

Tibullus 1.10: Maltby 2002 Commentary notes

[Pillinger (1971); Grondona (1975); Schwarz (1980); Ortega (1983) Boyd (1984); Mutschler (1985) 145-56]

Poem 10 shares a general similarity of theme with poem 1, and thus provides an apt conclusion to the first book. Both poems reject the military life, based on violence and motivated by greed, and praise the simple piety of a peaceful rustic existence. For more detailed verbal and thematic correspondences see nn. below as follows: 7-8 *faginus.. scyphus*, cf. 1.1.38; 9-10 *somnumque petebat*, cf. 1.1.48; 11-12 *tubam*, 20 cf. 1.1.4, 75; 15 *patrii ... Lares*, cf. 1.1.20; 17 *prisco ... e stipite* and 20 *ligneus deus*, cf. 1.1.11; 21-2 rustic offerings, cf. 1.1.13-16; 22 *spicea sertae*, cf. 1.1.15-16; 26 *hostia ... rustica*, cf. 1.1.22; 1.10.29-30 *alius*, cf. 1.1.1f., 49f.; 57-8 *rixae*, cf. 1.1.74; 59-60 *lapis ... ferrumque*, cf. 1.1.63-4. The relative order of composition of the two poems is difficult to establish. The fact that 1.10 contains no reference to Delia or Messalla is taken by many as a sign of early composition (arguing, that is, that it was composed before he knew them), but this need not necessarily be the case. From a metrical standpoint the elegy could be regarded as technically experimental and so late. Eighteen of its thirty-four hexameters have weak caesuras in the third foot; a very high proportion, approached only in 1.6 (15/43), the last of the Delia poems. Despite the obvious similarities to the first poem, there are sig (see Lee p.142 for details).

Despite the obvious similarities to the first poem, there are significant differences. After the rejection of Delia in 1.6 and Marathus in 1.9 the theme of the poet's own love, the main element of the second half of 1.1, is replaced by the old Roman ideal of family life with children (39-44, cf. 1.7.55f.). In 1.1 T. seems to have had the choice of rejecting war (25-6); in 1.10 he is being dragged off to war whether he wishes it or not (13). As Mutschler points out, the poem's approach to the horrors of the modern age is more realistic than in 1.1. The poem is closer in spirit, perhaps, to 1.3. T. realises he cannot just opt out of the present age and retire from society into a life of perfect idleness and love. It shares with 1.3 the realisation that the ideal for which he longs was only possible in an earlier age, before the invention of war. As it is, he must suffer the ills of the present age with everyone else. There is, nevertheless, some hope for the Tibullan ideal; but this hope will [p341] depend ultimately not on help provided to T. as an individual by his patron or his household gods, but on the restoration of peace in society whole. Hence the central importance of the invocation to Peace (45-50) which is picked up again at the end of the poem.

The poem's structure may be analysed as follows. A curse on the inventor of the sword (1-4) is followed (5-10) by a statement that the real cause of war is greed. There were no wars in former times of simple piety. T. wishes he had lived then; as it is, he is being dragged to r (11-14). He appeals to his ancestral *Lares* to protect him (15-18) and describes the piety of men in earlier ages (19-24). The appeal is repeated (25), and there follows a description of T.'s own piety (26-9), which is to be preferred to military glory (29-32). Three couplets on the horrors of untimely death caused by war (33-8) are juxtaposed with three on the contented old age of the rustic (39-43). Peace is invoked as the inventor of agriculture (45-50). Amatory violence after a rustic festival (51-8) is to be rejected in favour of more gentle conduct (59- 64). Such violence befits the soldier not the lover (64-5). The poem ends with an emphatic repetition of the invocation to Peace (67-8).

1-6 For the etymological play on the unmentioned *ferrum* - "iron sword" in these lines see Cairns 99, Maltby (1993) 267-70: *protulit* (1) hints at *ferrum* from *proferre*; *ferus et uere ferreus* (2) at *ferrum* from *ferus* (cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 171 and similar plays at Varro *Men.* 405, Cic. *Ad Q. F.* 1.3.3, Lucr. 2.103-4, Ov. *Met.* 13.444); and *feras* (6) at *ferrum* from *fera*,

as it was originally intended for use against wild beasts, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.106-7 quoted below (on 5-6).

1-4 A variant of the curse on the inventor, cf. 1.4.59-60n. A fragment of Parthenius' *Bias*, an epicedion for a man who had died in war, mentions the man ὅστις ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἔξυσεν αἰγανέας "who shaped spears for use against men" (fr. 12 Lightfoot = *SH* fr. 619), and this could well be T.'s model here. For a curse against the Chalybes, who were the first to forge iron, cf. Call. *Aet.* fr.110, 48-50 Pf.... Χαλύβον ἃς ἀπόλοιτο γένος γειόθεν ἀντέλλοντα, κακὸν φυτόν, οἳ μιν ἔφηναν πρῶτοι καὶ τυπιδὼν ἔφρασαν ἐργασίην "oh that the whole race of the Chalybes would perish, who first brought it to light, an evil growth rising from the earth, and who taught men the work of the hammer", adapted by Cat. 66.48-50 (Lock of Berenice) ... *ut Chalybon omne genus pereat/ et qui principio sub terra quaerere uenas/ institit ac ferri stringere duritiem*. Perhaps even closer in style to the present [p342] passage is Aratus' description at *Phaen.* 130-32 of the race of bronze who first invented the sword χαλκείη γενεή ... οἳ πρῶτοι κακόεργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν "the race of bronze ... who were first forge the sword that wrought evil". Cicero interestingly changes the bronze age to the iron age in his translation (fr. 18.1-2) *ferrea tum vero proles exorta repentest/ ausaque funestum primast fabricarier ensem*. The etymological marker *primus* (see 1.4.59-60n.) occurs in both Aratus, πρῶτοι, and T., but whereas the etymologising in χαλκείη... ἐχαλκεύσαντο, is based on bronze, in T., perhaps under the influence of Cicero, it is based on iron with *ferreus* (2) suggesting *ferrum*.

