

PROPERTIUS' MONOBIBLOS
AND CATULLUS 51

A commentator has recently written the following about one of the Roman personal poets: "He is, in a sense, the first troubadour, avowing his desperate and despairing love for a great lady, with nothing to offer but himself and his poetry ... The felicity to which he aspires is beyond human imagining, yet his passion is such that it may, and indeed does, achieve the impossible. And from the beginning there is foreknowledge that even so it will not be long before the bright day is done and we are for the dark."¹)

One could hardly ask for a more apt summing-up of the dominant themes of those elegies of Propertius in which his devotion of his life and art to love and to love poetry is unfolded. Passages from Propertius Book I come flowing immediately to mind in support and clarification of each point made in Wormell's assessment. That poet's desperate and despairing love for a great lady is avowed from the start:

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis,
contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.
tum mihi constantis deiecit lumina fastus
et caput impositis pressit Amor pedibus,
donec me docuit castas odisse puellas
improbus, et nullo vivere consilio.
et mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno,
cum tamen adversos cogor habere deos. (I.i, 1-8)

Later in the book comes corroboration of the writer's second point about the part played in the poet's desperate suit by his poetry:

nos, ut consuemus, nostros agitamus amores.
atque aliquid duram quaerimus in dominam;
nec tantum ingenio quantum servire dolori
cogor et aetatis tempora dura queti.

¹) D. E. W. Wormell in L. Wallach (ed.), *The Classical Tradition* (Ithaca, 1967), p. 193.

hic mihi conteritur vitae modus, haec mea fama est,
 hinc cupio nomen carminis ire mei.
 me laudent doctae solum placuisse puellae,
 Pontice, et iniustas saepe tulisse minas. (I.vii, 5-12)

If we turn to poem viii of the same book we can find lines that appositely illustrate the observation about the felicity to which the poet aspires, and which, by a combination of passion and poetry, he achieves to a degree beyond the capacity of ordinary mortals to imagine:

sunt igitur Musae, neque amanti tardus Apollo,
 quis ego fretus amo: Cynthia rara mea est.
 nunc mihi summa licet contingere sidera plantis:
 sive dies seu nox venerit, illa mea est. (41-44)

The final point in the comment has an equally apt application to the closing verses of Propertius I, xix:

quam vereor, ne te contempto, Cynthia, busto
 abstrahat a nostro pulvere iniquus Amor,
 cogat et invitam lacrimas siccare cadentis.
 flectitur assiduis certa puella minis.
 quare, dum licet, inter nos laetemur amantes:
 non satis est ullo tempore longus amor. (21-26²)

As a matter of fact Wormell was not referring to Propertius at all when he wrote the passage I have quoted. Its proper context is an article entitled "Catullus as Translator", where it constitutes part of the author's commentary on Catullus 51. My use of Wormell's comments in this way affords a neat illustration of the *color Catullianus* in Latin love elegy. As a general observation this is not, of course, new; Catullan influence in one way or another upon elegy has often been noted³). But it is especially noticeable in Propertius whose pose, particularly in Book I, is

2) The applicability of this point to Propertius can especially be seen, however, in a couplet outside the Monobiblos:

dum nos fata sinunt, oculos satiemus amore:
 nox tibi longa venit, nec reditura dies. (II, xv, 23-4)

3) See, e. g., B. Otis, "Propertius' Single Book", *H.S.C.P.*, 70 (1965), pp. 37-38. Cf., most recently, F. Solmsen in E. Lefèvre (ed.), *Monumentum Chiloniense: Studien zur augusteischen Zeit* (Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 270-272, and the bibliography cited there in the notes.

probably the most nearly Catullan among the elegists⁴). So the really interesting thing revealed by this somewhat fraudulent use of Wormell's remarks is the facility with which it has allowed Propertian light to be projected on one scholar's assessment of Catullus 51. The possibility thus opened of considering this poem in the light of Propertian elegy seemed to suggest a fresh point of departure for another look at this much-examined piece. I hope to show that inspection of Catullus 51 from this vantage point can contribute something to the very vexed question of the poems' fourth stanza – the famous *otium* stanza.

