Consequences, 256—257) took the notion of equality one step further and eliminated 7. 23—24. Thus the numbers in panels A^1 and A^2 and B^1 and B^2 exhibit exact equality, 88 and 70 distichs respectively. Since the numerical patterns in the Eclogues, Tibullus Book 1, and Epodes, the first book in which Horace used numbers (see below, n. 12), all exhibit a slight inequality, I believe that a pattern of inequality for the first numerical pattern of the Monobiblos is indeed preferable.

[9] Interesting to note is that J. Marouzeau (Jeux de chiffres, Rev. Et. Lat. 1946, 74—76) discovered numbers in the first book of the Fables by La Fontaine and in the Emaux et camées by T. Gautier. I, however, do not find the numbers in the latter work significant.

Tibullus also organized his two books of poetry in ring patterns based on theme with two numerical patterns confirming the thematic order. (I will postpone a discussion of the arrangement and numerical patterns in Book II until later.)



In the first numerical pattern the sum of the distichs in the corresponding poems forms the following pattern: $1 + 10 = 73$, $3 + 9 = 89$, $2 + 8 = 88$, and $4 + 7 = 74$. In the second the difference between the line numbers in the corresponding poems produces a pattern which also supports the thematic arrangement: the difference between 1 and $10 = 10$, 3 and $9 = 10$, 2 and $8 = 20$[10], 4 and $7 = 20$, and 5 and $6 = 10$[11]. (To my knowledge, Tibullus is the first Augustan

[10] Poem 1. 2 must have 98 lines as both numerical patterns indicate, but if lines 25a and 26a are included, the poem contains 100 lines. A solution to this problem may be that line 25 is an interpolation. In the manuscripts line 25, an hexameter, precedes 25a, another hexameter. Thus scholars naturally assumed that the pentameter line (26) dropped out of the text. In the lines immediately preceding and following line 25, Venus is the subject, but in line 25 the subject changes to Tibullus. If there was a missing pentameter (26), we must assume Venus was the subject of it since Tibullus did not indicate a change of subject in line 25a, If, however, line 25 is omitted, 25a makes perfect sense following 24, for Venus continues to be the subject as she has been in the preceding lines. Furthermore, lines 23 and 24 begin with *nec* as does 25a, and an anaphora of words beginning three successive lines is a stylistic characteristic of Tibullus' poetry (cf. *illa* in lines 19—21 and *non* in lines 29—31). Therefore, since 1. 2 must have 98 lines and since there is a textual problem at line 25, I think it is very possible that this line is an interpolation.

[11] Why I believe 3—9 must precede 2—8 in the numerical patterns will be explained below, p. 77.

Poet to use the difference between line numbers in corresponding poems, rather than the sum, to form a numerical pattern[12].) A discussion of the thematic relationships between the corresponding poems will now follow.

1. 1—1. 10

1. 1 and 1. 10 are corresponding poems linked by the themes of an idyllic picture of country life and military/amatory warfare[13]. In addition, these poems exhibit a parallel arrangement of words and ideas.

Each poem begins with Tibullus stating or implying that desire for gold is a vice that leads men to war (1. 1. 1—4; 1. 10. 1—7). Warfare (a characteristic of the age of iron) drives away sleep (*Martia cui somnos classica pulsa fugent* 1. 1. 4), and, conversely, the absence of war (described as occurring during the golden age) permits one to sleep carefree (... *somnumque petebat / securus varias dux gregis inter oves* 1. 10. 9—10). The next parallel, a description of gods made of wood (an unspecified god in 1. 1. 11 and the Lares in 1. 10. 17), is followed by a prayer to Ceres that a garland of grain spikes may come from Tibullus' fields to hang before her temple doors (*corona spicea* 1. 1. 15—16) and by an offering of a garland of grain spikes to the Lares (*spicea serta* 1. 10. 22). The Lares, who are addressed as guardians of the land (1. 1. 19—20) and are asked to keep bronze javelins away from Tibullus (1. 10. 25), then receive the sacrifice of a lamb in the first poem (23) and a pig in the second (26)[14]. Ideas in the next section of each poem are arranged chiastically, but are similar in that Tibullus praises the simple life of a herdsman (1. 1. 25—84; 1. 10. 39—44) and rejects another life style (that of a merchant in 1. 1. 49—52 and that of a soldier in 1. 10. 29—34). At line 53 of each poem real military battles (*te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique* 1. 1) and the warfare of love (*sed veneris tunc bella calent* ... 1. 10) form a parallel, which similarly leads to the theme of the *exclusus amator*. In 1. 1 the poet tells Messalla that it is fitting that he wage war on land and sea (53); Tibullus, on the other