The opening couplet is echoed by Lygd. [Tib.] 3.2.1-2 *qui primus caram iuueni carumque puellae/ eripuit iuuenem, ferreus ille fuit*. For the theme, cf. 1.3.49-50. The alliteration of p and f in 1-2 and the forceful anaphora of *tunc* in 3-4 underline the poet's anger.

1-2 *Quis fuit*: for the hexameter opening, cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.8.5 *quis fuit inter nos sociati corporis index?*

horrendos "terrifying". The adj. occurs in elegy only here and at Lygd. [Tib.] 3.4.91; first in verse at Virg. *Georg.* 2.387 and frequently in *Aen.* (24 times); in Ov. only in *Met.* and *Fast.*; clearly epic in tone, cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.510 *arma horrenda tibi saeuosque remisimus enses*.

protulit "brought forth", "invented" ; see OLD s.v. 2b and cf. Brink on Hor. *Ars* 130. Prop. 2.6.31, *CLE* 1528.1-2 *lucri repertor atque sermonis dator/ infas palaestram protulit Cyllenius*. For the play on *proferre/ferreus* mentioned by Cairns 99, cf. Juv. 6.23 *omne aliud crimen mox ferrea protulit aetas*.

enses: more poetic than *gladius* (see 1.3.47-8n., Axelson (1945) 51, N-H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.10 and the comparative tables in *ThLL* 5.2.608.40ff.), in keeping with the high-style opening of the poem; cf. Stat. *Ach.* 1.510 quoted above.

ferus "savage", "inhuman"; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 277-8 ...*adeon me ignauom putas, / adeon porro ingratum aut inhumanum aut ferum*.

uere "truly", giving a strong hint that T. is thinking etymologically. *ueriloquium* was invented by Cicero as the Roman equivalent to the Greek *etymologia*. For other examples of *uerum* or *uere* as an etymological pointer cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 242, Virg. *Georg.* 3.280, Ov. *Am.* 394, *Fast.* 2.859.

ferreus "iron-hearted", like the sword he invented. The epithet may also refer to a man of the Iron Age (cf. 1.2.67) when, according to Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.* 2.159, Arat. fr. 18.1-2 see

above), swords were invented; cf. Lucr. 5.1293 *inde* (sc. in the Iron Age) *minutatim processit ferreus ensis*.

3-4 *hominum generi*: contrasts with *feras* (6). The phrase is Lucretian, occurring in a description of the plague at 6.1090-92 *unde repente/ mortiferam possit cladem conflare coorta/ morbida uis hominum generi pecudumque cateruis*, and adds to the solemn effect of the opening.

dirae: a striking epithet, used first here of death (then at Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 56) looking forward to the grim picture in 35-8. The ancients connected the word etymologically with *dei ira*, cf. Paul. Fest. 61 L *dirus dei ira natus*. In view of 7-10 there may be a hint here of the gods' anger at man's impiety in putting an end to the peaceful Golden Age by the invention of iron weapons.

mortis ... via: also at Grattius *Cynegeticon* 357, Phaedrus *Fab.* 72.8, Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 1245, *Oed.* 1031; cf. *leti ... uiae* 1.3.50.

5-6 The alliteration of n and m and the prominence of liquid / and r sounds mark a softening in the poet's initially angry attitude. The couplet reflects philosophical speculation about the origin of inventions. For the role of wild animals in the invention of weapons, cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.106-7 *primoque e caede ferarum/ incaluisse potest maculatum sanguine ferrum*. For man's misuse of inventions, cf. Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 5.18.15 *nihil inuenies tam manifestae utilitatis, quod non in contrarium*

in "against", see *OLD* s.v. 22b.

saeuas feras: first here, then at [Tib.] 3.9.22, Ov. *Epist.* 4.38, 7.38, *Met.* 4.404, 7.387, Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1327, [Sen.] *Octauia* 637 etc.

7-8 For the connection between war and wealth in T. see 1.1.1-2n. The idea was a common one, especially in philosophical texts, cf. Plato *Phaedo* 660 διὰ γὰρ τὴν χρημάτων κτῆσιν πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γίνονται "it is in order to get money that all wars are made"; Lucr. 3.1423-4 *tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis/ exercent hominum uitam belloque fatigant*.

diuitis... auri: also at 1.9.31, see n. ad loc. There is some irony in the fact that gold is a characteristic of the present "Iron" Age, but was absent from the idealised "Golden" Age, described in 7-10. This point is brought out by Ov. in *Ars* 2.277-8 *aurea sunt uere nunc saecula: plurimus auro/ uenit honos: auro conciliatur amor*.

uitium: Gilmartin (1975) 234 observes that this word is also used for "dross", comparing Ov. *Fast.* 4.785-6 *omnia purgat edax ignis uitium [p344]que metallis / excoquit*. So there is possibly a pun here.

faginus... scyphus: both adjective and noun are rare. The former occurs for the first time at Virg. *Ecl.* 3.36-7 *pocula ... fagina*, cf. *Georg.* 3.172. It is not found in Prop. or Ov. *Am.* The older form *fagineus* is found from Cato *Agr.* 21.5 and is the one used by Ov. Beechwood utensils were associated with the simple piety of former times, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.522, *Met.* 8.668-70.

The Greek loan-word *scyphus* occurs first in Plaut. *Asin.* 444, cf. Varro *Men.* 7.1, Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.1, *Epod.* 9.33, Virg. *Aen.* 8.278. It is not found in the other elegists. It refers to a large,

stemless, two- handled goblet (see N-H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.27.1, Daremberg-Saglio 4.1159–61), often associated with Hercules. T. may be using it here as a technical religious term, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.278 *sacer impleuit dextram scyphus* in the context of Evander's libation. For the theme of offerings from simple cups, cf. 1.1.38. For *daps* as a sacrificial meal, see 1.5.27-8n.