The general consensus among scholars seems still to be that the point of the godlike, or god-challenging, status attributed to the anonymous man in the first stanza of Catullus' poem is to indicate his happiness⁵):

ille mi par esse deo videtur,
 ille, si fas est, superare divos,
 qui sedens adversus identidem te
 spectat et audit. (1-4)

This heavenly felicity, which receives from the addition of Catullus' second verse an emphasis not found in Sappho⁶), derives from the ability of *ille* to feast his eyes again and again (*identidem*, v. 3) on the beauty of Lesbia, and his ears on the sweet sound of her laughter (*dulce ridentem*, v. 5). That is to say that his godlike felicity springs from his intimate proximity to the girl, and his total absorption in the boons that brings. In I. xii Propertius makes very much the same point in his own case. Allowing for the difference that he writes as one separated from, rather than not yet admitted to, the desired presence of his *puella*, and includes the peculiarly elegiac conceit in *flere* (v. 15), there is a parallel here:

4) Otis, *art. cit.* (n. 3), sees Propertius in the poems of the Monobiblos deliberately "recalling the Catullan situation", but in a different tone – one of "rhetorically resigned despair", derived from Gallus (p. 11).

5) So, e. g., R. Lattimore, "Sappho 2 and Catullus 51", *C. P.*, 39 (1944), p. 184; D. A. Kidd, "The Unity of Catullus 51", *Aumla*, 20 (1963), p. 306; E. A. Fredricksmeier, "On the Unity of Catullus 51", *T. A. P. A.*, 96 (1965), p. 157; S. Commager, "Notes on some poems of Catullus", *H. S. C. P.*, 70 (1965), pp. 89–90 (quoting *vita beata... par et similis deorum*: Cicero, *N. D.* 2. 61. 153).

6) Kidd, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 301.

nec mihi consuetos amplexu nutrit amores
Cynthia, nec nostra dulcis in aure sonat. (5-6)

felix qui potuit praesenti flere puellae. (15)

By contrast, when Propertius is restored to the same degree of intimacy with Cynthia as is implied between *ille* and Lesbia in Catullus' first stanza⁷), he too can claim a felicity approaching the godlike state that Catullus attributes to *ille*. Something of this has already been illustrated in I. viii, 41-44 quoted above. But an even closer Propertian parallel with the situation in the Catullan stanza occurs outside the Monobiblos, at II. xv:

quod mihi si secum talis concedere noctes
illa velit, vitae longus et annus erit.
si dabit haec multas, fiam immortalis in illis:
nocte una quivis vel deus esse potest. (37-40)

There are also elements in the second stanza of Catullus' poem which are interesting when viewed in this light. Their interest is similarly derived from the fact that they not only can be illustrated by Propertian parallels but are also additions by Catullus without a counterpart in his Sapphic model. The connotations of *miser* (v. 5) are thus introduced by Catullus and underlined by the strong emphasis imparted to the word by its first position in its clause, coming as it does even before the relative pronoun⁸). It seems not unreasonable to be reminded of the similar emphasis given to the same word in the first line of Propertius' Monobiblos:

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis.

There too its crucial role is marked, by the careful structure of the line on which the *miser amator* is centrally suspended.

A similar feature in this second stanza is the substitution for Sappho's rather mild *καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν* (v. 6) of the much more intense and violent reaction that Catullus attributes to himself: *omnis eripit sensus mihi* (vv. 5-6). Once again Propertian parallels can be drawn. If we turn again to I. i, which marks a stage in his *amor* for Cynthia pretty much akin to that of Catullus for Lesbia in 51, we read of a *furor* (v. 7) which forces the newly-smitten lover *nullo vivere consilio* (v. 6). And, to go outside

7) For these implications see Fredricksmeier, *art. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 161-2.

