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TIBULLUS 2.5 AND VERGIL'S *AENEID*

In commemorating the appointment of M. Valerius Messalla Messalinus to the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* (*CIL*, vol. 6, pp. 3242-43), Tibullus composes his longest and most patriotic poem—one dealing with Rome the eternal and filled with echoes of Vergil's *Aeneid*. Although scholars have long sensed that Tibullus knew and used the *Aeneid*, they have tended to stress the poet's adaptation of a single passage, or a certain book, or a limited part of the epic—a subject not really treated comprehensively, and never in English. This paper aims to trace all the literary connections between Tibullus's elegy and Vergil's epic, discusses and expands on the findings of others (especially Cartault, Buchheit, and Gerressen), and tries to show from the available evidence how Tibullus could have gained access to Vergil's masterpiece.

Tibullus 2.5 exhibits a complex but beautiful design, characterized in part by ring-composition. The poet begins by asking Apollo to welcome Messalinus into the sacred priesthood and to instruct him in interpreting the Sibylline books (1-18). Next, turning to the Sibyl herself and her meeting with Aeneas, he presents the rustic setting of future Rome, a prophecy of Rome's greatness, forecasts of Caesar's murder, and an idyllic picture of a Roman festival—a series of dramatically connected passages comprising the elegy's central theme, the splendor of the eternal city (19-104). Concluding on the keynote, he asks Apollo (and Nemesis) to permit him to celebrate the glory of Messalinus, now described as a conqueror, in keeping with the nationalistic spirit of the entire elegy (105-122). In seeking to convey this very spirit, Tibullus surely must have looked to the *Aeneid* as a general source of inspiration.

While imitations of the *Aeneid* appear in their greatest concentration in the passage about the Sibyl's prophecy, some occasionally occur in the other portions of the poem. In the following list of these occurrences, the superscripts refer to the men who first pointed out the parallels between Tibullus and Vergil: Tib. 2.5.5 *deuinctus tempora* and *Aen.* 5.269, 8.286 *euincti tempora*<sup>1</sup>; Tib. 2.5.6 *cumulant aras* and *Aen.* 8.284, 12.215 *cumulantque . . . aras*<sup>2</sup>; Tib. 2.5.9 *Saturno . . . fugato* and *Aen.* 8.319-320 *Saturnus . . . fugiens*<sup>3</sup>, a parallel which may be expanded to include *Ioui* and *Iouis*; Tib. 2.5.16 *abdita . . . fata* and *Aen.* 6.72 *arcanaque fata*<sup>4</sup>; Tib. 2.5.81 *crepitet*

I wish to thank Dr. Gilbert Highet for reading this paper and for offering his suggestions. I have used the text of F. Lenz and K. Galinsky, *Albii Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres* (Leiden, 1971<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>V. Buchheit, "Tibull II.5 und die Aeneis", *Philologus* 109 (1965) 104-120, especially 116; W. Gerressen, *Tibullus Elegie 2,5 und Vergils Aeneis* (Diss., Cologne, 1970) 69.

<sup>2</sup>K. Smith, *The Elegies of Albius Tibullus* (New York, 1913) 446; Buchheit (above, note 1) 116; Gerressen (above, note 1) 69; Lenz and Galinsky (above, prefatory note) 118.

<sup>3</sup>L. Dissen, *Albii Tibulli carmina*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1835) vol. 2, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup>Dissen (above, note 3) vol. 2, p. 277.

... *flammis* and *Aen.* 7.74 *flamma crepitante cremari*, a phrase ultimately taken from *Lucr.* 6.155 *flamma crepitante crematur*<sup>5</sup>; *Tib.* 2.5.99-100 *dapes ... exstruet ... torum* and *Aen.* 3.224 *exstruimusque toros dapibusque*<sup>6</sup>. Tibullus does seem to draw certain expressions from the *Aeneid* and to show a particular fondness for a number of verses in *Aeneid* 8, with the references to a religious ceremony apparently borrowed from one specific passage of the epic (*Tib.* 2.5.5-6 *deuinctus tempora ... cumulant aras* and *Aen.* 8.284, 286 *cumulantque ... aras ... euincti tempora*).

Yet the greatest number of epic reminiscences appear in connection with the Sibyl's prophecy to Aeneas. Tibullus leads into the prediction by depicting Aeneas after his escape from Troy. In this way the poet presents the hero at the lowest point of his career (19-22).

A few<sup>7</sup> regard the above quatrain as spurious. Wisser argues that the passage on Aeneas interrupts the previous sentiment about the Sibyl's powers, only to be interrupted itself by still another passage about the country—an opinion which ignores the transitional nature of the quatrain, the gradual movement to the mythical past. Baehrens even contends that as the quatrain stands, the Sibyl seems to rise *aus dem Meere* when Aeneas sails away from the burning city—a rather silly speculation, for one always associates Sibyls with the land but never with the sea. Karsten chooses to label the passage a digression rather than to challenge its authenticity—an attitude which sheds no light whatsoever on the poetic function of the quatrain. By referring to Aeneas, the poet presents a miniature description of the character whose frustrations provide the immediate occasion for the Sibyl's prophecy.

In discussing the Sibyl (in accordance with Tibullus's treatment of her in the above quatrain), some<sup>8</sup> connect her with Troy. Seeing Aeneas in flight but still within sight of his homeland, they claim that the Sibyl delivers the prophecy immediately after Aeneas's escape—a view which Buchheit seems only to imply. Yet these critics make too rigid a connection between the two couplets in question, the first (19-20) clearly referring to Aeneas's meeting with the Sibyl, the second (21-22) referring only to Aeneas's departure from Troy—an event not necessarily occurring simultaneous with or just after the meeting depicted in the first couplet. The same critics usually suggest that Tibullus may be basing his account on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who relates that the Sibyl delivered the prophecy near Troy (*Ant. Rom.* 1.55 *ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς, χωρὶς τῆς Ἰδης*). Still, one wonders why Tibullus would want to model his own account of that momentous meeting after such an obscure

<sup>5</sup>Gerressen (above, note 1) 69-70.

<sup>6</sup>Gerressen (above, note 1) 69.

<sup>7</sup>W. Wisser, *Ueber Tibull II.5* (Progr., Eutin, 1874) 10; E. Baehrens, *Tibullische Blätter* (Jena, 1876) 29-30 and 33, and *Albii Tibulli elegiarum libri duo* (Leipzig, 1878) 47; H. Karsten, "De Tibulli elegiarum structura", *Mnemosyne* 26 (1887) 211-236, 305-325, and 27 (1888) 39-77, especially 54-55.

<sup>8</sup>Dissen (above, note 3) vol. 2, p. 279; E. Maass, "Tibullische Sagen", *Hermes* 18 (1883) 321-342 and 480, especially 322-339; Smith (above, note 2) 449-450; B. Ripsati, *L'égie a Messallino di Albio Tibullo (II,5)* (Milan, 1942) 55; A. Kurfess, "Die Sibyllen bei Tibull (II,5)", *WJA* 3 (1948) 402-405, especially 402; Buchheit (above, note 1) 117-118; M. Putnam, *Tibullus: A Commentary* (Norman, 1973) 185.

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literary tradition, especially when a far different and more colorful version of the story was becoming increasingly popular through the verses of a famous contemporary. The Sibyl prophesies neither from the seas nor on the shores of the Troad, but from a western setting, as a wider examination of the elegy will reveal.