9-10 non arces non vallus: anaphora of non in a similar context occurs at 1.3.47-8.

somnumque petebat: a military metaphor, like *somnos...sequi* at 1.1.48 (cf. OLD s.v. *peto* 2 and 3). Sleep was all that was pursued, just as the only "leader" was the *dux gregis* (10).

uarias ... oues: the reference is probably to speckled or spotted sheep, whose wool was less valuable (Varro *Rust.* 2.2.4), emphasising the simplicity and poverty of ancient times; this would seem to fit the present context better than a reference to the multi-coloured sheep of Virgil's Golden Age in *Ecl.* 4.42ff.

dux gregis: must be the shepherd here, as at *Culex* 175, rather than the leading sheep or "bellwether". *dux* is clearly chosen for its military associations.

11-12 foret: for *esset*, see 1.9.39-40n. *fores*.

Valgi: this is Heyne's emendation for *uulgi* of the MSS. Lee comments: "The emendation Valgi is uncertain. Anyhow, C. Valgius Rufus, who later held the consulship in 12 BC, was a writer of elegies whose judgement of poetry Horace respected (*Satires* 1.10.82) and who is praised as an epic poet at [Tibullus] 3.7.181. Two pastoral hexameters of his are quoted by the scholiast on Virgil *Georgics* 3.177; their tone is in harmony with this elegy." The fragments of Valgius, who was possibly connected with Messalla's circle, are discussed in Courtney (1993) 287-90. An address to a fellow poet would be appropriate in the final poem of the collection. It is possible, however, that *uulgi* is the correct reading, to be taken with *arma* and used in the pejorative sense [p345] of "rabble", "rank and file", cf. Liv. 22.30.7, often contrasted with *duces*, e.g. Ov. *Met.* 13.1, Sen. *Troad.* 1098, [Sen.] *Octavia* 579, Stat. *Theb.* 3.606 and see *tristia duri/ militis arma* below at 49-50.

tristia .../... arma: cf. 49-50. Cairns 104 is probably correct in implicit allusion in *tristia* to civil war. To his examples in *bellorum* n.31 may be added Prop. 1.7.2 *armaque fraternae tristia militiae*. Serv. ad *Ecl.* 6.7 *tristia condere bella* comments *epitheton bellorum perpetuum*.

corde micante: for the heart palpitating with fear, cf. Hom. *II.* 13.282, Hor. *Carm.* 1.23.8. For *mico* in this context, cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2.9.44 *arteriae micare non desinunt*, Ov. *Fast.* 3.36 *corque timore micat*. The phrase *corde micante* recurs at Ov. *Ars* 3.722, *Fast.* 6.338, Ven. Fort. *Carm.* 7.8.4.

tubam: cf. 1.1.4, 75n. For the *tuba* as a war trumpet, see Wille (1967) 103-4.

13-14 nunc: see 1.5.35-6n., and cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 10.44-5 (Gallus) *nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis/ tela inter media atque aduersos detinet hostis*. There is a strong contrast with *tunc* in 11.

trahor: for the lengthening of -or in arsis at the caesura see Plat- nauer 59. The verb stresses T.'s unwillingness; cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.510 (Hecuba) *nunc trahor exul, inops, tumulis auulsa meorum*, Lucan 3.14 (Pompey's wife, Julia) 12-14 *sedibus Elysiis ... expulsa ... ad Stygias tenebras.../post bellum ciuile trahor*.

quis: for *aliquis*, because of the element of supposition introduced by *forsitan*.

haesura ...tela: cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.95-6 *haesurum clipei curuamine /misit in Aeaciden*.
latere : the Roman soldier's shield and armour left his right side un- protected.

15 patrii ... Lares: for the iunctura cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16.19, *Serm.* 1.2.56, Prop. 2.30.22, Ov. *Rem.* 237. For T.'s regard for these gods, see 1.1.20n. For their protection in war, cf. Paul. Fest. 90 L quoted below in 25-6n. All three occurrences of patrius in T. are found in a similar context, cf. 1.3.33 (*Penates*), 2.1.17 (*di patrii*).

16 For the idea cf. 2.2.22. Children were under the special protection of the Lares and dedicated their *bullae* to them on reaching manhood, cf. Pers. 5.30-31.

cursarem: Putnam points out that the frequentative is appropriate for the constant running back and forth of the child.

[p346] tener: i.e. as a young child.

17 prisco... e stipite: wooden statues were associated with the pious simplicity of earlier times, cf. 1.1.11 and *ligneus deus* below (20). For *priscus* as a possible etymological marker in T. see Cairns (1996) 28-9 and see 18n. and 19n. below. The adj. has associations of old-fashioned piety and moral rectitude, see Fordyce on Cat. 64.159, Mankin on Hor. *Epod.* 2.2, Navarro Antolín on Lygd. [Tib.] 3.5.26, Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.11 *prisci Catonis*.

18 Literally: "so shaped you dwelt in my forefather's house of old."
ueteris ... aui: according to Cairns (1996) 28-9 an etymological link between these words may be suggested here: on *uetus* from *ue-aetas* and *auus* from *aeuum* see Maltby (1991) s.vv. Other examples of the iunctura are all of the plural *ueterum auorum*, so Virg. *Aen.* 7.177, Ov. *Fast.* 6.657, Val. Flacc. 3.344, Stat. *Theb.* 6.67, Mart 10.87.15. On *uetus* as an etymological marker see Cairns (1996) 27-9.

19 *paupere*: for the etymological significance of the epithet in this context see 1.1.20n. The phrase *paupere cultu* "simply tended" recurs at Lygd. [Tib.] 3.3.31.

20 *exigua aede*: the *lararium*, a shrine containing the Lares. In the early days the gods' shrines were small, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.201 *Iuppiter angusta uix totus stabat in aede*.

ligneus... deus: i.e. the Lar. For the singular picking up a preceding plural (*Lares* 15), cf. [Tib.] 3.10.15. *deus* after *deos* in 14. Dorcey preceding (1992) 143, however, would see a change in reference in 19-24 from the Lares to Silvanus. This is somewhat difficult in view of *Lares* later at 25.