8) See Kidd, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 301. Cf. Wormell, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 191-2.

the Monobiblos once more, we find Propertius, in his elegy analysing the nature of love (II, xii), writing thus of the painter who first depicted Cupid as a boy:

is primum vidit sine sensu vivere amantes. (3)

If we are correct in seeing at Sappho vv. 7-8 and, by inference, at Catullus v. 8 a reference to the suffering lover's inability to speak, this too can be paralleled in Propertius I. i:

fortiter et ferrum saevos patiemur et ignes,
sit modo libertas quae velit ira loqui. (27-28)

So much is Propertius in the grip of the *furor amoris* that he will bear the harshest treatment for his loss of faculties as long as it restores his freedom to speak out about his condition. Precisely the same symptom of the initial stage of love – this loss of ability to speak – is prophesied for Gallus at I. v, on the basis of Propertius' own experience:

a, mea contemptus quotiens ad limina curres
cum tibi singultu fortia verba cadent. (13-14)
et quaecumque voles fugient tibi verba querenti. (17)

Even if we accept the interpretation of Sappho vv. 7-8 and Catullus v. 8 which prohibits this last parallel with Propertius in stanza two⁹), the same parallel is applicable to the third stanza with *lingua sed torpet* (v. 9). So too Catullus' *tenuis flamma* in this stanza (vv. 9-10) turns up as a frequent synonym for *amor* in Propertius¹⁰). Also in the third stanza, the last of the symptoms described by Catullus again involves the sort of intensification of Sappho's simple statement that was involved at vv. 5-6 with *omnes eripit sensus*. Her mere inability to see (v. 11) gives way to the Catullan hyperbole of *gemina teguntur/lumina nocte* (vv. 11-12) producing what has been styled a "magic trance"¹¹) and referred to as the "image of the blackout at the end of stanza three"¹²). Once again there are parallels from the Monobiblos of Propertius for this erotic fainting fit. Twice does Propertius cite the condi-

9) As does G. Wills, "Sappho 31 and Catullus 51", *G. R. B. S.*, 8 (1967), p. 191, n. 47; p. 193, n. 48.

10) E. g., I. vi. 7; ix. 17.

11) By Wormell, *loc. cit.* (n. 1).

12) Fredricksmeier, *art. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 159-60.

tion in Book I as an indicator of the true love that has finally laid low his friend Gallus:

cum te complexa morientem, Galle, puella
vidimus et longa ducere verba mora. (x, 5-6)

vidi ego te toto vinctum languescere collo. (xiii, 15)

It might be objected that true parallelism here is marred by the fact that Gallus' "magic trance" or "blackout" comes only on actual physical contact with his *puella*. If so, the battle between the two pairs of eyes at I. i, 1-4 (with the *ocelli* of Cynthia victorious over the *constantis lumina fastus* of Propertius) provides us still with a fair Propertian analogy for the devastating effect on the *miser amator*, Catullus, exercised by the mere sight of Lesbia.

By means of these parallels between Catullus 51 and passages from Propertius Book I, I have tried to illustrate the extent to which Catullus' poem shows features which, in the hands of the elegists, have come to be regarded as so much a part of the tradition of Latin personal love poetry. Not only where he follows Sappho, but in particular where he supplements his model, Catullus produces a poem in which is reflected the same tradition of star-crossed lovers, the same attitudes to love and love poetry, as those taken up by Propertius in the Monobiblos¹³). I hope thus far to have illustrated this by the Propertian light shed on each of Catullus' first three stanzas. I believe, furthermore, that similar light can be brought to bear on stanza 4 of Catullus 51 and its problematical *otium*.