In considering the same question, others<sup>9</sup> associate the Sibyl with Cumae. Focusing on Tibullus's use of the conjunction *postquam* (19), they maintain that Aeneas receives the Sibyl's prophecy after arriving in Italy—a theory which Gerressen shares by pointing out that the scenes described in the next section (23-38) mean nothing unless Aeneas has already landed. These scholars detect the broader sequence in the poem, one veiled in elegiac indirectness but characterized by a clear order: (19-22) the prophecy in Cumae after a sad Aeneas escaped from burning Troy; (23-38) the site of Aeneas's new home; (39-64) the substance of the prophecy; (65-66) the prophecy in Cumae with a description of the prophetess. The same scholars generally point out that Tibullus is probably drawing his inspiration from Vergil, who devotes the entire sixth book of the *Aeneid* to Aeneas's meeting with the Sibyl of Cumae. One can support this conjecture with a number of specific parallels: both Tibullus and Vergil refer to the Sibyl as a virgin (Tib. 2.5.64 and *Aen.* 6.45, 104, 318, 560); both connect her with Apollo (Tib. 2.5.65 and *Aen.* 6 passim); both describe her hair as disordered (Tib. 2.5.66 and *Aen.* 6.48). The Sibyl surely prophesies in the caves of Cumae, as she does in Vergil's *Aeneid* and soon afterwards in Ovid (*Met.* 14.101-153).

In portraying Aeneas at the time of the prophecy, Tibullus follows Vergil's characterization of him. Dissen<sup>10</sup> comments on Tibullus's description of Aeneas leaving Troy (Tib. 2.5.19-20) by referring to Vergil's description of that scene, with Aeneas carrying Anchises, who in turn carries the gods (*Aen.* 2.707-729). A few<sup>11</sup> detect similarly phrased references to the household gods (Tib. 2.5.20 *raptos . . . Lares*, *Aen.* 1.378 *raptos . . . penatis*, and *Aen.* 5.632 *rapti . . . penates*). Several<sup>12</sup> compare Tibullus's treatment of Aeneas departing from the burning city (Tib. 2.5.21-22) to Vergil's treatment of Aeneas sailing away from his native shores (*Aen.* 3.1-12)—where one would also do well to compare two metrically identical phrases (Tib. 2.5.21 *maestus ab alto* and *Aen.* 3.11 *exsul in altum*); and they compare the same couplet to

<sup>9</sup>F. Leo, "Über einige Elegien Tibulls", in *Philologische Untersuchungen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1881) vol. 2, pp. 1-47, especially 10; A. Cartault, *Tibulle et les auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum* (Paris, 1909) 124; M. Ponchont, "Étude sur la composition de l'élegie II, 5, de Tibulle", in *Mélanges Paul Thomas: Recueil de mémoires concernant la philologie classique* (Bruges, 1930) 565-573, especially 566; B. Cardauns, "Zu den Sibyllen bei Tibull 2,5", *Hermes* 89 (1961) 357-366, especially 362 and 365; R. Merkelbach, "Aeneas in Cumae", *MH* 18 (1961) 83-99, especially 83-84; Gerressen (above, note 1) 52-54.

<sup>10</sup>Dissen (above, note 3) vol. 2, p. 278.

<sup>11</sup>C. Heyne, *Albii Tibulli carmina libri tres and Observationes in Tibullum* (Leipzig, 17983) 131 in *Observationes in Tibullum*; E. Wunderlich, *Albii Tibulli carmina libri tres and Observationes et indices in Tibullum* (Leipzig, 1817) 242 in *Observationes et indices in Tibullum*; Buchheit (above, note 1) 116; Gerressen (above, note 1) 65.

<sup>12</sup>Buchheit (above, note 1) 116; Gerressen (above, note 1) 65; Putnam (above, note 8) 186.

Vergil's treatment of Aeneas looking back at the flames issuing from his funeral pyre but ignorant of the cause (*Aen.* 5.1-7) where Putnam appropriately calls attention to the parallel use of a single word (*Tib.* 2.5 *respiceretque* and *Aen.* 5.3 *respiciens*). Tibullus certainly appears to borrow various words and phrases which Vergil applies to Aeneas.

Tibullus even preserves certain aspects of the very personality which Vergil imparts to Aeneas—a similarity not really discussed by scholars. Just as Tibullus's Aeneas appears saddened at the beginning of a long exile (*Tib.* 2.5.21 *maestus*), so Vergil's Aeneas appears saddened or troubled throughout the course of his wanderings (a feeling often conveyed by the noun *cur* whether he hides his anguish from his men in Carthage (*Aen.* 1.208-209) or despairs after the fire in Sicily (*Aen.* 5.700-703), or loses sleep or ship in Italy (*Aen.* 10.217-218). Just as Tibullus's Aeneas cannot see anything of his glorious future (*Tib.* 2.5.21 *nec fore credebat Romam*), so Vergil's Aeneas cannot fully realize the importance of his mission (an emotion sometimes expressed by the verb *mirari*), whether he gazes at the secrets of eternity in the underworld (*Aen.* 6.651, 854, and 886-892), or listens to Evander describing the site of Pallanteum (*Aen.* 8.310-312), or stares at the shield portraying events many centuries later (*Aen.* 8.617-625 and 729-731). Tibullus and Vergil assume a similar remoteness, where a troubled Aeneas cannot completely understand his place in history—a trait which even Ovid appears to have recognized in Vergil's (and perhaps in Tibullus's) Aeneas and preserved in his own description of the hero listening to Helenus's prophecy (*Met.* 15.437-438 *Aeneae . . . flenti dubioque salutis*).

Before turning to the actual prophecy, Tibullus describes the setting of future Rome. He refers to the absence of walls, later to be erected by Romulus but not to be enjoyed by Remus (23-24), and he alludes to the two most famous of Rome's hills—one, the Palatine, used for pasture; the other, the Capitol, site of a village (25-26). The poet touches upon a rustic settlement which would become ruler of the world (23-26).

Scholars again find echoes of Vergil but not of the *Aeneid*. Riposati<sup>13</sup> detects the similar use of a single phrase (*Tib.* 2.5.26 *humiles . . . casae* and *Buc.* 2.29 *humilis . . . casae*), and Wimmel<sup>14</sup> shows that both Tibullus and Vergil mention Remus while referring to a place characterized not by walls but by the simple features of the golden past (*Tib.* 2.5.24 in 23-26 and *G.* 2.533 in 513-540). These couplets do seem to have certain affinities with the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*.

Even stronger parallels emerge in connection with the *Aeneid*. Several<sup>15</sup> compare *Tib.* 2.5.23-24 and *Aen.* 1.276-277, each referring to Romulus's erection of the city's walls—with Buchheit stressing the forecast of Rome's eternity in or around these verses, and with Gerressen emphasizing the striking appearance of two identical words in prominent metrical positions

<sup>13</sup>Riposati (above, note 8) 90.

<sup>14</sup>W. Wimmel, "Tibull II 5 und das elegische Rombild", in *ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ 4: Gedenkschrift für G. Rohde* (Tübingen, 1961) 227-266, especially 238.

<sup>15</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 126; Buchheit (above, note 1) 116; Gerressen (above, note 1) 66.

(*Romulus . . . moenia*). Several too<sup>16</sup> connect Tib. 2.5.25-26 with Aen. 8.360-361, the former passage depicting cows grazing on the Palatine and the latter picturing cattle lowing in the Roman Forum—verses which Gotoff appropriately sees as eliciting an amusing response from the Roman audience although Gotoff himself does not believe that one can determine whether Tibullus is echoing Vergil or Vergil is echoing Tibullus. Not only is Tibullus echoing Vergil (whose glorious new epic was rapidly becoming the object of everyone's admiration), but he may even be hinting at his own political feelings by transferring the noisy herds from the middle of the public square to the very hill on which Augustus made his home—a fact about the emperor reported by Suetonius (*Aug.* 72). By converting Augustus's residence into a grazing-ground, the poet may well be expressing his hostility toward the emperor—a subject to be discussed later in this paper.