21-2 For the offerings of first fruits to the Lar, cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.5.13 14 *et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,/ ante Larem uenerabilior Lare dives*. In 1.1.13-16 these offerings are made to the *agricola deus* and Ceres. For the syntax, recalling the language of prayers, cf. 1.2.17-18 *illa fauet, seu quis.../ seu*, [Tib.] 3.9.1-2 *parce meo iuueni, seu quis.../ seu*.

22 seu dederat sanctae spicea sarta comae: picked up by Ovid in his description of the love-sick Ceres at *Am.* 3.10.36 *deciderant longae spicea sarta comae*. For *spicea sarta*, cf. *Ov Met.* 2.28, 10.433, *Fast* 4.616, *Anth. Lat.* 395.26, 573.2. At 1.1.15-16 a *corona spicea* is offered to Ceres. For *sanctae ... comae*, cf. 2.2.6, *Stat. Theb.* 3.466, 10.908.

23 atque: "yes, and", cf. 2.4.47 and see *OLD* s.v. 2.

uoti compos: occurs first in *Hor. Ars* 76, cf. *Ov. Ars* 1.486. It was used commonly enough on inscriptions to be shortened to *u.c.*, *ThLL* 3.2137.29ff.

liba: see 1.7.53-4 n.

24 For the little daughter's offering of a honey-comb, cf. *Ov. Fast.* 2.652 *porrigit incisos filia parua fauos*. Murgatroyd points out the intricate pattern of initial consonants and word-endings in this line. Note especially the alliterative link between *purum* and *parua*, both the girl and her gift are characterised by their purity. For etymological links between *purus* and *puer/pueritia* see Maltby (1991) s.vv.

25 aerata: the mention of bronze weapons lends an epic tone. Roman weapons were of iron, cf. 2 above and see *Plin. Nat.* 34.138. There is no need to see a reference here to the Aquitanian campaign mentioned in 1.7, although Caesar does mention the mining of copper by the Aquitani (*Bell. Gall.* 3.21.3).

25-6 At least a pentameter and a hexameter are missing between these two lines, in which, in accordance with the contractual nature of Roman religion, T. would have promised the Lares a thank-offering if they saved his life in battle. For the Lares as protectors in war, cf. 15 and see *Paul. Fest.* 90 L *Hostiliis Laribus immolabant, quod ab his hostes arceri putabant*.

26 For the offering of a pig to the Lares, cf. *Plaut. Rud.* 1207-8, *Hor. Carm.* 3.23.4. *rustica* goes with *hostia*, *porcus* could be either masculine or feminine.

hostia... rustica: recalls the *hostia parua* made to the Lares in 11.22. On *rusticus* as an etymological marker in T. see Cairns (1996) 30-34.

hara "pig-sty", etymologically linked to *hariga*, a synonym for *hostia*, cf. *Don. ad Ter. Phorm.* 710 *nam hariga hostia dicitur ab hara*; see further Cairns (1996) 31-2. A similar play seems to be operative at *Ov. Am.* 3.13.16 *et minor ex humili uictima porcus hara*.

27-8 hanc: probably refers to *hostia* in 26.

pura cum ueste: a white gown denoted ritual purity, cf. 2.1.13.

myrtoque ... uincta ... myrto uinctus: myrtle is used as an offering to the Lares in *Hor. Carm.* 2.23.15-16 *paruos coronantem marino/ rore deos fragilique myrto*, but is normally associated with Venus, cf. 1.3.65-6n. Hence it is particularly appropriate for the poet of love in 28 and serves to contrast him with the soldier in 29.

canistra: a rush basket containing the sacred objects needed for the [p348] sacrifice, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.713 *pura coronatis portabant sacra canistris*, and the *cista* in 1.7.48. This Greek loan-word (<Κάναστρον) occurs first in verse in Virg. *Georg.* 4.280.

29-30 sic: i.e. as a pious man, contrasting with the soldier who is *fortis in armis*.

alius: for the contrast between the peace-loving poet and the warlike *alius*, cf. 1.1.1.

Murgatroyd draws attention to the mock-heroic tone of the phrases *fortis in armis* (Sil. It. 17.262, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.107 *saeuus in armis*, 938 *acer in armis*), *sternat* (Liv. 24.38.7, Virg. *Aen.* 10.119), *Marte fauente* (Ov. *Epist.* 3.88) and *aduersos... duces*.

31-2 The returning soldier boasts of his exploits while T. quietly drinks. The idea is taken up again by Ovid in his description of the soldier returning from Troy in *Epist.* 1.31-2 *atque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa/ pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero*. For the idea of writing in wine on the table, cf. 1.6.19-20.

pingere castra: Putnam hears in the phrase a humorous parody of *ponere castra*.

33-44 Three couplets on the soldier's early death and the horrors of the Underworld are juxtaposed with three couplets on the simple life of the rustic who endures hard work and poverty, but lives to a ripe old age. T. expresses his preference for the latter.

33-4 The couplet picks up the connection between war and death already alluded to in 30. *quis furor est*: cf. [Tib.] 3.9.7, Ov. *Am.* 3.14.7.

atram Mortem: see 1.3.4-5n.

accersere: i.e. to send for death before its time. But the verb is also used of summoning troops (Lee points to *OLD* s.v. *accerso* 1b). For *accerso* with *mors* or a synonym as object, cf. Lucan 7.252 *fatum accersite ferro*, 8.660 *prohibent accersere mortem*, Sil. It. 4.674 *liceat bellanti accersere mortem*.

tacito clam: emphatic juxtaposition. For the silent approach of death, cf. 1.1.70.

tacito pede: cf. *tacitis... pedibus* of the relentless approach of vengeance in 1.9.4. The phrase *tacito pede* is applied in Ovid to the approach of old age; *Ars* 2.670, *Tristia* 4.6.17.

