

PROPERTIUS AND ANTONY *

By JASPER GRIFFIN

In a recent article, 'Augustan Poetry and the Life of Luxury', *JRS* 66 (1976), 87, I argued that much recent scholarship has misjudged the Augustan poets in certain important respects, because it has been thought in principle possible to separate 'literature' and 'life', as if they were clearly distinguishable entities; in reality, the two affect each other in a ceaseless mutual interaction. That argument was developed as a general treatment of the βίος φιλήδονος as presented in Latin literature, and as lived in reality in a society in which Greek and Italian elements, poetical motifs and real behaviour, were inextricably intermingled.

The present paper is devoted to a more particular enquiry into one poet and one type of historical figure. I argue that Propertius' presentation of himself in poetry as a lover—romantic, reckless and obsessed—is closely related to the figure in history of Mark Antony.¹ That historical figure is itself to be seen in a long tradition of great lovers of pleasure, in which the actual lives of real men can be seen to be shaped and coloured by the influence of 'literature'. The argument of my earlier paper does not depend for its validity upon the acceptance of the present one, but they both pursue the same approach.

Like all the Augustan poets, Propertius of course follows the Augustan interpretation of Actium, as a war between Octavian with the Senate at his back, and the degraded hordes of the East, eunuchs, Anubis, *noxia Alexandria*, and the *incesti meretrix regina Canopi*. He goes even further than Horace and Virgil in expressing spiteful hostility and loathing for Cleopatra. Not only is she, in III. 11. 39, a harlot queen, but also 'famulos inter femina trita suos' (l. 30); when she takes to flight, IV. 6. 64, it is 'hoc unum, iusso non moritura die'—but she would in any case have been unworthy to appear in a Roman triumph. The self-consciously noble manner of Horace, *Odes* I. 37 is far away, let alone the genuine magnanimity to which Virgil rises at *Aen.* VIII. 711.² Such hostility to the formidable queen is striking, and there are other features of Propertius' poetry which make it even more surprising; for his treatment of Antony is much more interesting, more complex, and more sympathetic.

Propertius begins III. 11:

Quid mirare, meam si versat femina vitam
et trahit addictum sub sua iura virum?

This highly typical Propertian opening is developed with a list of dominant women in history, Medea,³ Omphale,⁴ Semiramis,⁵ Cleopatra; and then turns, to the reader's surprise, into a lengthy attack on Cleopatra and glorification of Augustus for his victory over her. 'The point of the elegy, which is a passionately developed encomium of the victory at

* This paper has benefited from the learning and kindness of my wife, of Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones, of Dr. Oliver Lyne, and of Sir Ronald Syme. Its present form owes much to the creative πειθαυγία of Professor Fergus Millar.

¹ I have called him 'Mark Antony' rather than 'M. Antonius' because I am concerned with him as much for his literary resonance as for his historical reality.

² Some suggest (W. Richter in *WS* 79 (1966), 463) that in IV. 6 Propertius deliberately attacks Horace's restrained treatment of Cleopatra's death, with the simple aim of the greatest possible praise of Augustus at his enemies' expense. But encomium by Propertius too often fails to rise above the tepid for this to be plausible; cf. II. 1. 25: 'bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris', in a context where Prop. mentions the Perusine War (29), a piece of history which might perhaps have endeared Antony rather than Octavian to the poet; II. 10. 8: 'bella canam, quando scripta puella mea est'; and III. 4, a very ironical poem. On III. 4, rightly L. P. Wilkinson in

Studi Castiglioni II, 1093–1103, and Margaret Hubbard, *Propertius* (1974), 103; by contrast F. Cairns, *Generic Composition* (1972), 186, sees only 'unabashed admiration', while G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality* (1968), 433, thinks it 'may be more pleasingly ironical than he intended'. These careless elegists! After 69 lines of IV. 6 Propertius is frankly tired of his subject, and with a disarming 'bella satis cecini' turns to the more congenial topic of a party. See A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato* (1963), 133.

³ Medea in the vocabulary of political abuse: Cic., *Cael.* 18 (of Clodia); *de lege Manilia* 22 (of Mithridates). See n. 79 below.

⁴ Omphale in the vocabulary of political abuse: Plutarch, *Pericles* 24; idem, *Comparatio Demetrii et Antonii* 3. 2, (of Antony). Some moderns assert that it was applied to Alexander and Roxane (so H. Volkman, *Kleopatra* (1953), 134), but I have found no source.

⁵ Semiramis in the vocabulary of political abuse: Cic., *prov. cons.* 9 (of Gabinius).

Actium, is only loosely connected with the poet's own love-life', comments Rothstein in his edition,⁶ and it may be that Propertius was trying to produce the sort of poem which Horace sometimes succeeds in writing, which combines a public, political theme with an incident of his own life as a lyric poet. *Odes* III. 14 is a good example, where Horace opens with public ceremonies to greet Augustus on his return from Spain, and via a central verse expressing his personal trust in him concludes with a private celebration with Neaera. *Odes* IV. 5 and I. 15, and (significantly) I. 37 on Actium, are also in this mould.⁷ But the exquisite tact with which, in *Odes* III. 14, Horace refers to his Republican role—now long over—at Philippi ('non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa/ consule Planco') is very different from the way in which Propertius has allowed the logic of his own poem, if read as a unity, to push him into the role of Antony; for he says 'no wonder if I am dominated by a woman—look at Cleopatra'.

Naturally we do not want to force this implication, but perhaps we should look further for an explanation before accepting 'the laxness of thought-connection which is characteristic of Roman elegy' (Rothstein ad III. 11, *init.*). What of Propertius II. 16? In this poem⁸ Propertius complains: 'My venal mistress is excluding me for a richer rival; curses on wealth! I should be ashamed of this humiliation—but a degrading love is proverbially deaf. Look at Antony: *infamis amor* was his ruin; glory to Octavian for his clemency. As for you, may your ill-gotten gains be swept away; and beware of divine punishment for your treachery'. The Actium episode here is described by G. Williams⁹ as 'the conventional account of Actium, with its denigration of Antony . . . Propertius is lured into the conventional public contrast of right with wrong, of Augustus with Antony or Cleopatra . . .' But is it so conventional? Again, the poet draws a parallel between Antony and himself; and at the end of the poem he is still persevering in his 'degrading love', not breaking free. It is perhaps appropriate to look back with a fresh eye at ll. 19–21:

atque utinam Romae nemo esset dives, et ipse
straminea posset dux habitare casa!
numquam venales essent admunus amicae . . .