Tibullus continues to characterize the rustic setting. Gazing into that far past, he visualizes simple statues of Pan and Pales (27-28), and a syrinx suspended from a tree in honor of the woodland deity (29-30), an instrument which he describes with the utmost precision (31-32). By referring to certain rustic gods, the poet calls attention to various aspects of primitive religion (27-32).

Mitscherlich<sup>17</sup> excises the couplet describing the pipe (31-32). Regarding this distich as the product *inepti uersificatoris*, he contends that it serves no necessary purpose—an opinion shared by several others. However, as still others detect<sup>18</sup>, Tibullus employs the entire quatrain about the pipe (let alone the single couplet) to suggest an early Roman custom connected with the piety of the shepherd, and as Gotoff relates, Tibullus may even be providing a transition to the erotic section which follows. The couplet in question functions effectively in the context of the entire passage.

Once more scholars<sup>19</sup> sense that Tibullus is imitating Vergil but not his epic (Tib. 2.5.27-32: *Pan . . . siluestri fistula . . . calamus cera iungitur* and *Buc.* 2.31-32, 37 *siluis . . . Pan . . . calamos cera coniungere . . . fistula*). One may detect still another bucolic reminiscence, this one involving the actual suspension of the syrinx (Tib. 2.5.29-30 *pendebatque . . . fistula sacra* and *Buc.* 7.24 *sacra pendebit fistula*). Thus, dwelling upon antiquarian details as he does, for example, in 2.1.47-66, where he emphasizes the acquisition of food, the development of music, and the evolution of handicrafts, Tibullus

<sup>16</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 124; Riposati (above, note 8) 93; Lenz and Galinsky (above, prefatory note) 119; H. Gotoff, "Tibullus: Nunc leuis est tractanda Venus", *HSP* 78 (1974) 231-251, especially 235 and 249.

<sup>17</sup>C. Mitscherlich, *Tentamen criticum in aliquot Tibulli loca* (Göttingen, 1800) 9-10; G. Bubendey, *Quaestiones Tibullianae* (Diss., Bonn, 1864) 30; A. Eberz, Review of G. Bubendey, *Quaestiones Tibullianae*, *NJPhP* 91 (1865) 851-859, especially 858; (above, note 2) 453; L. Pichard, *Tibulle et les auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum* (Paris, 1924) 98.

<sup>18</sup>Wimmel (above, note 14) 240; M. Putnam, "Simple Tibullus and the Ruse of Syllabus", *Yale French Studies* 45 (1970) 21-32, especially 29-30, and Putnam (above, note 8) 187; Gotoff (above, note 16) 235-236.

<sup>19</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 118; Riposati (above, note 8) 89; Lenz and Galinsky (above, prefatory note) 119; Putnam (above, note 8) 187.

of G. Smith (above, note 8)

evokes the very essence of the primitive setting while paying tribute to an even greater antiquarian.

Tibullus presents still one more aspect of his rustic picture. He focuses his attention on a skiff being rowed across the Velabrum, in his own time the site of a busy street (33-34), and on the vessel itself a young woman journeying to her rich lover and returning with simple gifts—presents which suggest that she has made love to the young man and has received not emeralds and pearls but a cheese and a lamb in return (35-38). The idyllic passage concludes on an erotic note, with a quaint reference to two rustic lovers (33-38).

Even here a slight resemblance emerges between the lovers described in the elegy and a couple depicted in the *Aeneid*. As soon as one visualizes Tibullus's Aeneas at the site of his future home, presumably observing the various scenes set forth in that primitive setting, perhaps beholding the very rendezvous in question, one also visualizes Vergil's Aeneas in the same new and strange surroundings, marveling at similar customs and similar practices, contemplating (and preparing to disrupt) a relationship—not between a rustic and his mistress, but between a king and a princess. Despite the obvious differences in lineage, the young man in Tibullus enjoys a wealthy and prosperous life (Tib. 2.5.35 *diti*)—the kind of life which one could associate with Vergil's Turnus, and the young woman in Tibullus displays the modesty, humility, and simplicity which one finds (although developed to a greater degree) in Vergil's Lavinia—whether she stands silently with Latinus just before a miracle (*Aen.* 7.72-77), or accompanies Amata with eyes downcast (*Aen.* 11.479-480), or cries and blushes before Amata and Turnus (*Aen.* 12.64-69), or mourns Amata's suicide (*Aen.* 12.605-606). Just as Tibullus mentions the young woman only once in the long section dealing with Aeneas and his future, so Vergil refers to Lavinia rather infrequently in his epic—a subordinate character whom we rarely see and never hear. Although one cannot press the connection too far, the similarities do suggest a subtle foreshadowing of an imminent conflict and a mild dependence on Vergil's *Aeneid*.

In painting that remote past, Tibullus presents three distinct scenes. He considers the existence of simple dwellings (23-26), the pursuit of primitive religious practices (27-32), and the meeting of two lovers (33-38). These pictures constitute a charming passage on the setting of the land to be made famous by Aeneas and his descendants (23-38).

Many<sup>20</sup> regard this rustic passage as a long digression, with Bubendey even excising it from the poem. They usually contend that Tibullus turns to one of his favorite subjects, praise of the country, instead of concentrating on the subject at hand, the prophecy of the Sibyl. Yet by regarding the passage as

<sup>20</sup> Heyne (above, note 11) 127-129 in *Albii Tibulli carmina libri tres*; K. Lachmann, *Albii Tibulli libri quattuor* (Berlin, 1829) 38-39; Dissen (above, note 3) vol. 2, p. 279; Bubendey (above, note 17) 31-33; Wisser (above, note 7) 10 and 12-13, who regards the digression as 21-38 rather than 23-38; Baehrens (above, note 7) 29 in *Tibullische Blätter*; Leo (above, note 9) 8; Karsten (above, note 7) 54-55; J. Van Wageningen, "Tibulls sogenannte Träumereien", *NJA* 31 (1913) 350-355, especially 354; E. Michaelis, "Zum authentischen Tibull", *Philologus* 73 (1914-1916) 374-404, especially 387; L. Havet, who apparently did not publish this opinion, but whom Pichard cites and follows (above, note 17) 97-99.



merely parenthetical, these scholars close their minds to its importance in the elegy.

Others<sup>21</sup> attempt to connect the passage with the preceding section of the poem. They generally maintain that after referring to Aeneas's flight from Troy, Tibullus naturally turns to Aeneas's new home and attempts to capture the very essence of that site. As these scholars imply, the poet describes not just any rustic setting, but the setting of future Rome—an interpretation which takes into account the historical implications of the passage.

Merklin<sup>22</sup> likens Tibullus's *Ur-Rom* (Tib. 2.5.23-38) to the site which Vergil's Evander describes to Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.306-369). Realizing the danger of pressing the comparison too far, he points out that while Tibullus presents a picture basically idyllic in substance, Vergil stresses the origins of a city destined to rule the world. Nevertheless, although Tibullus chooses to emphasize the bucolic aspect of the site in question, he may well be looking to the aforementioned passage in Vergil's *Aeneid* in attempting to associate Aeneas with his new homeland.

The Sibyl now begins to address Aeneas. She refers to him as the stalwart brother of flying Love, who carries the sacred relics of Troy on exiled ships. By devoting an entire couplet to identifying the hero, Tibullus imparts an epic coloring to the prophecy (39-40).