35 The infertility of the Underworld is emphasised here in order to contrast with the rustic ideal of 39ff. Cf. Plato *Respub.* 621A καὶ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ κενὸν δένδρων τε καὶ ὅσα γῆ φύει “for the land (i.e. the Underworld) was without trees or any vegetation”, and contrast the fertility of the Lovers' Elysium in 1.3.61-2.

infra: i.e. in the Underworld, cf. Greek κάτω – unique for the common *apud inferos*.

audax: as Lee points out, this unexpected adjective, in emphatic position at the line-end, looks like a literary allusion (cf. Prop. 4.11.25 *Cerberus... improbus*); its sound may suggest the barking of Cerberus, and possibly the hissing of his serpents; see 1.3.71-2n

36 *turpis*: Charon, the ferryman of the Styx, was traditionally ugly; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.298-9 *portitor ... horrendus .../ terribili squalore Charon*. As Smith points out, the epithet here may refer to both physical and moral “foulness”. .

37-8 *illic*: i.e. in the Underworld, cf. Greek ἐκεῖ; also at 1.3.65, 73, 81, Prop. 1.19.7, 11, 13, Ov. *Am.* 2.6.53.

Percussisque genis: the dead behave like mourners, striking their cheeks in grief. Livineius' conjecture *pertusisque* "bored through", with reference, as in *usto ... capillo*, to the effects of the pyre, may have something to commend it.

ustoque capillo: for the dead retaining traces of the funeral pyre, cf. Prop. 4.7.8-9 (of Cynthia's ghost) *lateri uestis adusta fuit, / et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis*. Contrast the hair of the dead lover in 1.3.66 above. The mention of cheeks and hair looks forward to, and contrasts with, the effects of the lovers' fight on the girl's hair and cheeks in 53 and 55 below.

errat: the same verb, suggesting the aimless wandering of the dead, is used of Dido's ghost in Virg. *Aen.* 6.451, and of Marcellus' ghost in Propertius 3.18.10 *errat et in uestro spiritus ille lacu* (possibly echoing the present line).

obscurus pallida: Murgatroyd notes the juxtaposition of the dark Underworld and its pale inhabitants. For the pallor of death, cf. Dido in Virg. *Aen.* 4.644 *pallida morte futura*; the epithet is applied to death itself in Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.13 *pallida Mors*, and at Lygd. [Tib.] 3.1.28, 5.21 the waters of the Underworld are described as *pallentes undas*.

pallida turba: the phrase recurs in Martial of the pallid crowd of Rome's city dwellers at 10.12.9-10 *et uenies albis non adnoscendus amicis / liuebitque tuis pallida turba genis*.

lacus: a poetic term for the waters or rivers of the Underworld, as at 2.6.40, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.134 *Stygios... lacus*, Culex 372-3 *Ditis opacos / cogor adire lacus*, Prop. 2.28.40 *ad infernos... lacus*.

39-40 There is irony in the use of words with strong military overtones, *laudandus*, *occupat* and *pigra*, with reference to the rustic who rejects the soldier's life.

quin potius "nay rather", introducing a statement.

laudandus: for the military connotations of this word see 1.1.57-8n. The gerund/gerundive form is used in verse first here or at Prop. 1.4.1 *tam multas laudando ... puellas*.

prole parata: cf. the birthday wishes at 1.7.55 and 2.2.22. Children were one of the traditional blessings of country life (e.g. Hor. *Epod.* 2.40, Virg. *Georg.* 2.523). The idea is emphasised in the lines which follow by the mention of *filius* 41, *nato* 48 and *progeniem* 52. Married bliss here replaces the elegiac ideal of 1.1 with its emphasis on love for the mistress. *proles* is high-style, see 1.4.7n. *parata* is perhaps another word chosen for its military connotations, cf. *OLD* s.v. 5a.

occupat "overtakes", "surprises"; a military term; see 1.2.1-2n. and cf. 50 below. Contrast the soldier who invites death in 33. Horace also uses the verb of old age at *Epist.* 1.20.17-18 *pueros elementa docentem/occupet... senectus*.

parua casa: also of a simple rustic abode in 2.3.28 (Apollo serving Admetus in the country), picked up by Ovid in the same context at *Ars* 2.240.

pigra: a word of military disapproval, like *segnis* and *iners* in 1.1.58; see *OLD* s.v. 3. For *pigra senecta*, a variant on the more common *tarda senectus* (see 2.2.19n.), cf. Ov. *Met.* 10.396 *non est mea pigra senectus*.

41 sectatur: the only kind of pursuit the old man will take part in, cf. 1.1.48n. and *somnumque petebat* 9-10n. above.

filius: see on 39-40 prole parata.

42 cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.42-4 *pernicis uxor Apuli, / sacrum uetustis extruat lignis focum/ lassi sub aduentum uiri*. T. never uses *lassus* but always the higher style *fessus* which, as Murgatroyd points out, is often found in military contexts. comparat ... aquam: another military phrase, cf. *prole parata* 39.

43 *caput candescere canis*: a striking phrase, emphasised by the triple alliteration. *cani* as a noun "white hairs" is unusual (before only at Cic. *De Senect.* 18.62) and is picked up by Lygdamus at [Tib.] 3.5.15 (cf. 44n.); here there is a contrast with the *usto... capillo* of the dead in 37. *candescere* "glisten", "glow" (e.g. of heated metal in Lucr. 1.490) is not used of hair before T. Lee suggests a contrast here with the warrior *aere caput fulgens* (Virg. *Aen.* 10.869). On the etymological play in *candescere canis* see Cairns (1996) 29 and cf. Maltby (1991) s.v. *canis*. Propertius, perhaps echoing the present line, has the same play at 2.18.5 *quid mea si canis aetas candesceret annis?*

44 The line is echoed in Lygd. [Tib.] 3.5.26 *et referam pueris tempora prisca senex*. The fondness of old men for talking of the past is true to life and its long literary history reaches back to Homer's Nestor. Here there is a contrast with the soldier relating his exploits (*facta*) in 31.