The Princeps prided himself upon his unostentatious mode of life;¹⁰ is not the natural interpretation of these lines, in the context of this curious poem, an ironical and malicious suggestion that he ought to be *really* poor—to the end, not of correct moral edification, but of making more agreeable and less expensive the life of love?¹¹

How many swallows make a summer? Twice we have found Propertius committing the *gaffe* of identifying himself with Antony; will an appeal to the 'laxness of thought-connection characteristic of Roman elegy' suffice to cover both? I hope it will seem implausible, when we have considered some references to Paris. The correct attitude to Paris for an Augustan poet was surely austere, and Horace treats him in this spirit. In *Odes* I. 15 he will run away like a stag in battle; in *Odes* III. 3 he is the 'fatalis incestusque iudex' who ruined his country; in *Epp.* I. 2. 10 the paradigm of a fool. In the *Aeneid* it is to Paris that his bitterest enemies compare Aeneas (*Aen.* IV. 215). But Propertius anticipates the frivolous Ovid in sympathizing with the Trojan seducer.

In II. 3. 35 Cynthia is so beautiful that Troy would have done better to fall for her than for Helen:

olim mirabar, quod tanti ad Pergama belli
Europae atque Asiae causa puella fuit:
nunc, Pari, tu sapiens et tu, Menelae, fuisti,
tu quia poscebas, tu quia lentus eras.

⁶ L. Alfonsi, *L'elegia di Propertio* (1945), 66 f. thinks the two motifs blend better, and even finds 'lo spirito è piuttosto virgiliano'. Contra, Margaret Hubbard, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 89: (in certain poems in Book III) 'the development of the topics is often derivative and unconvinced, like the Cleopatra episode of III. 11'.

⁷ cf. on this point A. La Penna, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 127. Prop. III. 11 is not mentioned in this connection either by him or by F. Solmsen, 'Propertius and Horace', *CP* 43 (1948), 105 = *Kleine Schriften* II, 278.

⁸ Discussed by Hubbard, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 58 f., with different results.

⁹ *Tradition and Originality*, 559.

¹⁰ cf. *JRS* 66 (1976), 95, n. 148.

¹¹ With the technique compare for example III. 14. The poem opens with a straight-faced announcement that 'there are many things we admire about the Spartan education'; but it turns out that, instead of the all too familiar praise of Spartan toughness and self-denial, we find an amusingly unexpected encomium on the unparalleled advantages it offered the lover for getting close to his girl.

Paris is a model for Propertius' own erotic tastes at II. 15. 13; at III. 8. 29 f. the poet says that Paris, like him, found his desire keenest amid the alarms of war:

dulcior ignis erat Paridi, cum Graia per arma
 Tyndaridi poterat gaudia ferre suae:
 dum vincunt Danaï, dum restat barbarus Hector,
 ille Helenae gremio maxima bella gerit.

(The last two lines, we note, could serve as a perfect summary of the picture in our sources of the inactivity of Antony during the Perusine War.) Like Antony, the glamorous hedonist Paris, who loses all for a woman, was not an expected subject for Augustan panegyric, however witty. It comes therefore as no surprise both that the moralistic tradition explicitly compared Antony to Paris 'running away from the fighting into Cleopatra's bosom',¹² and also that Propertius' poem II. 15, in which at l. 13 the poet compares himself to Paris, goes on to make the point (l. 41) that 'if only everyone would live the life of love and wine, there would be no Roman corpses floating in the sea at Actium':

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

W. A. Camps¹³ calls this 'an extravagant paradox'; I cannot see why. It seems to be, in fact, a bitter truth, however unexpected such a thing may be in an Augustan poet mentioning Augustus' greatest triumph. 'Had he lived like me—like Antony—the disaster of Actium need never have happened . . .'

In order to understand Propertius and Antony, it is necessary to put the figure of the man of action who lived for pleasure into its full perspective, and in accordance with my argument this must be done both in literature and in life, in their reciprocal relationship. To begin with literature, we must be alive to the fact that Hellenistic literature did not consist only of high-brow poets. Propertius and Virgil boast of certain Hellenistic precursors: Philetas, Callimachus, Theocritus, Euphorion. These were great poets and creditable names, and a Gallus or a Propertius was proud to admit their influence. By contrast, mythological hand-books and short-cuts like Parthenius' little work on the *Sufferings Caused by Love*, perhaps more often looked into by these poets than the works of Philetas,¹⁴ did not receive honourable mention in their poems. No more did they parade their acquaintance with unedifying works of propaganda and scandal, but these too may turn out to be unexpectedly important; more especially when we remind ourselves that the subjects and the attitudes which will be discussed here were even more pervasive in conversation than in written form. The latter is only the one which we now can see and control, and as we do so we must allow for the vast and formless mass of sub-literary and oral material which was taken for granted by men of the time.

Hellenistic literature was rich in scandalous and scurrilous works on the great figures of classical Greece,¹⁵ as well as on contemporaries. An ignoble mentality avenged itself upon the higher pretensions of great men by attaching low or titillating stories to their names. Sexual scandal was assembled about philosophers,¹⁶ some of which has got into Diogenes Laertius; some at least of the epigrams ascribed to Plato seem to come from such a source,¹⁷ and it is significant that Lucilius¹⁸ can be seen to make use of a story of this sort about the Academic philosophers Xenocrates and Polemon. Serious philosophers joined in:

¹² Plutarch, *Comparatio* 3.

¹³ Edition of Book III ad loc.

¹⁴ I am sceptical about Propertius' knowledge of Philetas; even of Callimachus, copies of whom must have been easier to find, what he says in Books II and III is extraordinarily slight. Outside the *Aetia* prologue, his knowledge of Callimachus before he wrote Book IV was hardly great.

¹⁵ *Locus classicus* on this: U. von Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos* (1881), 47 f.

¹⁶ Susemihl, *Gesch.d.gr.Lit.* (1891-2) I, 148 f. The Σιλλοί of Timon also are relevant: see fr. 9, 30, 54, 56 and 59. See Wachsmuth on Anaxarchus and φύσις ἠδονοπλήξ, Epicurus γαστροί χαριζόμενος etc.

¹⁷ W. Ludwig in *GRBS* 4 (1963), 59 f.

¹⁸ Fr. 755 (Marx).