[12] The numbers in the Eclogues, Monobiblos, and Tibullus Book 1 exemplify the three types used by the Augustan Poets: 1) the sum of — or 2) the difference between — line numbers in corresponding poems may produce a pattern or 3) the sum of the lines of groups of poems may form a pattern. Numerical patterns exhibiting a slight inequality occur in the first books and ones exhibiting exact equality in the second. (The Epodes, for example, displays the following numerical pattern: the sum of 1 through 8 = 304 and 9 through 17 = 303, excluding Epodes 13, a noncorresponding poem. All the numerical patterns in the Odes exhibit exact equality. E.g., the sum of the lines in 2. 13 through 2. 16 = 128 as does the sum in 2. 17 through 2. 20.) Also worth noting is that two numerical patterns appear to be a characteristic of most early books. The Epodes is the exception (see below, n. 34).

[13] That poems 1. 1 and 1. 10 form a pair is commonly accepted (e.g., Port, Die Anordnung, 441ff; Martin, Tibulls 2. Buch, 196; Powell, The Ordering, 109; and Littlewood, Symbolic Structure, 667—669).

[14] As K. F. Smith (The Elegies of Albius Tibullus, New York 1913; repri. Darmstadt 1964, 380) has observed, "The line [26] is very troublesome as it stands." I suspect the problem lies with the transmission of the line itself and that there is no lacuna between lines 25 and 26. Again, the two numerical patterns are useful, for they indicate that poem 1. 10 has 68 lines.

hand, bound by the chains of his girl, sits captive before cruel doors (*me retinent vinctum formosae vincla puellae / et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores* 55—56); in 1. 10 this theme is referred to by the picture of a woman who "complains that her hair has been torn and her door broken down"[15] (... *scissosque capillos / femina, perfractos conqueriturque fores* 53—54). Tibullus then states that his only ambition is to be with Delia and expresses his hope that at his final hour she will be present at his bedside weeping (*flebis ... flebis* 1. 1. 51—64); in 1. 10 a woman weeps because she has been physically abused by her lover, and her lover also weeps because of his abuse (*flet ... flet* 55—56). The poems conclude similarly with military metaphors used in reference to love: Tibullus is a good leader and soldier in Love's army (1. 1. 75); a man who abuses his girl should be a soldier, not a lover (1. 10. 65—66).

The question that now arises is this: Why did Tibullus use a parallel arrangement of words and ideas to link 1. 1 and 1. 10? I suggest because of their important position as the first and last poems of the collection. Poems 1. 5—1. 6 and 2. 3—2. 4, the central pairs in each book, also exhibit this technique[16].

1. 3—1. 9

Ostensibly, poems 1. 3 and 1. 9, the themes of which might be described respectively as Tibullus' serious illness in faroff Phaeacia and Marathus' infidelity, appear to have little in common. Through verbal reminiscences, however, Tibullus seems to be setting up a series of contrasts and parallels between himself and Marathus. First compare lines 51—52 of 1. 3 and 1—4 of 1. 9:

parce, pater. timidum non me periuria terrent,
non dicta in sanctos impia verba deos.
(1. 3. 51—52)

Quid mihi, si fueras miseros laesurus amores,
foedera per divos, clam violanda, dabas?
a miser, et si quis primo periuria celat,
sera tamen tacitis Poena venit pedibus.
(1. 9. 1—4)

Tibullus is not afraid to die, for he has neither broken any oaths nor spoken impious words against the gods (1. 3); the rhetorical question posed in the opening lines of 1. 9 suggests that Marathus, on the other hand, has broken his oaths to Tibullus before the gods. The poet continues in 1. 3: If he will die, *Venus* will lead him to the Elysian fields because he has always been *submissive* to tender Love (*sed me, quod facilis tenero sum semper Amori, / ipsa Venus campos*

[15] F. O. Copley (Exclusus Amator: A Study in Latin Love Poetry, Am. Phil. Assoc. Monograph No. 17, 1956, 71): "The breaking down of the door is a direct reference to the paraclausithyron in its 'noisy' form, in which the shut-out lover attempts to gain admission by violent means."