Prisci: for *priscus* as an etymological marker in T. see Cairns (1996) 9-30 and for the etymological play introduced here see 45-6n. For its associations see 17n. above.

50 A eulogy to Peace who, as inventor of agriculture, shares many of the attributes of Osiris in 1.7.29-38 and the *ruris dei* in 2.1.37-42. On the way in which Peace in this passage is given the attributes of Ceres and on the association of the two in Augustan propaganda see Spaeth (1996) 68-9. All three passages are characterised by the use of anaphora (here of *Pax* in 45, 47 and *Pace* 49), a feature of the ritual language of prayers and hymns. If *tristia arma* in 11-12 and 49-50 refer to civil war, it may be significant that the deity *Pax*, as depicted on the coins of Julius Caesar and (in the East) of Augustus, stands primarily for internal concord; see Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 2.425. For the praise of Peace in Greek literature cf. Hes. *Op.* 225ff., Aristoph. *Pax* fr. 109, 294 K, Eur. *Bacch.* 413, Theocr. *Id.* 16.88-97, Philemon fr. 74 K-A, Menander fr. 719 K and Bacchylides *Paeon.* 4.69-72 Sn.- M. quoted below 49-50n. For an interesting comparison of the present passage with Theocr. *Id.* 16.88-97, see Bulloch (1973) 85-7.

45-6 *arua .../... araturos*: an etymological play; on the derivation of *aruum* from *arare* cf. Varro Ling. 5.39 *aruus et arationes ab arando* and see Günther (1994) 262, Maltby (1991) s.v. *aruus*; a similar play on *aratrum* and *aruum* occurs in 2.3.7-8, see Cairns 93. For *araturi boues*, cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.120.

colat: both "live in" and "cultivate".

candida: both literal "dressed in white", see 68, and metaphorical "bringing good fortune", see 1.3.93-4n. The echo of *candescere* (43) forms a link with the previous section. For *pax candida*, cf. Calp. *Ecl.* 1.54 *candida pax aderit*.

primum: introduces the hymnic topos of Peace the inventor (πρῶτος εὐρετής see 1.7.29-30n. and cf. *primus* in 1.4.59, 1.7.29 and line 1 above). For *primus* as an etymological marker in T. see 1.4.59-60n. There is an intentional contrast here between Peace and the inventor of the sword with whom the poem began. The invention of agriculture was traditionally attributed to Demeter/Ceres (e.g. Call. *Hymn.* 6.19ff., Virg. *Georg.* 1.147ff.). For the close connection between *Pax* and Ceres, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.704 *Pax Cererem nutrit, Pacis alumna Ceres*, 4.407-8 *pace Ceres laeta est*, and see Spaeth (1996), 68, 150. Ceres was the central figure of the Ara Pacis Augustae.

aratus: the invention of ploughing had traditionally been associated with Triptolemus (e.g. Call. *Hymn.* 6.21).

iuga curua: also at Ov. *Ars* 1.318, *Fast.* 4.216, *Ex Pont.* 1.8.54 *ducam ruricolae sub iuga curuae boues*, Sen. *Oed.* 721. For an etymological hint at *uruum* in the coupling *iuga curua* see Cairns (1996) 15 and cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.135 *a curuo uruum appellat*.

47 For Peace as a provider of wine, cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 308 ... "most vine-loving", 520 ... "giver of vines. Philemon fr. 74.10-11 ... "she gives corn, wine and joy".

aluit: looks forward to *alma* (67) with which it was linked etymologically by the ancients, cf. Paul. *Fest.* 6 L *alma sancta siue pulchra, uel alens, ab alendo scilicet*. The word also looks back to *aluistis* (15), linking Pax with the Lares. For *pax aluit*, cf. Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 929 *alta pax gentes alat*.

condidit: the technical term for "storing" wine in jars; see OLD s.v. 2b.

48 The emphasis is on the continuity of agriculture from one generation to the next provided by Peace. T.'s audience were perhaps intended to contrast this with the disruption caused by the recent civil strife in Italy as described, e.g., in Virg. *Georg.* 1.506-8 *non ullus aratro / dignus honos, squalent abductis arua colonis, / et curuae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem*. Cf. 39-40n.

prole parata. testa: an earthenware jar used for storing wine. The line is perhaps echoed in Ov. *Ars* 2.695-6 *mihi fundat auitum / consulibus priscis condita testa merum*.

49-50 On this couplet see Cairns 103-4. The traditional scene goes back ultimately to Hom. *Od.* 16.284ff. and 19.4ff. Smith 385 lists a number of other parallels of which the closest to T. is Bacchylides *Paean.* 4.69-72 Sn.-M (in praise of Peace) ... "on the iron-bound handles of shields are shining spiders' webs, rust overpowers sharp-pointed spears and two-edged swords". It is perhaps significant that this poem also appears to be echoed in T.'s opening elegy; see 1.1.4n. T.'s lines probably influenced Ov. *Fast.* 4.927f. *sarcula nunc durusque bidens et uomer aduncus, / ruris opes, niteant: iniquet arma situs*.

bidens: see 1.1.29-30n.

nomer: the ploughshare, the iron head of the plough which cut through the soil; it had to be beaten to a point by the smith and could be detached for sharpening, see Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 1.162.

nitent: i.e. through constant use, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 1.46 *sulco attritus splendescere uomer*.

tristia: both "black" in contrast with the shining farm-implements, but also implying their use in civil war; see 11-12n.

duri "unfeeling", reinforcing the suggestion of civil strife in *tristia* (see Cairns 103-104) and looking back to the iron-hearted inventor of the sword in 2. There is probably also a hint at Aelius Stilo's etymology of *miles* from its opposite *mollis* (see Paul. *Fest.* 109 L *militem Aelius a mollitia κατά ἀντιφράσιν dictum putat, eo, quod nihil molle, sed potius asperum quid gerat*, see Cairns (1984), Cairns (1996) 32.

in tenebris: in a dark corner, contrasting with *nitent*. Again Cairns (1996) 32 points to an etymology from opposites *in tenebris* and *lucoque* in the same sedes of consecutive lines; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.34 *lucus, quia parum luceat*.

occupat: an apt use of a military image; see 39-40n. Here the word reproduces Bacchylides' ... "overpowers".

situs "rust", from neglect; see OLD s.v. *situs* (3) 2.