Chrysippus for example accused Epicurus of being a disciple of Arcestratus in debauchery. Hieronymus of Rhodes and Idomeneus of Lampsacus circulated similar scandal about poets and politicians;¹⁹ in history, the cynical Theopompus ascribed to all comers in his huge *History* unworthy and sordid motives, while sensationalists like Douris added lurid scenes of imaginary indulgence. The base work known as 'Aristippus περὶ πολυαῖος τρυφῆς' was the source for a great deal of sensational material in the Thirteenth Book of Athenaeus. Such pre-Hellenistic figures as Alcibiades were thickly encrusted with anecdotes, mostly of salacious or luxurious character,²⁰ and so were Diadochi such as Demetrius Poliorcetes, and not least Alexander himself.

Another relevant genre is that concerned with the doings and sayings of ἑταῖροι. Machon²¹ versifies a large number of more or less improper stories about the mistresses of the poets and the Hellenistic dynasts, and such women as Laïs, Lamia, Phryne and Thaïs became celebrated, stories multiplying about their behaviour; Lucilius made use of this, too.²² Plutarch is among the authors who tell us, for example, that Alexander burnt the palace at Persepolis to please Thaïs;²³ his *Life of Demetrius* includes such material in abundance. Monographs were produced on luxurious dinners.²⁴ The luxury ship of Hieron II was the subject of a special work,²⁵ whose extant portions still make impressive reading. A more scholarly taste was gratified by such works as those *On the Athenian Courtesans*, identifying those who appeared in literature;²⁶ for the philosophically inclined, there were treatises *On Pleasure*,²⁷ with detailed accounts of the hedonism which the authors took pleasure in condemning. Straightforward pornography was abundant.²⁸

¹⁹ Susemihl, op. cit. (n. 16), I, 148.

²⁰ Its importance for the ancient conception of him is realized by F. Taeger, *Alcibiades* (1943), 86 n. 10. The material goes back as far as Lysias XIV; [Andocides] IV, *Against Alcibiades*; and Antiphon fr. 67 (Blass). Douris contributed some melodramatic flourishes. Cf. D. A. Russell, *PCPhS* 192 (1966), 37, who points out that material on Alcibiades' life was quite unusually rich, and that he was early a subject for full-scale biographies. 'La mémoire d'Alcibiade occupait singulièrement l'opinion publique pendant les dix premières années du IV^e siècle', G. Dalmeyda in the Budé edition of Andocides (1960), 109.

²¹ Ed. with commentary by A. S. F. Gow, 1965. Stories about Euripides and Sophocles (XVIII), Diphilus (III, XVI), Philoxenus (IX, X), and the citharode Stratoniceus (XI), as well as the dynasts. In Rome, Volturnia Cytheris is found dining with senators, Cic., *ad fam.* IX, 26; cf. *JRS* 66 (1976), 100-4. Cf. G. Luck, 'Women's Role in Latin Love Poetry', in *Perspectives of Roman Poetry* (1974).

²² Fr. 263M: 'Phryne nobilis illa ubi amatorem improbius quem . . .'

²³ Plut., *Alexander* 38, from Clitarchus, *FGH* 137 fr. 11. *RE*, s.v. Thaïs, gives the efforts of modern historians to tone down, without rejecting, this romantic story. Plutarch, *Alexander* 40 and 67, further examples of his τρυφή. 'L'exemple de la chasteté d'Alexandre n'a pas tant fait de continents que celui de son ivrognerie a fait d'intempérants', observes Pascal (*Pensées*, edn. de la Pléiade, p. 1134).

²⁴ Plut., *Demetrius* 27: the dinner made by Lamia for Demetrius οὕτως ἠνθήσε τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν ὥστε ὑπὸ Λυγκέως τοῦ Σαμίου συγγεγραφθεῖαι. An account of a luxury meal by Hippolochus, Athenaeus 128-31, cf. Susemihl, op. cit. (n. 16), I, 486 f. All this is an obvious source for poems like Horace, *Serm.* II, 8, and for the conception, and reality, of the luxury of Sulla and Antony.

²⁵ Athenaeus 206d-209e. Susemihl speaks of 'the fabulous luxury and still unequalled splendour of this ancient "Great Eastern"', built with the aid of Archimedes' (I, 883). The luxuriousness of Cleopatra's shipping was still a conventional theme centuries later; Pacatus, *Pan. Lat.* III, 33: 'quis annalium scriptor aut carminum tuas illas, Cleopatra,

classes et elaborata navigia et purpurea cum auratis funibus vela tacuit?'

²⁶ We know of works by Ammonius, Antiphanes, Apollodorus, Aristophanes and Gorgias of Athens. Evidently there was a demand.

²⁷ E. Bignone, *L'Aristotele perduto e la formazione filosofica di Epicuro* I (1936), 276 f. Speusippus, Xenocrates, Theophrastus, Heraclides Ponticus, Clearchus, Aristoxenus and Strato all wrote on ἡδονή. The long fragment (50, Wehrli) of Aristoxenus' *Life of Archytas* (= Athenaeus 545 b seqq.) deals with luxury and pleasure in different parts of the world; cf. also Clearchus fr. 19 (Wehrli) (from his *Gergithius*), fr. 24, 25, 29, 30 etc. (from his 'Ερωτικός), and fr. 41-62 (from his *Bioi*). Fr. 47 of Clearchus gives an idea of the ostensible morality of such works—εὐλαβητέον οὖν τὴν καλουμένην τρυφήν, etc. Heraclides Ponticus περὶ ἡδονῆς praised pleasure as the highest good (55), said Pericles lived for pleasure (59)—and sometimes gave the 'moral' (fr. 61, ταῦτα πάντα ποιούσης τῆς ἀκολάστου τρυφῆς). The philosopher Aristippus was a focus for anecdotes setting out with censorious relish his hedonistic life and philosophy. Cicero invokes him (*ad fam.* IX, 26) after dining with Cytheris; Horace uses him (in *Serm.* II, 3, 100 and *Epp.* I, I, 18; I, 17, 14) as an emblematic figure, rather than as a philosopher whose works one read. That is to say, he was a creation of anecdote. His connection with Laïs (ἔχω ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἔχομαι) was important to this picture. Cf. G. Giannantoni, *I cirenaici* (1958), 13: 'Tutto cooperava a fare di lui una specie di simbolo, l'immagine più coerente dell'uomo filήδονος'.