Cartault<sup>23</sup> states that in this couplet Tibullus imitates Vergil—an opinion involving three literary parallels cited collectively or selectively by a number of later critics. He shows that both Tibullus and Vergil describe Love as either winged or flying (Tib. 2.5.39 *uolitantis* . . . *Amoris* and *Aen.* 1.663 *aligerum* . . . *Amorem*), that both describe either Aeneas or Love as the brother of the other (Tib. 2.5.39 *frater Amoris* and *Aen.* 1.667 *frater* . . . *Aeneas*), and that both describe either Aeneas himself or Aeneas's ship with the same adjective (Tib. 2.5.40 *profugis* . . . *ratibus* and *Aen.* 1.2 *profugus*). Still another literary reminiscence seems to surface when one recognizes that both Tibullus and Vergil use the adjective *inpiger* only once in their poetry, Tibullus applying it to Aeneas (Tib. 2.5.39 *inpiger*) and Vergil applying it to Bitias (*Aen.* 1.738 *inpiger*)—the fourth in a series of words or expressions drawn from *Aeneid* 1. As these various parallels reveal, Tibullus uses in elegist's terms several ideas which Vergil incorporates into epic.

The Sibyl then utters the actual prophecy. She foretells Jupiter's allotment of the Laurentian fields to Aeneas (41-42) and Aeneas's eventual deification (43-44). She predicts the arrival of Victory (45-46) and the defeat of Turnus (47-48)—two couplets connected by anaphora (45 and 47 *ecce*). She forecasts the founding of the Laurentian fortress, Lavinium's wall, and Alba Longa

<sup>21</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 123; Smith (above, note 2) 451; Ponchont (above, note 9) 568; Riposati (above, note 8) 25-26; Wimmel (above, note 14) 236 and 238; Gotoff (above, note 16) 235.

<sup>22</sup>H. Merklin, "Zu Aufbau und Absicht der Messalinus-Elegie Tibulls", in W. Wimmel, ed., *Forschungen zur römischen Literatur: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Karl Büchner* (Wiesbaden, 1970) 301-314, especially 304-305.

<sup>23</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 125; Smith (above, note 2) 455; Riposati (above, note 8) 80 and 95; Buchheit (above, note 1) 106; Gerressen (above, note 1) 55-56; Lenz and Galinsky (above, prefatory note) 119; Putnam (above, note 8) 188.

(49-50). Moving from the rescue of the Trojan gods (20 *raptos* . . . *Lares*) to their reception in a new land (42 *errantes* . . . *Lares*), she describes Aeneas's successful establishment on the shores of Italy (41-50).

The passage contains many reminiscences of Vergil's *Aeneid*. A few<sup>24</sup> suggest that just as Tibullus stresses Jupiter's role in assigning the Laurentian fields to Aeneas (Tib. 2.5.41-42), so Vergil emphasizes Jupiter's role in Aeneas's destiny by having Jupiter himself deliver the opening prophecy to Venus (*Aen.* 1.257-296). Some<sup>25</sup> mention the parallel references to Aeneas's future deification (Tib. 2.5.43-44, *Aen.* 1.259-260, and *Aen.* 12.794-795). Tibullus reinforces this reminiscence not only by using the dative case after a verb of motion (Tib. 2.5.44 *caelo miserit*)—a frequent construction in Vergil (as Gerressen points out)—but also by borrowing two specific words (Tib. 2.5.44 *caelo* . . . *indigetem* and *Aen.* 12.794-795 *indigetem* . . . *caelo*). Several<sup>26</sup> remark that in describing Aeneas's ships, Tibullus and Vergil employ similar phrases in identical metrical positions (Tib. 2.5.45 *fessas* . . . *puppas* and *Aen.* 1.168, 5.29 *fessas* . . . *navis*), and Gerressen in particular observes similar allusions to the abatement of divine wrath toward the Trojans (Tib. 2.5.45-46 and *Aen.* 1.279-282). The same<sup>27</sup> suggest that in referring to Turnus's defeat (Tib. 2.5.47-48), Tibullus again imitates Vergil: Buchheit notes that Tibullus utilizes an idea frequently found in the *Aeneid*, the forecasts of Turnus's death made by a variety of characters—Latinus (*Aen.* 7.596-597), Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.538), Jupiter (*Aen.* 10.471-472), Juno (*Aen.* 10.617, 10.630-631, and 12.149-150), Evander (*Aen.* 11.176-179), Amata (*Aen.* 12.61-62), and Turnus himself (*Aen.* 12.636 and 678-679); Gerressen compares Tibullus's reference to Trojan victory (Tib. 2.5.45-48) with Vergil's reference to Trojan victory (*Aen.* 1.263-266); Putnam comments that while Vergil does not mention the burning of the Rutulian camp, he does devote the entire twelfth book of the *Aeneid* to Turnus's death. A handful<sup>28</sup> assert that when Tibullus mentions the founding of cities (Tib. 2.5.49-50), he may be thinking of similar references in Vergil (*Aen.* 1.271, 5.597, and 6.766). A couple<sup>29</sup> even point out that the first third of the prophecy summarizes the very plot of the *Aeneid*. In a larger sense Tibullus may even be looking to the opening panels of Vergil's three great prophecies of future Rome, those sections dealing with Aeneas himself or his future offspring (*Aen.* 1.257-271 in 257-296, 6.756-776 in 756-853, and 8.626-629 in 626-728).

<sup>24</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 125; Gerressen (above, note 1) 57.

<sup>25</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 125; Smith (above, note 2) 456; Ruposati (above, note 8) 95; Buchheit (above, note 1) 107; Gerressen (above, note 1) 57-58; Putnam (above, note 8) 188.

<sup>26</sup>Buchheit (above, note 1) 108; Gerressen (above, note 1) 59; Putnam (above, note 8) 189.

<sup>27</sup>Buchheit (above, note 1) 108-109; Gerressen (above, note 1) 59-61; Putnam (above, note 8) 189.

<sup>28</sup>Smith (above, note 2) 458; Buchheit (above, note 1) 110; Gerressen (above, note 1) 62; Putnam (above, note 8) 189.

<sup>29</sup>A. Sauvage, "Tibulle et son temps", *Latomus* 28 (1969) 875-893, especially 892; Gotoff (above, note 16) 236.

The Sibyl continues to deliver the prophecy. She predicts the meeting of Mars and Ilia on the river-bank. By referring to that famous union, she forecasts (in effect) the birth of Rome's founders, Romulus and Remus (51-54).

Several critics<sup>30</sup> stress the lightness of the quatrain. In Ponchont's opinion, Tibullus provides a piquant contrast to the lofty sentiment of the surrounding verses. The passage does seem to function as an erotic interlude between the epic pronouncements of the preceding and succeeding couplets. From Wimmel's viewpoint, the poet describes *eine Zusammenkunft am Wasser*, a passage containing a literary echo of an earlier section. The passage does contain such a reminiscence, one metrically parallel to an expression occurring in another scene set near the water (35 *diti placitura magistro* and 51 *Marti placitura sacerdos*). According to Putnam, the poet composes an amusing quatrain, one depicting a priestess forgetting her vows in a poem celebrating the initiation of a priest. A subtle irony does surface here, which further strengthens the kind of interpretation suggested by these scholars. Nevertheless, one cannot interpret the quatrain strictly along these lines, particularly in view of the elevated tone permeating the surrounding couplets.

Several others<sup>31</sup> connect the quatrain with Vergil's *Aeneid*, specifically with the sequence in the epic where Jupiter predicts the birth of Romulus and Remus immediately after referring to the founding of Alba Longa (*Aen.* 1.272-274). Tibullus may well be attempting to preserve something of the substance and the tone in Vergil's treatment of the myth, for although he manages to interpret the story in amorous terms by hinting at the couple undressing on the banks of the Tiber (not far perhaps from the place where Amulius had the twins put in the water), he still manages to emphasize the historical importance of the episode by not dwelling at any length upon the physical passion which one might expect to find described in just this kind of elegiac passage. In presenting the amorous encounter between the god and the vestal, Tibullus may actually be thinking of all those sections of Vergil's three major prophecies which depict the birth or rearing of Romulus and Remus (*Aen.* 1.272-274 in 257-296, 6.777-779 in 756-853, and 8.630-634 in 626-728)—the last of which also follows if not a reference to Alba Longa at least a reference to Ascanius.