[16] Horace, too, used this technique to link poems occurring in important positions in the Epodes and Odes I—III.

ducet in Elysios 57—58), whereas with someone like Marathus, who has been seduced by riches and has violated his love, *Venus* will be harsh and *obstinate* (*divitiis captus si quis violavit amorem, / asperaque est illi difficilisque Venus* 1. 9. 19—20). What happens to those who have violated Tibullus' love? They are punished. In 1. 3 they will spend eternity in Tartarus (*Tartarus est illic ... illic sit quicumque meos violavit amores* 77; 81), and in 1. 9 Marathus will suffer by losing the poet's love (*tum flebis, cum me vinctum puer alter habebit ... at tua tum me poena iuvet ...* 79—81). The most interesting parallel between the two poems occurs in the description of the golden and iron ages:

nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris
presserat externa navita merce ratem.
illo non validus subiit iuga tempore taurus,
non domito frenos ore momordit equus,
(1. 3. 39—42)

lucra petens habili tauros adiungit aratro
et durum terrae rusticus urget opus,
lucra petituras freta per parentia ventis
ducunt instabiles sidera certa rates:
(1. 9. 7—10)

In the latter poem the reference to the age of iron leads to Marathus' offense: he has been seduced by gifts (*muneribus meus est captus puer ...* 11). In the former poem the repetition of the phrase *ignotis ... terris* (39) from line 3 (*me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris*) suggests Tibullus' motive for leaving Delia to join Messalla's retinue, i.e., of course, material gain[17]. This parallel, therefore, is revealing, for it indicates that Tibullus and Marathus are guilty of the same transgression: Tibullus has violated Delia's love by leaving her behind in Rome to follow Messalla to the East in pursuit of material gain[18], just as Marathus has violated the poet's love by prostituting himself for gifts[19].

1. 2—1. 8

In 1. 2 and 1. 8 Tibullus describes the emotions of unhappy lovers (himself in 1. 2 and Marathus in 1. 8) in their relationships with their mistresses. In addition, these poems share the themes of paraclausithyron, witchcraft, and revenge.

[17] This point was made by D. H. Mills (Tibullus and Phaeacia: A Reinterpretation of 1. 3, CJ 69, 1974, 229).

[18] Mills' observation that "Tartarus and Tibullus' personal experience of Phaeacia" have "a point of contact": "As the Danaids suffer in Tartarus for violating the powers of Venus, so Tibullus suffers in Phaeacia the consequences of violated love" (ibid., 231) is interesting. If the reader is to interpret Tibullus' serious illness as a form of punishment for the poet's abandonment of Delia, this theme would provide an additional link between 1. 3 and 1. 9.

[19] One final similarity worth noting is the parallel arrangement of nouns, adjectives, and participles in the first line of each inscription (1. 3. 55—56; 1. 9. 83—84):

Hic ... immiti consumptus morte Tibullus (1. 3. 55)
Hanc ... fallaci resolutus amore Tibullus (1. 9. 83).

1. 2 opens with Tibullus arriving drunk at Delia's house and finding the door shut and bolted (1—6); he first addresses the door and then Delia herself (7—16). In 1. 8 the poet imagines Marathus standing outside of Pholoe's house[20] addressing his remarks to her, though she is absent (55—66). The similarity of thought and vocabulary in 1. 2. 1—20 and 1. 8. 55—66 is striking indeed: 1) In 1. 2 Tibullus tells Delia not to deceive the guards timidly, for *Venus* herself assists the stout-hearted (... *ne timide custodes, Delia, falle* / ... *fortes adiuvat ipsa Venus* 15—16); in 1. 8 Marathus tells Pholoe that the guard might have been deceived, for a god himself has granted this power to those who are willing (... *poterat custodia vinci:* / *ipse dedit cupidis fallere posse deus* 55—56). 2) Tibullus asks the door not to make a sound when opened (*neu furtim verso cardine aperta sones* 1. 2. 10) and a few lines later argues that the goddess of love helps girls unbolt the door (*reserat ... fores* 18); Marathus boasts that he can open the door so that it makes no sound (*et possum ... et strepitu nullo clam reserare fores* 1. 8. 59—60). 3) Venus teaches how to direct one's step silently (*illa pedem nullo ponere posse sono* 1. 2. 20); every time Marathus hears a noise, he imagines he has heard the footsteps of Pholoe (... *quodcumque movetur,* / *illius credo tunc sonuisse pedes* 1. 8. 65—66).