²⁸ Sex-manuals etc., mostly published under the name of some famous ἑταῖρα: 'Philaenis', cf. *P. Oxy.* 2891, Athenaeus 335b-e, 457; 'Elephantis': Polybius XII, 13, Athenaeus 220 f., 162b. Improper fiction existed: Sisenna, praetor in 78 B.C., translated into Latin the *Μιλησιακά* of Aristides (the Parthians were shocked to find it in the baggage of Crassus' officers at Carrhae, Plut., *Crassus* 32). For the celebrity of these works at Rome, cf. Sueton., *Tib.* 43; *Priapea* 4; Martial XII, 43. On 'Philaenis', see K. Tsantsanoglu, 'The Memoirs of a Lady from Samos', in *ZPE* 12 (1973), 183 f.

Deliberate propaganda plays a large part here. Accusations of every kind of wantonness had always been part of the standard material of Greek oratory,²⁹ and Roman polemic was no less slanderous.³⁰ Yet even lies, as a constant atmosphere to live in, have an effect on public morale and in the long run influence behaviour. The accusations made against Sulla, Catiline, Caesar,³¹ and Antony,³² to select only the most eminent names—accusations of a life of reckless, profligate debauchery—were calculated to arouse in the audience a prurient envy familiar to anyone who opens one of the more vulgar Sunday newspapers. That it was expected by competent judges to produce an effect emerges clearly from the war of propaganda between Antony on the one hand, and Cicero and Octavian on the other. It emerges from that episode also that it did have an effect. Not only was Antony obliged to write *On My Drunkenness* in self-defence, but his eventual ruin was partly brought about by skilful propaganda against him.³³

Before treating Antony seriously, it is interesting to observe that the stereotype, of the man of action who lives a life of luxury, goes back a long way. It presents us with a striking example of the inter-play of experience and literature. Already with Alcibiades there was doubtless both a spectacular personality and a conscious playing up to the legend which surrounded him; Plutarch shows him performing an outrageous but trivial act 'so that the people should talk about that and not say worse things about him'.³⁴ Thereafter, the existence of the stereotype must itself have been important for the conception of themselves entertained by Alexander, Demetrius, Sulla, Antony and the rest—and of course it was self-reinforcing. Alexander's own example was an immensely powerful stimulus,³⁵ while I suspect that Antony, taking the East as his portion and emulating Sulla in marching on the West, will have said to himself not only 'Sulla potuit: ego non potero?'³⁶ but also 'Sulla fecit; ego non faciam?' On the other hand, the fact that polemic could present as sunk in debauchery even men of undeniable and spectacular achievements (Alexander, Sulla, Caesar, Antony) meant that the stereotype became constantly more credible and more capable of being used. The belief in the *exemplum* was powerful, and there the *exempla* were for depicting as a voluptuary the powerful adversary, whoever he was, of today; while on the other side his κόλκαες encouraged him to see himself in the glamorous and congenial role of the man who loves his pleasures but at need is formidable in action. Meanwhile, historians revelled in depicting and exaggerating his excesses.

Thus it is a complex process which creates and repeats the type of which the period from 350 B.C. to A.D. 100 presents so many examples. Sallust depicts Sulla³⁷ in just this way, and, shifting the emphasis more completely on to his vices, Catiline³⁸ too. Velleius' characterization of Maecenas is in the same mould,³⁹ and Maecenas seems to have played up to it, appearing in informal attire and unbuttoned even when left in charge of Italy.⁴⁰ Tacitus has a notorious affection for the type, discerning it in Sallustius Crispus,⁴¹ L.

²⁹ W. Süß, *Ethos* (1910), 249 f.

³⁰ R. G. M. Nisbet, edition of Cicero, *In Pisonem*, 192 f. If a prosecutor did not produce accusations of debauchery in youth, the omission was a striking and telling one: Cic., *Font.* 37.

³¹ The Bithynian scandal was played up for all it was worth, Plut., *Caesar* 1; Suet., *D. Caes.* 2 and 49. It was verified by Calvus ('Calvi Licini notissimus versus', Suet., *D. Caes.* 49), written up in prose by C. Memmius, ventilated in the *actiones* of Dolabella and the elder Curio, published in edicts by Bibulus, joked of by Cicero, sung of at his triumph—vexing him sufficiently to make him deny it on oath. Other stories were gleefully exploited: M. Actorius Naso told of his enormous presents to Queen Eunoe (Suet., *D. Jul.* 52); 'some Greek writers' are quoted for the assertion that Caesarion really was his son by Cleopatra and resembled him (*ibid.*).

³² K. Scott, 'Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's *De sua ebrietate*', *CP* 24 (1929), 133 f.: *idem*, 'The Political Propaganda of 44–30 B.C.', *MAAR* 11 (1933), 7 f.

³³ Stähelin in *RE* XI 767. 12 f.: 'hat sich . . . dieses Imponderabile . . . eben doch als schwerstes Gewicht auf die Wage des Schicksals gelegt.'

³⁴ Plut., *Alcibiades* 9.

³⁵ cf. O. Wippert, *Alexander—Imitatio und röm. Politik in der rep. Zeit*, Diss. Würzburg (1972).

³⁶ Said 'crebro' by Pompey in the Civil War, Cic., *ad Att.* ix. 10. 2.

³⁷ *Bj* 95: 'animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum sed gloriae cupidior; otio luxuriosus esse, tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata . . .'

³⁸ *BC* 5, 14–16, 60 (his heroic last fight). Cicero, at need, gives the same picture, *pro Cael.* 12–13: (of Catiline), 'flagrabant vitia libidinis apud illum; vigeabant etiam studia rei militaris', etc. 'The old Republic knew that vice and energy are not incompatible', R. Syme, *Tacitus* II, 545.

³⁹ II. 88. 2: 'ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane insonnis, providens atque agendi sciens; simul vero aliquid ex negotiis remitti posset, otio et mollitibus paene ultra feminam fluens'.

⁴⁰ Seneca, *Epp.* 114. 6. The tutor of Nero is never weary of attacking the vices of the friend of Augustus.

⁴¹ Tac., *Ann.* III. 30. 4: 'per cultum et munditias copiaeque et affluentia luxu propior. suberat tamen vigor animi . . .'