The Sibyl approaches the end of the prophecy. She foresees the seven hills of that primitive setting as the site of a great city (55-56). In an epic sentence linked by a series of indefinite adverbs (*qua* 58 and 59), she visualizes Rome as the hub of a mighty empire (57-60). She even forecasts Troy's eventual gratitude to Aeneas and his companions for devoting themselves so faithfully to their homeland (61-62). Passing from legendary to imperial times, she foreshadows the future greatness of the eternal city (55-62).

Scaliger<sup>32</sup> transposes the couplet on Troy's gratitude to Aeneas (61-62)

<sup>30</sup>Ponchont (above, note 9) 569-570; Wimmel (above, note 14) 242; Putnam (above, note 8) 189; Gotoff (above, note 16) 236.

<sup>31</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 126; Smith (above, note 2) 459; Buchheit (above, note 1) 115; Gerresen (above, note 1) 63.

<sup>32</sup>J. Scaliger, *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii noua editio and Castigationes in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium*.. (Paris, 1577) 113 in *Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii noua editio and 140 in Castigationes in Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium*.

after the distich about Aeneas's reception in Italy (41-42), apparently in order to connect Troy's feeling of appreciation with Aeneas's primitive land-  
ing. Yet the transposition not only renders one expression as virtually mean-  
ingless (61 *se mirabitur*) but also weakens the connection between two other  
couplets (41-42 and 43-44), hitherto linked by an adverb referring to the land  
mentioned in these couplets (43 *illic*). By turning to Troy at the very end of  
the prophecy, Tibullus graces the prediction with a charming picture of the  
fallen city marveling at her new glory and at the wonders of the future.

Critics observe parallels between Tibullus's address to Rome and certain  
passages in Vergil. Some<sup>33</sup> liken the address to that found in a portion of  
Jupiter's prophecy to Venus (*Aen.* 1.275-282), and Smith in particular sees  
Tibullus employing one of the primary themes of the *Aeneid*, Rome as the  
reincarnation of Troy—a motif which he further illustrates by citing Prop-  
ertius 4.1.53-54 and 87, utterances of the prophetess and the poet respec-  
tively. Here one need only refer to the *Aeneid* itself, to the great exchange  
between Jupiter and Juno on the fall of Troy and the rise of Rome (*Aen.*  
12.791-842). Tibullus and Vergil call attention to the very names of the fallen  
city and the future capital by setting them not too far apart: Tibullus places  
them at the beginnings of the lines, in identical metrical positions (Tib. 2.5.57  
and 61 *Roma . . . Trola*); Vergil places them at the middle and end of the  
verses, resulting in a striking climactic effect (*Aen.* 1.1 and 7 *Troiae . . .  
Romae*). Others<sup>34</sup> compare the sentiment to that which Anchises expresses  
to Aeneas in the underworld (*Aen.* 6.781-784 and 847-853), but without citing  
the specific words borrowed from these passages. On the one hand, Tibullus  
draws two ideas from the first citation (Tib. 2.5.55, 57 *septem montibus /  
Roma . . . terris* and *Aen.* 6.781-783 *Roma . . . terris / septemque . . . arces*); on the  
other hand, he borrows from the second citation not the imperative con-  
struction, with which he graces an earlier elegy (Tib. 1.8.27 and *Aen.* 6.851  
*tu . . . memento*), but the actual substance of the prediction (Tib. 2.5.57  
*Roma tuum . . . regendis* and *Aen.* 6.851 *tu regere . . . Romane*). As Aeneas  
hears of that distant future (and one never really forgets him), he listens with  
a sense of amazement, still unable to comprehend his country's new name  
(Tib. 2.5.57 *Roma*) or his own new title (*Aen.* 6.851 *Romane*)—the land and  
the hero being invoked as such for the first time. Several others<sup>35</sup> detect a  
resemblance between Tibullus's address to future Rome and references in  
Vergil to that city (*Aen.* 8.97-100, 347-348, and 359-361). On a larger scale  
Tibullus may well be turning to the central or climactic panels of Vergil's  
three great prophecies, those sections dealing with the future empire and a  
future emperor (*Aen.* 1.286-296 in 257-296, 6.788-807 in 756-853, and  
8.671-728 in 626-728).

<sup>33</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 126; Smith (above, note 2) 451-452 and 462-463; Riposati  
(above, note 8) 95; Buchheit (above, note 1) 115; Gerressen (above, note 1) 64-65.

<sup>34</sup>A. Estaço, *Tibullus cum commentario Achillis Statio Lusitani* (Venice, 1567) 183;  
Cartault (above, note 9) 126; Riposati (above, note 8) 95; Buchheit (above, note 1)  
115; Gerressen (above, note 1) 65; Putnam (above, note 8) 190.

<sup>35</sup>Buchheit (above, note 1) 115; Gerressen (above, note 1) 64.

The actual prophecy consists of three parts. The Sibyl forecasts the early conquests of Aeneas (41-50), the union of Mars and Ilia, and by implication the conception of Romulus and Remus (51-54), and the future greatness of Rome (55-62). These three passages constitute the central section of the complete address to Aeneas (41-62).

As shown throughout the preceding paragraphs, Tibullus fills the Sibyl's prophecy with expressions drawn from different parts of Vergil's *Aeneid*. In particular, however, he has before his eyes those portions of the three major prophecies in the *Aeneid* which he wishes to convey in elegiac terms: the establishment of Aeneas and his offspring in the land of his destiny (*Aen.* 1.257-271 in 257-296, 6.756-776 in 756-853, and 8.626-629 in 626-728); the birth and upbringing of Rome's founders, Romulus and Remus (*Aen.* 1.272-274 in 257-296, 6.777-779 in 756-853, and 8.630-634 in 626-728); the greatness of the empire under the reign of the first emperor, Augustus (*Aen.* 1.286-296 in 257-296, 6.788-807 in 756-853, and 8.671-728 in 626-728). Yet nowhere does Tibullus mention the mighty monarch who figures so prominently in Vergil's prophecies—the emperor whom even Ovid later attempts to glorify in his own two adaptations of these very prophecies (*Met.* 15.446-449 in 439-449 and 15.818-839 in 807-842).

The Sibyl then declares that she forecasts the truth. She does so in accordance with her stated desire to retain both her prophetic power and her inviolate virginity. Uttering these words, she brings the prophecy to a close (63-64).

A couple of critics<sup>36</sup> claim that in this couplet Tibullus is imitating Callimachus. They point to the following parallel: Tib. 2.5.64 *aeternum sit mihi uirginitas* and *Hymn.* 3.6 *δός μοι παρθενήην αἰώνιον*. Although Callimachus seems to exert some influence on this distich, a Roman poet appears to exercise an even stronger one.

Two other scholars<sup>37</sup> state that both Tibullus and Vergil use the adjective *aeternum* in an adverbial sense (Tib. 2.5.64 and *Aen.* 6.401, 6.617, and 11.97-98). In addition to this grammatical parallel, one may also observe in each poet a rare use of the verb *uescor*—in Tibullus, a verb followed by the accusative, here, the word for laurel leaves (Tib. 2.5.63-64 *laurus / uescar*); in Vergil, a verb used intransitively, with a laurel grove mentioned shortly thereafter (*Aen.* 6.657-658 *uescentis . . . lauris*). Tibullus concludes the prophecy just as he introduces it, with reminiscences of the *Aeneid*.

The complete prophecy consists of three sections. The Sibyl addresses Aeneas the exile (39-40), foretells the future of his people (41-62), and testifies to the truthfulness of her prediction (63-64). When taken together, these sections constitute an artistically arranged forecast (39-64).