In the sections of each poem that deal with the power of witchcraft (1. 2. 41—62; 1. 8. 17—24), the following parallels occur: Witches can bring down the moon or the stars from the heavens (*de caelo ducentem sidera* 1. 2. 43; *e curru Lunam deducere* 1. 8. 21), can draw the shades from their tombs and the crops from the neighbor's fields (*manesque sepulchris* / *elicit* 1. 2. 45—46; *cantus vicinis fruges traducit ab agris* 1. 8. 19), and can reverse the course of a river or check the course of a snake (*fluminis ... vertit iter* 1. 2. 44; *detinet anguis iter* 1. 8. 20).

The poems conclude with the theme of revenge. In 1. 2 Tibullus, after warning that one should not laugh at the misfortunes of lovers (*at tu, qui laetus rides mala nostra, caveto* 87), describes how Venus took revenge on an old man who had mocked the wretched loves of young men (*iuvenum miseros lusisset amores* 89) by making him fall in love. Similarly in 1. 8, Tibullus describes how a god took revenge on Marathus who mocked wretched lovers (*miseros ludebat amantes* 71) and had often laughed at the tears of a grieving lover (*saepe etiam lacrimas fertur risisse dolentis* 73). Now he is receiving the same treatment from Pholoe, and unless Pholoe changes her naughty ways, she will be punished in the same manner (75—78).

1. 2—1. 3 and 1. 8—1. 9

As Littlewood rightly observed[21], Tibullus' separation from Delia links 1. 2 and 1. 3 and the theme of infidelity, 1. 8 and 1. 9[22]. As one moves from 1. 2 to

[20] This, I believe, is implicit from the monologue.

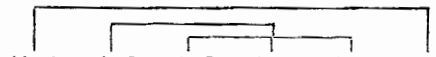
[21] Littlewood, Symbolic Structure, 664—665.

[22] A poem may have more than one thematic correspondence. E.g., Odes 1. 10, the hymn to Mercury, corresponds to Odes 3. 21, the hymn to a wine jar, and also to Odes 1. 12, the hymn to Augustus.

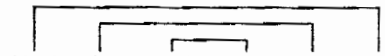
1. 3, the distance separating Delia from Tibullus increases. In 1. 2 only a door separates them; in 1. 3 the Ionic and Mediterranean Seas and Tibullus' nearness to death form a great and perhaps permanent barrier between the two lovers.

Important to note especially since the relationship between 1. 2 and 1. 3 appears tenuous, and thus perhaps unconvincing, is that the combination of the themes of the *exclusus amator* and separation either by geographical distance or by natural barriers such as rivers or oceans occurs elsewhere in Augustan Poetry. Compare, for instance, Odes 3. 7, where in the opening lines Horace describes Asterie as weeping for her absent lover Gyges who is being detained at Oricum due to winter storms (1—8) and concludes the poem with the theme of the *exclusus* amator (29—32), or Amores 1. 6 and 3. 6, corresponding poems, in which the door (1.6) and the river (3.6) similarly keep Ovid from his mistress.

Actually three themes link 1. 8—1. 9: infidelity, acceptance of gifts for sexual favors, and revenge, but these are treated more fully in 1. 9[23]. The significance of recognizing the expansion in distance and fuller treatment of themes in the second member of each pair is that it may explain why Tibullus ordered these four poems so that they formed an interlocking ring pattern



rather than a 'pure' ring pattern



1. 4—1. 7

Littlewood, I believe, is correct in describing the thematic relationship between 1. 4 (*Priapus de Arte amandi*) and 1. 7 (the birthday ode to Messalla) as "genre" and in observing that their correspondence is a tenuous one[24]. Although he did not cite parallels between 1. 4 and 1. 7, there are several that connect the two poems and suggest the appropriateness of their correspondence. First, both Priapus and Osiris are gods of vegetation and are associated with Bacchus. Priapus is the son of Bacchus (1. 4. 7); Osiris is the Egyptian counterpart to Bacchus (1. 7. 33—48)[25]. Secondly, both gods play the role of an instructor. Priapus in the art of love and Osiris in the art of cultivation. Thirdly, Tibullus subtly identifies himself and Messalla with each god in the respective poems. In 1. 7 Messalla is identified with Osiris: 1) by similar details in the description of the two. Both wear garlands (*victrices lauros* 7; *frons redimita corymbis* 45), are

[23] Revenge: 1. 8. 71—78; 1. 9. 3—4, 13—16, 53—82; Acceptance of gifts: 1. 8. 29, 31, 39, 1. 9. 11—12, 17—20, 31—34, 77—78; Infidelity: 1. 8. 49—66; in 1. 9, not only of Marathus (1. 4. 41—44, 75—78), but also Tibullus prays for the infidelity of the wife of Marathus' lover (53—74). For a detailed discussion of the similarities between 1. 8 and 1. 9, see Wimmel (Der frühe Tibullus, 81—117 and especially 114—117).