51 "A couplet has possibly dropped out after 50, as Moriz Haupt suggested (*Opuscula* 3.38ff.), because the switch to the drunken peasant is sudden and could be eased by supposing mention of a festival. This lacuna could have been on the verso of a leaf in the archetype, corresponding with the certain lacuna between 25 and 26. Most editors however take *at ... situs* parenthetically and 51 as a continuation of 49 *Pace... nitent*." (Lee ad loc.). *rusticus*: picked up by Propertius in what appears to be a comment on this passage at 2.5.25; see 61-4n. For *rusticus* as an etymological marker see Cairns (1996) 30-34; the etymologies concerned are discussed above 50n.

luco: a sacred grove, used for religious festivals.

reuehit: a conjecture for the awkward postponed *-que* in *lucoque uehit* of the MSS.

male sobrius "far from sober", as in Ov. *Fast.* 6.785 *ecce suburbana rediens male sobrius aede*. For *male* as a negative with adjectives (originally a colloquial usage, cf. Hofmann (1936) 145f.) see *OLD* s.v. *male* 6 and cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.137 *male tutae mentis Orestes*. Drinking was a regular feature of rustic festivals, cf. 2.1.29f., 5.101f.

52 *plaustro*: an open two-wheeled wagon; for its use here, cf. Liv 5.40.9 *de plebe homo... plaustro coniugem ac liberos uehens*.

progeniemque: see 39-40n. Children are one of the blessings of Peace, cf. Hes. *Op.* 228, Philemon fr. 74.9 K-A.

53-64 There is probably a criticism of this passage, as Solmsen (1961) 237ff. has argued, in Prop. 2.5.21-6, quoted in 61-4n. In T. the emphasis on lovers' quarrels brings out the similarities with war.

53 *Veneris ... bella*: for the theme of *militia amoris*, cf. 1.1.73ff. with note on 75-6, 1.6.73f., 2.5.101ff. (also in the context of a religious festival) and see Murgatroyd (1975) 59ff. and Lyne (1980) 71-8. On violence against the mistress in elegy see McKeown II (1989) 162f. *calent*: appropriate not only for the heat of battle (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3.46-7 *ardentis accingar dicere pugnas/ Caesaris*), but also for the fires of love (cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.571 *ista decent pueros aetate et amore calentes*) and the warming effects of wine (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 11.13-14 *calentis.../ feruidiore mero*).

scissosque capillos: for this aspect of lovers' fights, cf. Prop. 2.5.23 (based on the present passage; see 61-4n.), Ov. *Am.* 1.7.11 (with McKeown's note) and *Ars* 3.570. For *scissos capillos*, cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3.219 *scissis ... capillis*. The mention of hair here forms a link earlier sections of the poem, cf. 37 and 43 (and possibly also 28).

54 *perfractas ... fores*: a continuation of the military image in *bella*. For the breaking down of the mistress' door see 1.1.73-4n. and cf. McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.6.57-8. The verb occurs here only in elegy and is very rare in verse; elsewhere only Virg. *Aen.* 11.614, Ov. *Epist.* 4.115, Paneg. Mess. [Tib.] 3.7.90.

conqueriturque: for the postponement of *-que* in the pentameters 1.1.39-40n. see 1.1.39-40 n. 55 *subtusa* "somewhat bruised"; the word occurs here only. For attacks on cheeks in lovers' quarrels see McKeown on Ov. *Am.* 1.7.39-40. Here the bruised cheeks, like the torn hair of 53, recall the picture of the dead in 37.

56 *flet*: the repetition from the beginning of 55 with change of subject is striking. The girl's tears arouse the lover's remorse. For the theme of lovers' quarrels see N-H on Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.24 and cf. Tib. 1.1.74, 1.6.74 with note and 2.5.102. The present couplet is reworked by Ovid in *Am.* 1.7.3-4; see McKeown ad loc.

flere with the accusative and infinitive construction occurs first in [p355] Virg. *Ecl.* 3.78 *nam me discedere fleuit* (cf. Clausen ad loc.) and becomes frequent in Augustan poetry; see Fedeli on Prop. 1.7.18.

manus: for the personification, which distances the lover from his own action, cf. Prop. 1.6.16 *insanis dementes manibus*, and see Fedeli on Propertius 1.6.16 and 3.8.4 and N-H on Hor. Carm. 1.17.26 for further parallels from Hellenistic Greek epigram and from Latin elegy. A probable etymological play is intended between *manus* 56 and *ministrat* 57, both in final position in the line. For the derivation of *minister* from *manus*, cf. Isid. *Orig.* 10.170 and for a similar play in a similar context cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.7.27-8 *quid mihi uobiscum, caedis scelerumque ministrae?/ debita sacrilegae uincla subite manus*.

57-8 Love urges on his followers to fight (cf. 1.3.64, Hor. *Carm.* 2.8.14f.), but once their anger is roused sits between them unmoved. In 58 the word-order mirrors the sense, with *lentus* in pivotal position between the two angry lovers. The couplet may have been inspired by a painting (so Némethy).

lascius Amor: first here then at Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.7, Ov. *Am.* 3.1.43, *Ars* 2.497, 3.27, Mart. 14.187.1.

rixae: recalls the lovers' quarrels at 1.1.74.

mala uerba "angry words", as at Ov. *Ibis* 500 *dixerat inuiso quae mala uerba deo*.

lentus: Amor was proverbially heartless (see 1.6.3n. and cf. 2.4.4) but here, as Smith points out, his lack of concern may to some extent arise from his confidence that *amantium irae amoris redintegratio* (Ter. *Andr.* 555).