Like previous passages, the Sibyl's prophecy finds its detractors<sup>38</sup>. Regarding the entire speech as spurious (the work *eines pedantischen Rhetorschülers*), Wisser maintains that the Sibyl begins the prediction without

<sup>36</sup>M. Pino, "Echi callimachei in Tibullo", *Maia* 24 (1972) 63-65, especially 65; A. Bulloch, "Tibullus and the Alexandrians", *PCPhS* 199 (1973) 71-89, especially 78.

<sup>37</sup>Smith (above, note 2) 464; Gerressen (above, note 1) 70.

<sup>38</sup>Wisser (above, note 7) 16-17; Karsten (above, note 7) 54-55.

formally telling Aeneas to go to the land of his destiny, for he does not see that Tibullus designs the prophecy as a sweeping look into the future rather than an instruction in a particular mission. Considering the priestess's forecast a digression (rather than the product "of a pedantic rhetoric-student"), Karsten characterizes the passage exactly as he does those preceding it, even though it emerges as one of Tibullus's longest speeches, and even though it concerns itself with the central subject of the poem—Rome's glory in the past, present, and future. Neither an interpolation nor a digression, the Sibyl's prophecy has an important function in the context of the entire elegy.

Marx<sup>39</sup> states that the Sibyl's prophecy shows the influence of Vergil's *Aeneid*, although Marx himself does not actually explore the matter. One can substantiate his opinion by examining all the individual echoes and broad parallels uncovered by various scholars and discussed in earlier portions of this paper. The Sibyl's prophecy contains numerous reminiscences of the *Aeneid*, many of them borrowed from the eighth book—a book now to be considered in greater detail.

Buchheit<sup>40</sup> claims that Tibullus decorates the Sibyl's prophecy with reminiscences of the Tiber's prophecy in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.36-65)—a theory cited and accepted by several others. He directs his attention to the following parallels: the prophecies open with Aeneas described as a descendant of deity and a savior of his homeland (*Tib.* 2.5.39-40 and *Aen.* 8.36-37); the speakers immediately assure Aeneas about his reception in the Laurentian fields (*Tib.* 2.5.41-42 and *Aen.* 8.38-39); soon thereafter Aeneas learns of his imminent victory in Latium (*Tib.* 2.5.45-46 and *Aen.* 8.40-41, 49-50); in subsequent verses the speakers inform Aeneas about Trojan expansion in Italy (*Tib.* 2.5.49-50 and *Aen.* 8.47-48); the prophecies refer to the site of a great city (*Tib.* 2.5.56 and *Aen.* 8.46)—this last parallel involving an identical phrase (*locus urbis erit*), an expression which Vergil uses in two places in order to emphasize that the prophecy will come true (*Aen.* 3.393 and 8.46); the speakers also affirm the truthfulness of their prophecies (*Tib.* 2.5.63 *uera cano* and *Aen.* 8.49 *haud incerta cano*)—a parallel not listed by Buchheit but which one could cite in supporting his theory. One could also point out that just as Tibullus's Aeneas seems troubled when the Sibyl predicts his future (*Tib.* 2.5.19-22), so Vergil's Aeneas appears saddened just before the Tiber begins to speak (*Aen.* 8.26-35)—another example of that propensity toward worry or wonder which Vergil's hero demonstrates in various parts of the epic, but especially in certain verses preceding and following the three major prophecies (*Aen.* 1.208-209 and 305; 6.651, 854, and 886-892; 8.617-625 and 729-731). Tibullus surely borrows ideas from the Tiber's speech in Vergil, although he relies even more on the sweeping content, the impressive chronology, and the dramatic impact of the three great predictions in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 1.257-296, 6.756-853, and 8.626-728), but mentioning nowhere the mighty emperor glorified in the verses of Vergil.

<sup>39</sup>F. Marx, "Albius Tibullus", *RE* 1 (1894) 1319-1329, especially 1323.

<sup>40</sup>Buchheit (above, note 1) 105-114; W. Wimmel, *Der frühe Tibull* (Munich, 1968) 237; Gerfressen (above, note 1) 54-63.

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<sup>42</sup>

Some<sup>41</sup> take Tibullus's silence about Augustus either as a sign of respect or as a sign of indifference toward the emperor. Cartault believes that in composing this poem, Tibullus wishes neither to praise nor to condemn Augustus, and that by mentioning Ceres at the end of the Sibyl's address, he is only furnishing a transition to the rustic part of the elegy. Still, indifference seems too neutral an idea to apply to the writer of a prophecy whose climactic section practically clamors for a reference to Augustus, and even in an earlier elegy (1.7.29-48), a question arises as to why the poet fails to mention the emperor in a passage dealing with a country recently subdued by him. Smith contends that in celebrating the appointment of Messalinus to Apollo's priesthood (1-2), Tibullus is really calling to mind the deity who favored Augustus at Actium, and that in mentioning the laurel crown on Apollo's head (5-6), he is suggesting not only the triumph of Jupiter over Saturn but also the triumph of Augustus over Antony. Nevertheless, one cannot assume that the Romans felt a clear analogy between the mythical exile and the historical conquest, nor can one take the reference to the crown as alluding to Augustus or a victorious Messalla or an ambitious young Messalinus—it being an explicit reference to the crown which Apollo himself wore on his statue in his temple on the Palatine. Gerressen maintains that Tibullus and Vergil prophesy a transition from war to peace, a peace under Augustus (Tib. 2.5.79-104 and *Aen.* 1.286-296)—a parallel reinforced by an idea found in both passages (Tib. 2.5.79 *mitis* and *Aen.* 1.291 *mitescens*). On the contrary, one finds in the elegiac passage not a description of life under Augustus, but a general prophecy about rustic prosperity and a specific prophecy about the Palilia, and one cannot press any real connection between an adjective applied to Apollo and a verb applied to the era of Augustus. When Tibullus desires to praise someone, he does so directly, as he does from time to time with Messalla (1.5.31-34, 1.7, 2.1.31-36, and 2.5.119-120).

Others<sup>42</sup> think that by failing to mention Augustus, Tibullus is actually expressing his hostility toward the emperor. In Riposati's opinion, Tibullus did not agree with Augustus, who offered peace mixed with war, but did sympathize with Messalla, who (according to St. Jerome) resigned from the position of *praefectus urbi* soon after his appointment (*Chron.* 1991. *inciuilem potestatem esse contestans*). Indeed, of the three Augustan poets who consider Messalla's exploits—the *Catalepton* poet (*Catal.* 9), Tibullus himself (Tib. 1.7), and the *Panegyricus* poet (Tib. 3.7/4.1)—Tibullus alone emphasizes the peaceful side of Messalla's career, whether he depicts his patron exploring foreign locales, or likens him to an Egyptian god of peace, or pictures him rebuilding a road. As Gries observes, Tibullus does not refer to Augustus anywhere in the elegies, a fact stemming from the poet's hatred for the wars waged in his own era but not attributable to the exigencies of a particular poetic style—a point which he illustrates by citing Horace (*Carm.* 3.3.9-12), where the poet manages to include Augustus in a list of heroes

<sup>41</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 60-61 and 126; Smith (above, note 2) 445-446; Gerressen (above, note 1) 66-67.

<sup>42</sup>Riposati (above, note 8) 17 and 58-67; K. Gries, "The Roman Poets and the Government", *CW* 44 (1951) 209-214, especially 212; Putnam (above, note 18) 30 and Putnam (above, note 8) 8.

destined for immortality. Here one has only to consider the greatest elegiac tribute to the emperor, Propertius's account of Augustus at Actium (Prop. 4.6). According to Putnam, Tibullus decides against mentioning Actium in the list of omens and prodigies surrounding the assassination of Julius Caesar (71-78) as though horrified to look too closely at the setting of one of Augustus's greatest victories. To be sure, if Tibullus had felt any regrets over not glorifying Augustus at the end of the Sibyl's forecast, he could easily have done so in the catalogue following that forecast—the one other place in the elegy suitable for honoring the emperor. Therefore, prefacing his prophecy with a glimpse of cattle grazing on the Palatine (a region which Vergil dignifies), and finishing his prophecy with a vision of Ceres surveying her fields (instead of Augustus rising to power), Tibullus deliberately and conspicuously avoids mentioning the emperor in an elegy where he could easily have complimented him, as he expresses ever so subtly his displeasure with imperial policies.