[24] Littlewood, Symbolic Structure, 666—667.

[25] M. Schuster, Tibull-Studien (Vienna 1930), 21.

"the subject of song"[26] (*te canit* 27; *te canet agricola* 61), and are the object of admiration by the young (*novos pubes Romana triumphos / vidit* ... 5—6; *suum pubes miratur Osirim / barbara* ... 27—28)[27]; 2) by their association with wine[28]; and 3) by their contributions "to the progress of mankind — Osiris by inventing agriculture and the cultivation of the vine, and Messalla (to a lesser extent) by repairing the road"[29]. In 1. 4 Tibullus identifies himself with Priapus in two ways. First, he assumes Priapus' role as a *magister amoris* (75—80). Secondly, just as the god's instructions on pederastry are disregarded by Titius because of his wife (73—74), Tibullus predicts his advice to lovers will also be disregarded if Marathus continues to torture him (81—84). One final parallel between the two poems is that in the conclusion of each Tibullus imagines himself and Messalla as old men: "There will be a time when an attentive throng of youths will conduct me home, an old man, an instructor in the precepts of Venus" (*senem* 1. 4. 79—80); "[Messalla,] may children grow up to enhance your deeds and who, worthy of honor, will attend you in your old age" (*senem* 1. 7. 55—56).

1. 5—1. 6

The theme of infidelity links 1. 5 and 1. 6. In the former poem Delia is unfaithful to Tibullus; in the latter, to both Tibullus and her husband. As was previously mentioned, these poems are also connected by a parallel arrangement of words and ideas[30].

Separation and Infidelity (1. 5. 1—18; 1. 6. 1—22)

In the opening lines of 1. 5 Tibullus states that he was harsh (*asper* 1) and that he used to say he could easily bear separation from Delia, but now such boasting (*gloria* 2) is far from him. In the second poem the poet describes Love as harsh (*asper* 2) and asks whether there is great honor (*gloria* 3) for a god to plot against a man. The next parallel is furtiveness. Tibullus begs Delia that he be spared by the bonds of a "furtive" bed (*furtivi* ... *foedera lecti* 1. 5. 7); in 1. 6 Delia is furtively embracing another, presumably in bed (*furtim* 1. 6. 5—6). This is followed by Tibullus' assuming responsibility for restoring Delia to health by prayers and magic (1. 5. 9—17) and for teaching her the art of deception (1. 6.

[26] Although *te* of line 27 refers to the Nile, "the description of the Nile builds to a peak in the identification of the river with Osiris ... The Nile is a fertilizing force, but it is Osiris who invented agriculture itself" and whose "inventions are listed" (J. H. Gaisser, Tibullus 1. 7: A Tribute to Messalla, CP 66, 1971, 225).

[27] Gaisser, A Tribute, 227.

[28] Ibid., 228.

[29] Ibid., 227.

[30] M. Putnam (Tibullus: A Commentary, Norman 1973, 108) has observed that 1. 6 "is intimately connected verbally with the preceding poem ...".

9—14). After Delia recovers from her illness, another enjoys her affections (1. 5. 17—18). In 1. 6 Tibullus warns Delia's husband to beware lest his wife have affairs with other men (15—22).

Wine, Desire for another, and the Procuresses (1. 5. 27—60; 1. 6. 37—68)

The next similarity is the mention of wine. In the first poem Tibullus states that he has tried often to dispel his cares by drinking wine (*saepe ... vino* 37); in the second poem he recalls how in the past he often plied Delia's husband with wine to cause him to fall asleep so that he and Delia might be alone (*saepe ... mero* 27). Next, Tibullus describes how when he was embracing another (*aliam tenui* 1. 5. 39), about to enjoy her, Delia came to mind so that he was unable to perform (1. 5. 39—40). Similarly in 1. 6, Delia is embracing her husband (*te tenet* 35), but sighs for an absent lover (35) and, to avoid intimacy with her husband, feigns a headache (36). The two procuresses are then contrasted. The procuress of 1. 5, who is approached by a rich lover, promises Delia to him. For this Tibullus curses her and advises Delia to disregard her precepts (47—60). The procuress of 1. 6 (Delia's mother), on the other hand, brings Delia to Tibullus. Tibullus wishes her a long life and bids that she teach Delia how to be chaste (57—68).