Vitellius,⁴² Otho,⁴³ Petronius,⁴⁴ Licinius Mucianus,⁴⁵ and T. Vinius.⁴⁶ The Sallustian background is obvious,⁴⁷ but the resemblance of the type to Greek models like Alcibiades and Demetrius shows it is older. Plutarch finds the same qualities in Lucullus⁴⁸ as well as in Antony,⁴⁹ and the pattern was probably influential in convincing him of the general proposition that 'great natures are most exposed to temptations'.⁵⁰ Peripatetic influence has been detected.⁵¹ In any case, in the late Republic and early Empire⁵² men existed who conformed to the pattern, and who no doubt did so consciously. Sir Ronald Syme, comparing Antony and Petronius, speaks of 'a class of Roman nobles by no means uncommon . . . whose unofficial follies did not prevent them from rising, when duty called, to services of conspicuous ability or the most disinterested patriotism. For such men the most austere of historians cannot altogether suppress a timid and perhaps perverse admiration'.⁵³ And by less punctilious persons the admiration has always been felt less timidly, even when mixed with a not unpleasing *frisson* of disapproval.

Above all, we must allow for the appeal to Antony of the career and character of Caesar. He succeeded, even more completely than Sulla, in uniting the man of pleasure and the man of action; Antony had before his eyes an example of marvellous glamour. Octavian, on the other hand, once he had become Augustus, rather hushed up the un-Augustan figure of his adoptive father. Antony served in Egypt under Gabinius, notorious for his *unguenta*, *vinum*, and dandified coiffure (Cic., *post red. in Sen.* 16; *pro Sestio* 18); a dancing man, or rather a dancing girl ('saltatrix': Cic., *pro Sest.* 18). Antony's liaison with the notorious Volumnia Cytheris, later the mistress and poetical inspiration of Gallus, brings him into pleasingly intimate connection with the elegiac poets; and his life as we see it in the late 40's and 30's is one of *nequitia* and amours. The scene Cicero so well records at *Philippic* II. 77—he comes home at night, disguised as a messenger, with a letter to Fulvia, 'amatorie scripta', promising to cast off his mistress and be true to her—is precisely in the ethos of elegy; see for example Propertius I. 3 and II. 29a. 'O hominem nequam!' comments Cicero; 'nequitiae caput' was what the virtuous called Propertius (II. 24a. 6).

It is fortunately not necessary for our purpose to speculate about the precise mixture of truth and invention in the stories of Antony's luxurious life at Alexandria. There was some truth, and there were some pure fantasies.⁵⁴ The important thing is the nature of the picture, and the fact that it could be projected as being at least in large part believable. We observe that in the propaganda of both sides orgies played a central role. The blasphemous banquet at which Octavian and his friends impersonated the twelve gods⁵⁵ was matched by the one, for example, at which Plancus danced the role of Glaucus, nude, kneeling, painted blue, and dragging a tail⁵⁶—or so they said. The apex of invention was the fleshy delights of extravagance, drunkenness and sexual licence. But Octavian's propaganda went one step further and with brilliant success represented Antony as enslaved and bewitched by Cleopatra; officially, he was reduced to her degraded appendage. Not only was war declared on her,

⁴² *Ann.* VI. 32. 4.

⁴³ *Ann.* XIII. 46. 3; *Hist.* I. 13 and 21.

⁴⁴ *Ann.* XVI. 18.

⁴⁵ *Hist.* I. 10.

⁴⁶ *Hist.* I. 48.

⁴⁷ R. Syme, *Tacitus* II, 538 n. 6; F. Krohn, *Personendarstellung bei Tacitus*, Diss. Leipzig (1934), 96. Valerius Asiaticus, too, combined luxury and *in rem publicam officia*. He showed undaunted courage at his death.

⁴⁸ *Lucullus* 39-41; *Cimon* 3; *Comparatio* 1.

⁴⁹ e.g. *Antony* 17.

⁵⁰ *Alcibiades* 2; *Agis* 2; *Coriol.* 1; *Themistocles* 2; *Demetrius* 1; *Moralia* 552b.

⁵¹ A. Dihle, *Studien zur gr. Biographie* (1956), 84 f.; D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* (1973), 105, 123.

⁵² Surely this kind of life, essentially aristocratic in conception and at the opposite remove from the caution of the good functionary, was a way in which some Roman nobles kept their self-respect under the early Empire, when consistent displays of talent and energy were dangerous. Had Tacitus wished, he might have recognized in it another path than that trodden by the virtuous Agricola and the weighty

M. Lepidus, 'inter abruptam contumaciam et deforme obsequium' (*Ann.* IV. 20). Perhaps he did.

⁵³ Nor they alone. In fiction, the Scarlet Pimpernel, Rudolf Rassendyll, Bulldog Drummond, Lord Peter Wimsey and James Bond all witness to the appeal of the type to more popular tastes. In life, the success of Churchill as a war leader owed something to his evident love of cigars, brandy and champagne.

⁵⁴ It is for instance well known that what we read of the club of Ἀμιμητόβιοι at Alexandria, *Plut., Antony* 28, is strikingly confirmed by the inscription *OGIS* 195, in which one Παράσιτος honours Ἀντωνίου μέγαν ἀμμητον ἀφοδισίσις; cf. P. M. Fraser in *JRS* 47 (1957), 71-3. There seems also no reason to suspect the evidence of Plutarch's great-grandfather and of Philotas (*Antony* 28, 68). But e.g. Plutarch, *Antony* 59, 'most of the charges brought by Calvisius were thought to be falsehoods', and some of the stories are too fantastic: cf. I. Becher, *Das Bild der Kleopatra* (1960), 39, 134.

⁵⁵ Suet., *D. Aug.* 70.

⁵⁶ Vell. Pat. II. 83, perhaps from Pollio; cf. G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality*, 85.

not on him, but his conduct was systematically interpreted as that of an enslaved sensualist throwing away military glory and self-respect for her. Thus, he remained inactive during the Perusine War because she 'carried him off to Alexandria'⁵⁷ and 'gave the orders';⁵⁸ he threw up the Parthian campaign 'culpa sua, quia hiemare in Armenia nolebat, dum ad Cleopatram festinat';⁵⁹ and in the end he flung away everything for her at Actium, 'being dragged along by the woman as if he had become incorporate with her and must go where she did'.⁶⁰

We turn now to Propertius and observe in his poems a life depicted which bears much more resemblance to the life ascribed to Antony than to that of a good Augustan citizen. Many writers have emphasized the 'anti-Augustan' side of the poet,⁶¹ more nakedly visible in him than in the other Augustans; it remains to show the model to which such a side is related. In contrast with the Roman life of *prudentia*, disciplined action, Propertius claims to live 'nullo consilio';⁶² he renounces the Roman marriage—'nos uxor numquam, numquam seducet amica,'⁶³ as Antony abused and rejected Octavia, that model of Roman matrons. He rejects military and political activity and career⁶⁴ at the behest of an imperious woman, his *domina*, who is not even respectable: 'Love is a god of peace';⁶⁵ and he will fight in no campaigns but those of love: 'hanc me militiam fata subire volunt'.⁶⁶ Consistently with this, he begs his friend not to leave his love for the army, and curses those who through greed for gain prefer war to love:

si fas est, omnes pariter pereatis avari,
et quisquis fido praetulit arma toro.⁶⁷