Tibullus himself resumes the narrative. He describes how frenzied the Sibyl became as she prophesied to Aeneas. In so doing, the poet leaves the subject of the meeting between the famous priestess and her anxious listener (65-66).

Baehrens,<sup>43</sup> considers the above couplet spurious. He asserts that in a normal oracle-ritual, the priestess summons the god before she delivers her prophecy, whereas in this particular distich, these two events occur simultaneously. Yet by combining these two episodes in this particular couplet, Tibullus brings his prophecy to a dramatic conclusion and provides a natural transition to a passage about other prophecies (67-78).

Tibullus is also modeling his own Sibyl after Vergil's Sibyl. As mentioned earlier, both Tibullus and Vergil describe the priestess's hair as disheveled (Tib. 2.5.66 *iactavit fusas et caput ante comas* and *Aen.* 6.48 *non comptae mansere comae*). On a larger scale, Tibullus may even be attempting to reproduce something of the overall behavior of the Sibyl in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 6.46-51, 77-80, and 100-101)—all references to her highly emotional state while in communion with Apollo.

The various passages considered above form a long and coherent section. Tibullus refers to the occasion of the Sibyl's prophecy (19-22), describes the setting of Aeneas's new homeland (23-38), prophesies Aeneas's destiny in Italy (39-64), and touches on the truthfulness of the Sibyl's prediction (65-66). A beautiful fresco unfolds, in which an anxious refugee beholds the secrets of his future (19-66).

Several<sup>44</sup> criticize the juxtaposition of the two central panels (23-38 and 39-64). Estaço actually makes the opening of the prophecy (39-40) the beginning of a new poem (39-122)—as do mss. A, H, M, P, Q, and V. Yet such a division leaves poor Aeneas resigned to his exile and young Messalinus confined to his priesthood—sad fates for these future conquerors. Wisser considers the entire section spurious (*ein Räthsel*), for he does not see how the poet can jump from a shepherd to a refugee. He overlooks the dramatic

<sup>43</sup> Baehrens (above, note 7) 30 and 33 in *Tibullische Blätter*.

<sup>44</sup> Estaço (above, note 34) 177-180; Wisser (above, note 7) 9-14 and 19; Baehrens (above, note 7) 28 in *Tibullische Blätter* and 48 in *Albii Tibulli elegiarum libri duo*; Karsten (above, note 7) 54-55; R. Helm, *Tibull Gedichte* (Berlin, 1958) 82.



potential of the transition—the deliberate shift from the young woman and her lamb to the mighty hero and his gods. Helm even proposes a lacuna of one couplet before the prophecy, in which he suggests that Tibullus both summarized the rustic passage and introduced the new speaker. This proposal too seems unnecessary, as Tibullus uses a technique similar to that employed by Propertius (4.1.1-38)—a description of the site of future Rome before Aeneas's coming, followed by references to Aeneas's arrival and destiny. Far from "a riddle", this long passage moves from an era characterized by peace to an epoch characterized by war.

Merklin<sup>45</sup> compares the *Ur-Rom* of Tibullus (Tib. 2.5.23-38) with the setting which Vergil has Evander describe for Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.306-369)—a matter discussed in connection with the rustic passage. In attempting to point out the limitations inherent in the comparison, he emphasizes that while Tibullus is presenting a picture primarily bucolic in composition, Vergil is unveiling the beginnings of a city destined to conquer the world. Although this scholar chooses to qualify his remark, his statement may have far-reaching implications for the structure of the poem. One may expand upon his remark to suggest that when Tibullus moves from the site of future Rome to the prophecy of the Sibyl (Tib. 2.5.23-38 and 39-64), he may consciously be striving to capture the effect of Vergil passing from the setting of the future city to the prophecy on the hero's shield (*Aen.* 8.306-369 and 626-728). Although Tibullus punctuates the Sibyl's prophecy with reminiscences of the Tiber's speech in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.36-65), he may be attempting in a larger sense to suggest the two subjects which dominate the eighth book of the *Aeneid*—the visit to Pallanteum and the presentation of the shield.

In the course of comparing certain verses in Tibullus 2.5 and *Aeneid* 8, Rìposati<sup>46</sup> rejects the eighth book of Vergil's epic as one of Tibullus's sources. Rìposati contends that one does not find this particular book mentioned in *la tradizione di Donato* (sic)—an argument presumably resting on the passage in Donatus referring to Vergil's recitation of three specific books of the *Aeneid*—the second, fourth, and sixth (*Vit. Verg.* 32-33). Yet Propertius seems to have attended recitations of books outside "the tradition of Donatus" (those appearing in the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*), as evidenced by his explicit comparison of the *Aeneid* to the *Iliad* (Prop. 2.34B.65-66 and even by a subtle allusion to the second half of the epic (Prop. 2.34B.66 *maius nascitur* and *Aen.* 7.44 *maior . . . nascitur*). Rìposati suggests that Tibullus is conceivably imitating Ennius's *Annales*, Rome's first national epic composed in dactylic hexameter and beginning with Aeneas's escape from Troy. Still, although Ennius's epic did begin with an account of Aeneas's wanderings, Tibullus's possible use of Ennius need not exclude Tibullus's probable imitation of Vergil, just as Vergil's use of Homer need not exclude Vergil's imitation of Ennius. In supporting Rìposati, one could also maintain that Tibullus does not mention characters who figure prominently in the prophetic parts of Vergil's eighth book—Evander, describing for Aeneas the site of primitive Pallanteum, and Augustus, portrayed on Aeneas's shield as a mighty con-

<sup>45</sup>Merklin (above, note 22) 304-305.

<sup>46</sup>Rìposati (above, note 8) 93-94.

queror. Nevertheless, one must remember that in expressing the prophetic passages of the epic in elegiac terms, Tibullus faces the task of shortening the lengthy narrative of Vergil and eliminating those characterizations not essential to his elegy—the Arcadian king easily replaced by the Sibyl, and the Roman emperor deliberately and conspicuously ignored. Tibullus surely must have known the eighth book of the *Aeneid* and for that matter, any number of books outside those recited on the occasion described by Donatus—because of the many broad parallels, because of the numerous individual reminiscences, and because of the striking identical expressions decorating even other elegies (Tib. 1.4.73 and *Aen.* 7.194 *edit ore*; Tib. 1.5.35 and *Aen.* 1.85 *Eurusque Notusque*; Tib. 1.5.49 and *Aen.* 1.296 *ore cruento*).