Striking, Fear, and Love (1. 5. 61—76; 1. 6. 73—86)

In 1. 5 Tibullus, after listing the advantages of Delia's having a poor lover, realizes that such an argument is to no avail. Her door must be struck with a full hand (61—68). In 1. 6 Tibullus prays that he will never strike his girl, but if he does, may he have no hands (73—74). Then Tibullus' rival is told to fear his "attempts to steal her [Delia] back"[31] (1. 5. 69), and Delia is told not to be chaste solely because of fear (1. 6. 75). The poems conclude with Tibullus warning his rival to enjoy love while he can (1. 5. 75—76) and with the poet's wish that he and Delia may be examples of love in their old age (1. 6. 85—86).

To sum up. Poems in Tibullus Book I are organized in a ring composition based on theme with two numerical patterns confirming the thematic arrangement. If the second numerical pattern was meant to resemble the first (and I think it was) in that the numerical pairs 73—74 and 10—10 and 10 frame 89—88 and 20—20, then Tibullus arranged this book so that poems having a close correspondence (1—10, 2—8, and 5—6) alternate with poems which, in comparison, have a tenuous correspondence (3—9 and 4—7)[32].

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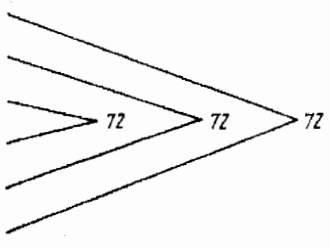
[31] Ibid., 107.

[32] With 1. 2—1. 8 preceding 1. 3—1. 9, the difference in the line numbers between corresponding poem produces the following pattern: 10, 20, 10, 20, 10.

Book II

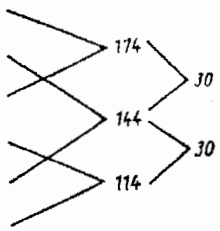
Tibullus' second book of poetry is similar to the first in that it is organized in a ring composition based on theme:

	Line Nos.	
1.	90	Idyllic country life
2.	22	Ritual language of prayer
3.	84	Servitude
4.	60	Servitude
5.	122	Ritual language of prayer
6.	54	Military/amatory warfare



The numerical pattern that confirms the arrangement exhibits exact equality: the sum of $1 + 6 = 72$ (distichs), $2 + 5 = 72$, and $3 + 4 = 72$[33]. As in the first book, there is a second numerical pattern, but its function here is to confirm a second thematic arrangement[34]:

	Line Nos.	
1.	90	Positive view of country life
2.	22	Ritual language of prayer
3.	84	Negative view of country life
4.	60	Unrequited love
5.	122	Ritual language of prayer
6.	54	Unrequited love



[33] This sum includes 14a, missing line, 14b, and 14c of 2. 3. As was stated above (n. 12), poets seemed to prefer a numerical pattern exhibiting exact equality for the second book of poetry.

[34] Two thematic patterns sometimes occur in Augustan Poetry-books, but are not always confirmed by a second numerical pattern. E.g., the Epodes has the following thematic arrangements: I) 1—17, concern for well-being; 2—16, idyllic settings; 3—5, witchcraft motif; 4—6, invectives against men; 8—10—12, invectives against women; 7—9, civil war; and 11—14—15, love poems. The sum of 1—8 = 304; 9—17 = 303, excluding Epodes 13, the theme of which is unique to the Epodes. II) 1—9, Actium; 7—16, renewal of civil war; and 8—17, invective. In the second thematic pattern Epodes 2 and 13 are non-corresponding. The other poems have the same correspondences as in the first arrangement. Horace did not use numbers to confirm the second thematic arrangement either because the bipartite division of the book remained the same in both schemes (1—8 and 9—17) or because he was varying a principle found in other early Poetry-books, where two numerical patterns support one thematic arrangement.

The sum of the lines in 1 + 3 = 174, 2 + 5 = 144, and 4 + 6 = 114. There is a difference of 30 lines between each of the pairs: 174 — 144 = 30 and 144 — 114 = 30. (Note that the second numerical pattern in each book is a multiple of 10.) For the most part poems in the second book have a more tenuous relationship than those in the first. The reason for this may be because of the two thematic patterns.