Propertius is inspired by works of art; Antony collected for Cleopatra the masterpieces of the East, enabling Octavian to restore them with a virtuous boast.⁶⁸ Antony's friends remonstrated with him and tried to cure him of his destructive passion;⁶⁹ Propertius' friends took exactly the same line.⁷⁰ The *χρηστοὶ καὶ σώφρονες* disapproved of Antony's whole way of life,⁷¹ as the *senes duri* criticized that of Propertius,⁷² and of Catullus before him. Octavian in 32 said that Antony had lost his self-mastery under the influence of drugs; Propertius says the same thing of himself.⁷³ Antony identified himself with Dionysus; Bacchus is surprisingly prominent in Propertius, as in the other Augustan poets, and wine is one of his commonest topics.⁷⁴ Antony wasted his precious time in immature and luxurious dal-

⁵⁷ Plutarch, *Antony* 28.

⁵⁸ Appian, *BC* v. 9.

⁵⁹ Livy, *Periocha* 130.

⁶⁰ Plut., *Antony* 66.

⁶¹ D. van Berchem, 'Cynthia ou la carrière contrariée', *Mus. Helv.* 5 (1948), 137 f.; J. Fontenrose, 'Propertius and the Roman Career', *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Class. Phil.* 13 no. 11 (1949), 371 f.; E. Burck, 'Römische Wesenszüge der aug. Liebeslegie', *Hermes* 80 (1952), 163 f. = *Vom Menschenbild*, 191 f.; J.-P. Boucher, *Etudes sur Properce* (1965), chap. 1.

⁶² Prop. I. 1. 6 cf. II. 12. 3: 'sine sensu vivere amantes'; Boucher, loc. cit. 17: for Antony, e.g. Plut., *Antony* 37, 62.

⁶³ Prop. II. 6. 41: cf. II. 7. 'Propertius rejects the approved Roman woman', Fontenrose, loc. cit. 378. This is the meaning of Prop. I. 1. 5: 'donec me docuit castas odisse puellas'—despite Allen in *YCS* 11 (1951), 266, Otis in *HSCP* 70 (1965), 40 f., and others; no 'nuance of irony' (Otis, 41), either. 'Irony' last resource of despairing commentators', quips E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, 457—a lapidary phrase.

⁶⁴ cf. Boucher, op. cit. (n. 61), 21 f., 'Refus de la carrière politique'.

⁶⁵ Prop. III. 5. 1, cf. I. 6. 30; III. 12. 4; Boucher, op. cit. (n. 61), 20, 'Refus de la guerre'.

⁶⁶ Prop. I. 6. 30.

⁶⁷ Prop. III. 12. 5 f.

⁶⁸ 'In templis omnium civitatum provinciae Asiae victor ornamenta reposui, quae spoliatis templis is cum quo bellum gesseram privatim possederat', *Res Gestae* 24. cf. *RE* XI 767. 41 f.; *JRS* 66 (1976), 91.

⁶⁹ e.g. Plutarch, *Antony* 68, 69.

⁷⁰ In the programmatic first poem, I. 1. 25: 'et vos qui sero lapsum revocatis, amici...', and in the poem in which he finally dismisses Cynthia, III. 24. 9: 'quod mihi non patrii poterant avertere amici.' Also in other poems, e.g. I. 4.

⁷¹ Plutarch, *Antony* 9. In a careful study of the Perusine War, E. Gabba finds that as early as 41, with stories circulating about his intrigues with women in Cappadocia and Egypt, 'even the Antonians themselves were not certainly satisfied by their leader's conduct', *HSCP* 75 (1971), 149.

⁷² e.g. Prop. II. 24, 30.

⁷³ Plut., *Antony* 60.1: καὶ προσεπέπε Καίσαρ, ὡς Ἀντώνιος μὲν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων οὐδ' αὐτοῦ κρατοῖη... Cf. Propertius I. 5. 6, III. 6. 25, IV. 7. 72. Plutarch says of Antony (*Vita* 37): 'He was not master of his own faculties, but as if he were under the influence of certain drugs or of magic rites, was ever looking towards her...'

⁷⁴ It is hard to feel that we fully understand the role of Bacchus in the work of these poets. P. Boyancé (*Entretiens Fondation Hardt* II, 196 f.) argues for the existence of a regular *sodalitium* to which the poets belonged, with Bacchus as its patron. E. T. Silk, *YCS* 21 (1969), 195 f., emphasizes the element of *recusatio* in Horace's poems to Bacchus, but ignores the poems of the other poets on the theme. A cool view: Margaret Hubbard, *Propertius*, 79, 'Probably it all seems more strange and wonderful to us than to a Roman, who saw many such things in the gardens of civilized villas and town houses' (sc. as the mystic paraphernalia of Bacchus).

liance; ⁷⁵ it is the shame and the glory of the elegiac poet to do likewise.⁷⁶ He cannot go on service, his fate is idleness and ignominy—

me sine, quem semper voluit fortuna iacere,
hanc animam extremam reddere nequitiae.⁷⁷

This is the meaning of his long *servitium* ⁷⁸ and the *infamia* it has brought him.

Above all, Antony is the slave of the woman. This is meant to be a bitter and cruel taunt, an utter condemnation of a degraded man,⁷⁹ but for the elegiac poet it is a boast: his beloved is his *domina*, and a cruel and arbitrary one. The conception is alien to Greek love poetry until a much later period, and scholars speak of the existence of 'a gap between the Greek and Roman writers, not only of time, but also of ideas'.⁸⁰ That gap is in part to be filled by the rhetorical and political material in which a man is accused of this relationship; that the poets accept and glory in it is a symptom of their whole attitude towards proper Roman values, of their boasting of a life which the respectable would altogether regard as *nequitia*, *inertia* and *infamia*.

It was indeed implicit in that attitude that the jeers of the world should become their slogans. Another pleasing example can be found in the only piece of Gallus' poetry about which we really know anything. At the end of the tenth *Eclogue*, Virgil presents Gallus wandering on the mountains of Arcadia, lamenting in mellifluous and sentimental verse his loss of Lycoris: she has left him and will cross the icy Alps (ll. 46 f.):

tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum)
Alpinas, a! dura, nives et frigora Rheni
me sine sola vides. a, te ne frigora laedant!
a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!