In considering the question of Tibullus's very access to the *Aeneid*, Avery<sup>47</sup> concedes that Tibullus knew the epic, but only in its published form—a theory either stated or implied by later critics. First, focusing on the elegy in which Ovid mourns Tibullus's death (*Am.* 3.9), Avery cites several echoes of the *Aeneid* as a means of proving that when Tibullus died the epic had reached the publication-stage (especially *Am.* 3.9.13 *fratris . . . Aeneae* and *Aen.* 1.667 *frater . . . Aeneas*, *Am.* 3.9.14 *pulcher lule* and Vergil's *pulcher lulus*—a favorite expression in the *Aeneid*). While one cannot cite reminiscences of Vergil in Ovid's undated threnody to prove that Ovid used the published *Aeneid*, one can cite reminiscences of Vergil in Horace's early odes (to be done shortly) to prove that Horace could not have used the published *Aeneid*—for the early lyrics appeared no later than 23 B.C. (the year which saw the death of M. Claudius Marcellus, pictured in *Carm.* 1.12.45-46 as still very much alive) and well before 17 B.C. (the year usually associated with the publication of the *Aeneid*, which presumably underwent two years of editing after Vergil died on September 22, 19 B.C.—a date reported by Donatus, *Vit. Verg.* 35). Then, turning to Domitius Marsus's epigram on the deaths of Tibullus and Vergil, Avery maintains that the noun *comitem* does not imply the simultaneity of the poets' deaths, but the professional companionship to be enjoyed by these poets in the afterlife—an interpretation which permits this critic to set Tibullus's death several years after Vergil's and to connect Tibullus with the published *Aeneid*. Still, one cannot believe that Domitius Marsus would ever have wanted to suggest a close posthumous relationship between the very two poets who in life exemplified the divergent goals of the two rival literary circles—Vergil, seeing Augustus as the herald of a new era (for better or worse), committed to composing a great epic linking the emperor with a mythical hero; Tibullus, regarding Messalla as Rome's only real ambassador of peace (at home and abroad), committed to rewriting some of Vergil's verses while eliminating the emperor from them—a somewhat impudent project at that! The epigram clearly reveals that Tibullus and Vergil died roughly at the same time—not necessarily on the same day or week or even month, but certainly in the same year (19 B.C.)—so that Tibullus could not

<sup>47</sup>W. Avery, "The Year of Tibullus' Death", *CJ* 55 (1960) 205-209, especially 205-207, and "Tibullus' Death Again", *CJ* 56 (1961) 229-233, especially 229-232; E. Bickel, "Die Lygdamus-Elegien", *RbM* 103 (1960) 97-109, especially 104, who does not really discuss Tibullus's use of the *Aeneid*, but who does interpret Domitius Marsus's epigram along the same lines as Avery; Buchheit (above, note 1) 104 and 118-120.

have seen the epic (for which

In evaluating the *Aeneid*, as implied by Latin C. Asinius Polrecitations, w kinds of guest (*Vit. Verg.* 28 distinctive style celius's death imperial court poet was referred to *Marcellus* and Montanus, the verses (*Ep.* 12 ledge of a mnemonic poem tradition behind themes from 1 1.198-207, ea hardships; *Car* acceptance of major theme i poem perform perhaps timed notices, Propertius that he was li: *cedite Roman* Levin also observed of the epic re Ovid may well to have seen his elegies which easily have a himself with i terms.

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<sup>48</sup>Cartault (above, note 1) 104 and 118-120. Tibullus' Death interpreted before rather the opposite Death", *Lature of Tibullus in Vergil's A*

have seen the published *Aeneid*, and in all likelihood not even drafts of the epic (for which no evidence exists).

In evaluating the same question, Cartault<sup>48</sup> declares that Tibullus knew the *Aeneid*, but from pre-publication recitals—also an opinion either stated or implied by later scholars. As Seneca the Elder relates (*Controu.* 4, *praet.* 2), C. Asinius Pollio introduced to Augustan Rome the custom of pre-publication recitations, where an aspiring poet could present his work-in-progress to all kinds of guests—even members of rival literary circles. According to Donatus (*Vit. Verg.* 28-33), Vergil gave many readings of his poetry, delivered in a distinctive style (*cum suavitate et lenociniis miris*). Sometime after Marcellus's death, Vergil recited the second, fourth, and sixth books for the imperial court, and Octavia supposedly fainted when she realized that the poet was referring to her own deceased son (*Aen.* 6.860-886, especially 884 *tu Marcellus eris*). Vergil's oral technique evidently found favor with Julius Montanus, the poet whom Seneca the Younger depicts as reciting his own verses (*Ep.* 122.11-13). An attentive guest could acquire an intimate knowledge of a recited text, for the ancients appear to have developed their mnemonic powers quite extensively, as one can verify by examining the oral tradition behind Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As Highet shows, Horace adapts themes from the nascent *Aeneid* to his early lyrics (*Carm.* 1.7.25-32 and *Aen.* 1.198-207, each involving an exiled general exhorting his men to endure hardships; *Carm.* 3.3.17-68 and *Aen.* 12.808-828, each concerned with Juno's acceptance of Rome and hatred for Troy; *Carm. Saec.* 37-52, setting forth a major theme in the *Aeneid*, the link between Aeneas and Augustus—this last poem performed at the centennial celebration of 17 B.C., a presentation perhaps timed to coincide with the publication of the *Aeneid* itself. As Levin notices, Propertius employs the present tense of the verb *nasci* to emphasize that he was listening to the recitation of a nascent work (*Prop.* 2.34B.65-66 *cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai! / nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*). As Levin also observes, Ovid may even have used such a recitation as the source of the epic reminiscences appearing in his tribute to Tibullus (*Am.* 3.9), and Ovid may well be referring to one of Vergil's recitations when he claims only to have seen Vergil (*Trist.* 4.10.51 *Vergilium uidi tantum*). Therefore, writing his elegies when Vergil was composing and reciting his *Aeneid*, Tibullus could easily have attended one or more of these poetic recitals and familiarized himself with those portions of the epic which he wished to consider in elegiac terms.

In this rich and colorful elegy, Tibullus commemorates not the fledgling Messalinus, who had done nothing really worthy of praise, but the grandeur of Rome—a subject for which the poet truly finds his inspiration in the verses

<sup>48</sup>Cartault (above, note 9) 117; Riposati (above, note 8) 92-94; H. Schnur, "When Did Tibullus Die?", *CJ* 56 (1961) 227-229, especially 227; D. Levin, "The Alleged Date of Tibullus' Death", *CJ* 62 (1967) 311-314, especially 312-313, who also uses Avery's interpretation of Domitius Marsus's epigram to propose that Tibullus may have died before rather than after Vergil—although the phrase *te quoque* still seems to suggest the opposite; Gerressen (above, note 1) 71-72; M. McGann, "The Date of Tibullus' Death", *Latomus* 29 (1970) 774-780, especially 777-778 and 780; R. Ball, *The Structure of Tibullus's Elegies* (Diss., New York, 1971) 270-272; G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton, 1972) 195 and 269-271.

of Vergil's brilliant epic. Setting the prophecy in Cumae (Tib. 2.5.19-22), Tibullus preserves Vergil's frequent characterization of Aeneas as an anxious and troubled wanderer, as yet incapable of understanding his destiny. In portraying the site of future Rome (Tib. 2.5.23-38), the poet turns to Vergil's description of Aeneas and Evander in Pallanteum (*Aen.* 8.306-369). Throughout the actual prophecy (Tib. 2.5.39-64), Tibullus looks on the one hand at the Tiber's speech in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.36-65), but in a larger sense to the content, chronology, and majesty of the three great prophecies in the epic (*Aen.* 1.257-296, 6.756-853, and 8.626-728)—but without including the prophecy of the emperor whose policies he appears to have rejected. In concluding the prophecy (Tib. 2.5.65-66), the poet retains Vergil's unforgettable description of the Sibyl as wild and frenzied during her communion with Apollo. juxtaposing the pictures of Pallanteum the primitive settlement and Rome the expanding metropolis (Tib. 2.5.19-66), Tibullus follows Vergil's sequence of transporting Aeneas from the curiosities of Arcadia to the wonders of the shield (*Aen.* 8.306-369 and 626-728)—a part of the *Aeneid* which (like other parts) he could have heard at any number of Vergil's poetic recitals. Tibullus composes a lovely and flowing quasi-epyllion, as a way of proclaiming his interest in writing serious poetry, as a means of presenting Messalla as a connoisseur of contemporary literature, and in order to pay tribute to an artist and a masterpiece to be admired and respected for all posterity—Vergil and the *Aeneid*.

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