Thematic Pattern I

2. 1—2. 6

2. 1 and 2. 6 are connected by the themes of an idyllic picture of country life and military/amatory warfare. One might expect these poems to have a close correspondence as was found between 1. 1 and 1. 10, poems that formed the frame for the first book, but their relationship is slight. In fact, in order to understand how these poems can correspond, it is necessary to compare them to 1. 1 and 1. 10.

Both 1. 1 and 2. 1 present an idyllic picture of country life. In each poem gods associated with the country are invoked (1. 1. 15—20; 2. 1. 3—4, 17, and 55), a lamb is to be sacrificed (1. 1. 23; 2. 1. 15), Messalla and his military exploits are mentioned (1. 1. 53—54; 2. 1. 31—36), contentment with a simple way of life is stated or implied, and in the final section of each poem Tibullus turns to the topic of love (1. 1. 55—76; 2. 1. 67—82).

1. 10 and 2. 6 begin with the topic of military war and Tibullus as a soldier (1. 10. 1—38; 2. 6. 1—10), but as the poems progress, military warfare changes to the warfare of love (1. 10. 51—66; 2. 6. 11—18). Each poem contains an aretology (of peace in 1. 10. 45—50 and of hope in 2. 6. 20—28), the theme of the *exclusus amator* is referred to (1. 10. 53—54; 2. 6. 11—14), and, finally, the cruelty of the lover-soldier of 1. 10 who causes his girl to weep because of his physical abuse (53—64) contrasts with the compassion of Tibullus (soldier/lover) who ceases from mentioning the death of Nemesis' sister lest he cause her to weep (2. 6. 41 to 43).

Thus the similarities between 1. 1 and 2. 1 and 1. 10 and 2. 6 show how the poet linked 2. 1 and 2. 6 by the themes of an idyllic picture of country life and military/amatory warfare.

2. 2—2. 5

2. 2, a poem for Cornutus' birthday, is a prayer to his birthday spirit; 2. 5 is "a hymn to Apollo in honor of the induction of M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus, Messalla's eldest son, as one of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* ..."[35]. The ritual language of prayer tenuously links 2. 2 and 2. 5, and only the opening and closing lines exhibit similarities.

[35] Putnam, Tibullus, 182.

2. 2 begins with Tibullus commanding those present first to avoid words of ill omen (1) and then to be quiet (*lingua ... fave* 2), for the birthday spirit is coming to the altar (*venit Natalis ad aras* 1). In the opening lines of 2. 5 the poet prays that Apollo will be gracious (*fave* 1) and will come with his lyre and song (*cum cithara carminibusque veni* 2). Next, Tibullus' request that the gods be present wearing garlands (*Genius adsit ... cui decorent sanctas mollia serta comas* 2. 2. 5—6; *ipse triumphali devinctus tempora lauro ... veni* 2. 5. 5—6) precedes his prophecy (*auguror* 2. 2. 11) that Cornutus will pray for the faithful love of his wife and the mention of Apollo's role as a god of prophecy (*augur* 2. 5. 11). (Note that all the parallels cited above have occured in the same distichs.) The final similarity is the contrast between the beneficial and harmful nature of the god of love. In 2. 2 Tibullus prays that Love will bind Cornutus and his wife in marriage until their old age (17—20) and in 2. 5 that Apollo may allow bows and arrows to perish so that Love may wander on the earth unarmed. His weapons have harmed many, especially Tibullus (105—109).

2. 3—2. 4

The theme of servitude connects 2. 3 and 2. 4. In 2. 3 Tibullus relates the story of Apollo as herdsman and slave to Love (11—28) and in the poem's conclusion admits he is willing to play the role of farmer and slave to his mistress (79—80). 2. 4 begins where 2. 3 left off[36]: Slavery has bound Tibullus to Nemesis. In addition, this pair exhibits a parallel arrangement of words and ideas.

Love appears in the opening lines of each poem. In 2. 3 Venus herself has gone to the country (where Nemesis is), and Cupid is learning the rustic speech of farmers (3—4); in 2. 4 the god refuses to release Tibullus from his bonds of servitude (3—4). (Note that Tibullus has placed the word *Amor* in the same position [last] of the fourth line of each poem.) The pain of physical labor and mental anguish form the next parallel. Provided that[37] Tibullus can look upon his mistress, he is willing to be a farmer and suffer without complaint the sun burning his limbs and blisters on his hands (2. 3. 5—10); in 2. 4 in order not to feel the pain of Love's torches burning him, Tibullus would rather be a rock or cliff (2. 4. 6—10). The ineffectiveness of poetry and song in winning over one's lover (*nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae* 2. 3. 12; *nec prosunt elegi nec carminis auctor Apollo* 2. 4. 13) precedes the poet's condemnation of greed as the root of all evil. Avarice causes men to fight wars on land and sea (which lead to bloodshed, slaughter, and death) and to desire countless acres, exotic stone for building material, and private fishponds (2. 3. 36—46); in 2. 4 greed is in the form of gifts that must be procured for Nemesis whether by murder, crime, or sacrilege (21—26). In the next parallel Tibullus does a volte-face from the first to the second poem. In 2. 3 Tibullus states that if Venus desires wealth, let

[36] Putnam has noted this as well (Tibullus, 176).