59-60 a: rare in T. and emphatic, see 1.9.3-4n.

lapis est ferrumque: the combination of stone and iron in images of "unfeeling" behaviour goes back as far as Homer, cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.510 οὐ σφί λίθος χρώς οὐδὲ σίδηρος "your flesh is not of stone nor of iron", Eur. *Med.* 1279 ... "so you are a stone or a piece of iron?", 1.1.63-4n., Prop. 1.16.29-30, Ov. *Am.* 3.6.59, *Met.* 7.32-3. *ferrum* here recalls *ferreus* in 2 and connects the violent lover with the inventor of arms and the soldier, cf. 65.

ferrumque: rhymes interestingly with *utrumque* (58), as Lee points out; note also the following *quicumque*.

uerberat: emphasised by its position and the subsequent sense pause.

e caelo deripit ille deos: on the rhetorical principle of arguing that the crime under discussion is equivalent to an even greater crime, cf. 1.2.81ff. and for a full discussion see McKeown on *Am.* 1.7.5-6. The image here arises out of the equivalence of the mistress to a divinity [p356] (cf. Cat. 68.70 *mea ... candida diua*), and alludes more specifically to that proverbial example of impiety, the Titans' attempt to dethrone the Olympian Gods (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 617ff.). *deripit* is the reading of the *Itali* for A's *diripit*.

61-4 In three parallel clauses introduced by *sit satis* T. advises gentle behaviour towards the mistress than that described in 53-8. It is possible that this passage is echoed by Propertius, with a hint of criticism, in his deprecation of such violent behaviour towards the mistress in 2.5.21-6 *nec tibi periuro scindam de corpore uestes,/ mea praeclusas fregerit ira fores,/ nec tibi conexos iratus carpere nec crines,/ nec duris ausim laedere pollicibus:/ rusticus haec aliquis tam turpia proelia quaerat,/ cuius non hederæ circuire caput*. Solmsen (1961) 275-6 tentatively suggests that the presence of such violent scenes in T.'s first book (cf. 1.1.73-5, 6.73f.) and their absence in book two may mean that T. accepted Prop.'s castigation.

sit satis: the emphatic triple repetition of this phrase near the end of the last poem in the collection could possibly act also at a metapoetic level as a sign of "closure", cf. 2.6.54 and

the last line in *Catalepton* 9.64 *hoc satis est: pingui nil mihi cum populo*. For triple repetition at the line opening cf. 1.4.11-13 *hic* and see Wills (1996) 404 and n.31.

61 *tenuem rescindere uestem*: the girl's clothes rather than her body (contrast 55) should be the object of the lover's violence. As the material is flimsy (*tenuem*) little force will be needed. *rescindere*, which is the *uox propria* for tearing off clothes, cf. *OLD* s.v. 1b and Prop. 3.8.8 *fac mea rescisso pectora nuda sinu*, is the reading of the later MSS for A's *perscindere*. For *tenuem ... uestem*, cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.707-8 *tenues a pectore uestes/rumpit*.

61-3 *rescindere ... dissoluisse ... mouisse*: on the alternation of tenses see 1.1.29-30n.

62 *ornatus dissoluisse comae*: the girl's hair-style should be disarranged in preference to tearing the hair itself (contrast 53). For *ornatus* in this sense cf. Ov. *Ars* 3.135 *nec genus ornatus unum est*.

63 *lacrimas mouisse*: as Smith and Murgatroyd point out, the idea is that it should be sufficient simply to make the girl cry rather than to prolong her tears (contrast 55-6).

quater ille beatus: this type of expression, the so-called μακαρισμός, originated in epic (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 5.306, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.94) and even when applied in the context of love poetry (e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.17-20, Ov. *Ars* 2.447-8) it retains a certain mock-solemnity of [p357] tone; see Dirichlet (1914), Fedeli on Prop. 1.12.15.

64 *quo... irato*: ablative absolute.
tenera ... puella: see 1.3.63n.

65 *manibus qui saeuus erit*: *manibus* is instrumental ablative. The phrase looks back to 56. As Murgatroyd points out, the violence is reflected in the heavy sigmatism of the line.
scutumque sudemque: for the double *-que* see 1.1.33-4n. The *sudis* is another word for *uallus* (9), the stake carried by every Roman legionary. The man of violence is to be a soldier and have no part in love.

66 *miti... Venere*: for the epithet, cf. 2.3.76.

sit procul: a religious formula, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.258 *procul o procul este profani* and see 2.5.88. A similar injunction occurs in the penultimate couplet of the first poem 1.1.76.

67-8 The appeal to Peace with which the poem ends returns to the theme of 45-50. The description of Peace here could have been inspired by a picture or by her representation on coins. Cairns (1999) 230 sees a possible connection between the importance of *Pax* in this poem and Octavian's closing of the temple of Janus as a sign of universal peace in 29 BC. Such prayers are a common ending for T.'s elegies, cf. 12.97-8, 1.7.6-4, 2.5.121-2; and for other examples in Greek and Roman erotic poetry see Fedeli on Prop. 3.4.19-20.

alma: picks up *aluit* in 47, see note ad loc.

profluat "flow in abundance", see *OLD* s.v. 2. For alternative readings see app. crit. The verb occurs here only in elegy; earlier at Lucr. 5.601, Virg. *Georg.* 4.25.

candidus: see 45n. *candida*. For its use in concluding couplets cf. 13.94, 1.7.64. In view of the possible associations of this adj. with Albius Tibullus and his pure style (see 1.3.93-4n. on *candida* and 1.7.58n.) it would be tempting to see in this word a cryptic sphragis at the end of the first book.

ante: adverbial, "in front of", "before".