It has long been agreed that there lies behind these lines a poem of Gallus himself, as is implied by the famous note of Servius on l. 46 ('hi omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus') and this is confirmed ⁸¹ by the use of the same motifs in Prop. i. 8; cruelly abandoning me, says Propertius (l. 7):

tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas,
tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?

Cicero's speeches against Catiline do not seem the obvious place to look for a parallel, but in the second Catilinarian he declaims against the fashionable and vicious young men who

⁷⁵ Plut., *Antony* 28 (during the Perusine War): οἰχεσθαι φερόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐκεῖ δὲ μετράκιον σχολὴν ἀγοντος διατριβαῖς καὶ παιδιαῖς χρώμενον ἀναλίσκεν καὶ καθηδύπαθεῖν τὸ πολυτελέστατον ὡς Ἀντιφῶν εἶπεν ἀνάλωμα, τὸν χρόνον.

⁷⁶ cf. also Tibullus i. 1. 57. The point is wittily put by Ovid, *Ars* i. 504: 'arbitrio dominae tempora perde tuae.'

⁷⁷ Prop. i. 6. 25.

⁷⁸ e.g. F. O. Copley, 'Servitium Amoris in the Roman Elegists', *TAPA* 78 (1947), 285 f.

⁷⁹ As when Creon calls Haemon γυναικὸς δούλευμα, Soph., *Ant.* 756, or when the historian records of Claudius that he ἐδουλοκρατήθη καὶ ἐγυναικοκρατήθη, Cassius Dio LX. 2. 4. The disgrace of being dominated by a woman is a common theme of Roman oratory. Cic., *Verr.* II. 1. 140: 'Non te pudet, Verres, eius mulieris arbitratu gessisse praeturam?'; *ibid.* II. 3. 30; *ibid.* 77: 'Herbitenses cum viderent... se ad arbitrium libidinosissimae mulieris spoliatum iri...'; *ibid.* 78 on Tertia; *ibid.* II. 4. 136: 'Mulierum nobilium et formosarum gratia, quarum iste arbitrio praeturam per triennium gesserat'; *ibid.* 38; the role ascribed to Clodia in the *pro Caelio*, e.g. 32; 67: 'Fortis viros ab imperatrice... conlocatos'; 78: 'Ne patiamini M. Caelium libidini muliebri condonatum'; *pro Cluentio* 18, dominant role of the wicked Sasia; *Philipp.* VI. 4, (Antony) 'mulieri citius avarissimae paruerit quam senatui populoque Romano'. See nn. 3-5 above for the appearance in political invective of the dominant women Medea,

Omphale, Semiramis—who are for Propertius parallels to his mistress.

⁸⁰ Copley, loc. cit. (n. 78), 291. It is surely odd to discuss such a theme with no mention of Antony. I take this opportunity to comment on the theory of F. Della Corte, *Cleopatra, M. Antonio e Ottaviano nelle allegorie storico-umoristiche del tesoro di Boscoreale* (1951), 43, accepted by I. Becher, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der gr. und lat. Lit.* (1966), 57 n. 3, that the striking silver dish from Boscoreale depicts Cleopatra, in a satirical light (good photograph in *Monuments Piot* v (1899), Pl. 1). His theory would suit my argument well, especially the suggestion that a lion, representing Antony, is shown as tamed and bewitched by a female panther, representing Cleopatra: 'in posa decisamente pacifica, docile e incantato, come sotto il fascino dell'occhio d'un domatore' (p. 38). In fact the lion is not looking at the panther at all, and the identification of the main figure with Cleopatra seems most improbable. I am grateful to Professor Martin Robertson for the following note: 'The figure looks to me like a personification. In principle it could very well be a portrait at the same time, but it doesn't look to me very personalized and certainly not like Cleopatra'. The older view, that it represents Africa or Egypt, seems much more likely. Other representations in art remain; cf. A. Oxé in *Bonn. Jahrb.* 138 (1933), 81 f., esp. 94 f.; H. Volkmann, *Kleopatra* (1953), 134.

⁸¹ P. J. Enk, edition of Propertius I (1946), 79. J. Hubaux in *Miscellanea Properziana* (1957), 34.

will, he hopes, leave Rome and join Catiline: 'qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiam si Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi? quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas *pruinās et nives* perferent?' (23). As with 'slavery to a woman', 'tender feet amid the ice' appears from opposite presuppositions as a cutting joke or as a tender lament. For us it is interesting that the most characteristic note of the elegiac temperament can be so closely related to a device of rhetoric by which an orator, in the real world, actually got important things done. Cicero is not trying to transport his audience into an ideal realm of exotic fictions, but to present recognizable and real people in a special way, to lead to decisive action.

Even the sensibility of Propertius for death⁸² finds far more of an echo in Antony than in Augustus. On his death-bed, we are told, Augustus 'asked his friends whether they thought he had played well the comedy of life, and asked them, in the familiar Greek tag of the actors, to "dismiss him with applause"'; he died in the arms of his wife with the words 'Livia, nostri coniugii memor vive, ac vale'.⁸³ This death, so exquisitely in harmony with his life, makes him depart with irony and uxoriousness. For Propertius, in dramatic contrast, death is envisaged as romantically tragic.⁸⁴ Sometimes the lovers are to crown a life of suffering and devotion by dying together: whether as a threat,

sed non effugies: mecum moriaris oportet;
hoc eodem ferro stillet uterque cruor,⁸⁵

or as a promise,

ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa parentis . . .
me tibi ad extremas mansurum, vita, tenebras;
ambos una fides auferet, una dies.⁸⁶

Sometimes she will survive him, and then her vividly imagined grief will console him for death;⁸⁷ beyond the grave they will be together.⁸⁸ Tibullus too prays to die in Delia's arms:

te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
te teneam moriens deficiente manu.⁸⁹

Long before his death Antony had provided in his will that his body should be sent to Alexandria and buried beside Cleopatra's⁹⁰—an instruction which Octavian turned to good account in propaganda; and in the end we find that, as Alcibiades was accompanied to the last by his faithful mistress Timandra⁹¹ and was buried by her, so in their last few days Antony and Cleopatra dissolved their society of Inimitable Lovers 'and founded another, not at all inferior in daintiness and luxury and extravagance, which they called the Partners in Death', συναπθοθανούμενοι.⁹² Antony died in her arms, and Plutarch makes her address a passionate prayer to his spirit before she took her own life:⁹³ ' . . . Hide me there with you and bury me with you, for of all my many sufferings none has been so great and so cruel as this short time that I have lived without you '.