[37] I have adopted Heyne's reading of *dum*.

Nemesis wear clothing made by the women of Cos and let Africa and Tyre vie to produce crimson and purple (50—58), but in 2. 4 he imprecates those who dye sheepskin with Tyrian purple, for clothing from Cos causes girls to be greedy (27—30). Tibullus then curses cruel crops and wine (*at tibi* 2. 3. 61—66) for stealing Nemesis from the city and the greedy mistress (*at tibi* 2. 4. 39—44) for shutting out penniless lovers. The final parallel is Tibullus' obsequiousness to his mistress' wishes. In 2. 3 he will furrow fields at the command of his mistress (79); in 2. 4 if only Nemesis will look kindly upon him, he will drink whatever concoction she will prepare, even though it may be poison (59—60).

Thematic Pattern II

In the second thematic pattern 2. 1 corresponds to 2. 3, 2. 2 to 2. 5 (as in the first pattern), and 2. 4 to 2. 6.

2. 1—2. 3

In 2. 1 Tibullus presents a positive picture of country life; in 2. 3, a negative one: "Instead of being healthy and harmonious, the countryside is made to seem destructive. Crops are chided [2. 3. 61—62], Bacchus is cursed instead of invoked [2. 3. 63—66], Apollo's powers are nullified by love [2. 3. 11—28]."[38] Contentment with a simple way of life is replaced by greed and ambition (2. 3. 36—46). Homespun clothing, made and worn by the inhabitants of the country (2. 1. 61—66), contrasts with the Eastern garb that Nemesis desires to wear (2. 3. 51 to 58).

2. 4—2. 6

Although 2. 4 and 2. 6 share the theme of the poet's unrequited love for Nemesis and in each poem Tibullus expresses his desire to be free of Love's bondage, the most striking similarity is the description of the mourning (or lack of mourning) for the greedy/good mistress in 2. 4. 43—50 and for Nemesis' sister in 2. 6. 29—34. When a greedy mistress dies, no one will mourn her or bring an offering to her burial rites (43—44). When a good mistress dies, her lover will mourn her, will place garlands on her tomb yearly (*serta* 48), and will pray that her soul rests in peace with the earth weighing lightly upon her bones (*quiescas* 49—50). In 2. 6 Tibullus mourns the death of Nemesis' sister, states that he will bring offerings and garlands to her grave (*serta* 31—32), and prays she may rest in peace under the tender earth (*quiescat* 30). The parallel descriptions between the two poems suggest that the purpose of the passage dealing with the death of Nemesis' young sister is to serve as an exemplum to his girl of the poet's devotion to one who is "good". This, in turn, provides a neat transition to the final section of 2. 6 (43—54) where the poet places the blame for Nemesis' infidelity

[38] Putnam, Tibullus, 166.

squarely on the shoulders of the procuress: the girl herself is good (*ipsa puella bona est* 44). *Bona* is an important word here, for it modifies *puella* only twice in Tibullus' poetry: Nemesis in this passage and the good mistress in 2. 4. 45[39]. Therefore, by the use of this adjective Tibullus seems to be implying that he will continue to love Nemesis (despite all) and, if his mistress' death should occur before his own, will honor her as befits a *bona puella*.

To conclude. Whether or not Tibullus lived to see the publication of Book 2 is uncertain[40], but the striking similarities found between the first and second book (to wit: the numerical patterns, the organization of each book, the same themes in the first and last poems, and the technique of using a parallel arrangement of words and ideas to link poems marking important positions) provides strong, if not conclusive, evidence that Book 2 is complete and was arranged by Tibullus himself.

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[39] E. N. O'Neil, A Critical Concordance of the Tibullan Corpus, Am. Phil. Assoc. Monograph No. 21, 1963, 47.

[40] The date of Tibullus' death and the publication of his second book of elegies is generally assigned to the same year, 19 B. C.

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