How early was this story of the death of Antony and Cleopatra? We know that her physician Olympus wrote an account of her last days, which Plutarch used,⁹⁴ and it is natural to suppose that this was produced when interest was at its height, shortly after the

⁸² e.g. Boucher, *op. cit.* (n. 61), ch. 3: 'Le sentiment de la mort'.

⁸³ Suetonius, *D. Aug.* 99.

⁸⁴ Prop. I. 17. 19 f.; 19; II. I. 71 f.; 24. 35 f.

⁸⁵ Prop. II. 8. 25.

⁸⁶ Prop. II. 20. 17 f.; cf. II. 28. 39: 'una ratis fati nostros portabit amores.'

⁸⁷ Prop. I. 17. 21.

⁸⁸ Prop. I. 19. 11 f.; IV. 7. 93 f.

⁸⁹ Tibull. I. I. 59 f.

⁹⁰ Dio L. 3. 5: τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ σὺν ἑκείνῃ ταφῆναι ἔκεκελεύκει; Plutarch, *Ant.* 58. 8.

⁹¹ Plut., *Alcib.* 39.6. Scholars give what seems to me rather surprising credence to the vaguely reported story (λέγουσι, says Plutarch) that this Timandra was the mother of one of the courtesans called Laïs: so Göber in *RE* sv. Timandra (3), Geyer in *RE* sv. Laïs (2). In view of the contradictory reports about these women, such a natural piece of gossip prosopography is probably worth nothing.

⁹² Plut., *Antony* 71.

⁹³ *ibid.* 84.

⁹⁴ *ibid.* 82.

event.⁹⁵ Oral sources, particularly important for this *Life* of Plutarch,⁹⁶ will have been copious and fascinating; and of course a version had to exist to explain to Rome her suicide,⁹⁷ and the representations of her at the triumph in 29 B.C. If, as seems most likely, Propertius published Book I in 29 B.C., and Book II by 25 B.C.,⁹⁸ it seems pretty certain that the *Liebestod* of this spectacular pair, who after all had attempted to rule the world, will have been immediately present to him. And Antony, in that story, is shown dying a romantic Propertian death, after living, in many respects, the life which Propertius wished to live; while conversely the Roman audience will have found the life Propertius claimed to live all the more plausible, because such recent history afforded such a sensational instance of it in Antony.⁹⁹

Of course it is not being claimed that Propertius was inspired to his conception of the life of love only by the career of Antony. In history, satirists had long ago compared Pericles' relationship with Aspasia to that of Heracles with Omphale,¹⁰⁰ and the Successors of Alexander offered plenty of examples of men overcome with the life of pleasure. The late Republic, too, was familiar with the type long before Antony. And quite apart from this sort of source, Propertius draws on other types of model: on contemporary experience, on his Latin predecessors, on Hellenistic poetry. But such a life as that of Antony does, I think, have a particular interest. Antony was no doubt influenced, in pursuing the sort of life he led, by examples both from life and from 'literature', as well as by natural inclination; and in terms of self-interest, even, the role of the dashing and careless soldier was one which made him popular with the troops—for a time.¹⁰¹ Where his life took a particularly interesting turn was in concentrating at the end on one woman, and also in its tragic conclusion.

Antony, in the latter part of his career, was driven on not only by his own impulses and political calculations, but also by the existence of literary stereotypes, which from the one side lured him into the role of the dashing hedonist, and from the other pilloried him as a typical monster of vice. Such a career is itself a great example of the way life and literature affected each other. It is a further turn of the same spiral when Propertius finds a literary *persona* for himself which so strikingly recalls the career of Antony; and yet another when in poems actually about Antony he expresses an attitude at variance indeed with that proper to an Augustan poet, but in harmony with other elements of his poetry. After all, if Antony had won the Battle of Actium, Propertius would have been an Antonian poet.¹⁰²

Balliol College, Oxford

⁹⁵ Jacoby observes, on Socrates of Rhodes (*FGH* no. 192), that 'very many Greeks' must have written of Antony's career, immediately after Actium, in a sense acceptable to Octavian, to explain to the Eastern world what had happened. D. A. Russell, *Plutarch*, 140, conjectures that Antony's companions at the end, Aristocrates and Lucilius, may have left written accounts (for 'p. 1' read '69.1').

⁹⁶ cf. H. J. Rose in *Annals of Arch. and Anthropol.*, *Liverpool* II (1924), 25 f.

⁹⁷ Some (Nisbet and Hubbard, *Commentary on Horace, Odes* I, p. 410) doubt the historical reality of Cleopatra's suicide.

⁹⁸ So Margaret Hubbard, *op. cit.* (n. 2), 43 f.

⁹⁹ It is pleasing that Antony's son Jullus Antonius was a close friend of the witty and indiscreet Julia.

¹⁰⁰ Plutarch, *Pericles* 24. The same image is used by Plutarch of Antony: *Comparatio* 3. 2.

¹⁰¹ Plut., *Antony* 6 and 43. V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* (1891) I, 429, speaks of Antony's 'sinnliche Sultansnatur und sein ritterlicher Charakter'; despite the charm of this descrip-

tion, I think F. Taeger is nearer to the truth, at least of his final period, when he says, *Charisma* II (1960), 92: 'In masslos barbarischer Steigerung überschlug sich in Antonius das späthellenistische Lebensgefühl', and finds in him a deracinated Roman lost between Rome and Greece. O. Wippert, *Alexander—Imitatio*, 205, is at least premature to say that 'es kann heute als allgemeine Ansicht gelten, dass Antonius keineswegs ein entarteter Römer gewesen ist'; and his own account in pp. 205-13 of Antony's 'Absicht einer dynastischen Politik' and his conception of himself as a successor of Alexander ('er war mehr als König oder Grosskönig, denn er hatte die Titel gegeben', 210), especially p. 212, seems effectively to concede what he denies.

¹⁰² Professor Millar points out the suggestiveness for Augustan literature of the anecdote in Macrobius, *Sat.* II. 4. 29-30: a man produced to Octavian after Actium a trained crow, which could say 'Ave Caesar victor imperator', but was forced to reveal that he also had a second, which had been taught to say 'Ave victor imperator Antoni'.