Discussions of *otium* in Catullus' fourth stanza – usually with the object of arguing for or against the unity of poem 51 as it stands in the manuscripts – have mostly been based on an

13) Both poets will have been heirs to the tradition of Greek erotic poetry, as in the *Anthologia Palatina* (Cf. B. Lier, *Ad topica carminum amatoriorum symbolae* [Stettin, 1914], *passim*); and, on the Roman side, to the many erotic motifs which the Roman personal poets shared with Plautus and Terence. For the idea that the successful lover stands comparison with the gods see, e. g., Plaut. *Poen.* 276; *Curc.* 167-8; Ter. *And.* 959-61. The *miser amator* motif had also cropped up often enough in Roman Comedy. See, e. g., Plaut. *Merc.* 588-90; *Curc.* 151-2, 188; *Mil.* 1250-3 (striking in its comic reversal of sex-roles, with Acroteleutium as *exclusa* and *miser*). Parallels from Roman Comedy for the idea of love as a form of mental derangement are numerous (see K. Preston, *Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy* (Chicago, 1916), pp. 8-9).

approach to the word itself from what might be called a traditional Roman viewpoint. This has generally applied, regardless of whether the argument favoured unity or separation. In the nineteenth century Ellis objected to the "violence" done to the poem by the inclusion of the fourth stanza, in what he saw as the disproportion between the catalogue of love's physical effects in the first three stanzas and the "single strophe of virtuous soliloquy"¹⁴). This view has been carried into our own day by Fordyce who has also seen violence in the *otium* stanza, as an abrupt moralizing soliloquy corresponding to nothing in Sappho's poem and completely different in tone from what precedes it¹⁵). Likewise, Wilkinson has rejected stanza 4 as turning what he believes (rightly, in my view) to be the poet's initial declaration of love into a "self-mockery unflattering to his beloved"¹⁶). All these interpretations depend on a view of *otium* that is traditional enough; so too, by and large, do the inter-

14) R. Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus* (Oxford, 1876), p. 140. Cf. the celebrated *dictum* of W. S. Landor, *Foreign Quarterly Review* 29 (1842), p. 354: "This Ode ends, and always ended, with *lumina nocte*". Kidd, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 298, notes that the lead set by Statius (1566) in detaching the final stanza was not much followed until the nineteenth century when a vogue for so doing set in.

15) C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus* (Oxford, 1961), p. 219. The discussion by Lattimore, *art. cit.* (n. 5), seems to make it hazardous thus to deny *tout court* that anything in Sappho's poem corresponds to Catullus' fourth stanza. For arguments against Fordyce's objection based on difference of tone see Kidd, *art. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 299-300. His close analysis of the two poems at pp. 300ff. establishes the fact that Catullus' first three stanzas, with their omissions, changes of emphasis, and additions, are so far from being merely a translation of Sappho that there is no reason for rejecting the *otium* stanza as an interloper.

16) L. P. Wilkinson in Fondation Hardt, *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, 2 (1953), pp. 47-8. See, however, H. Akbar Khan, "Observations on two poems of Catullus", *Rh. M.*, 114 (1971), pp. 159ff. He adduces numerous parallels to show that, as well as imparting greater weightiness to a claim or assertion, the use of such a lofty paradigm as that employed by Catullus in his *otium* stanza can be so designedly out of proportion to the human parallel as to show the human experience in a somewhat comic light. On this view there is a deft touch in the application of the moralising of vv. 13-16 to Catullus' situation which is flattering to himself ("Not only is the element of self-reproach mitigated, but Catullus' rapprochement with such imposing entities as *reges* and *beatae urbes* is flattering to him", p. 163), and not at all unflattering to Lesbia ("Since the glamorous comparison... is due to Lesbia's role in Catullus' life, the implications of this stanza are flattering to her as well", p. 164).

pretations of those who argue for acceptance of the *otium* stanza where it stands¹⁷).

But we should bear in mind that Catullus was the poet who wrote the *lepidum novum libellum/arida modo pumice expolitum* announced in poem 1; who thumbed his nose at traditional morality in poem 5:

vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus
rumoresque senum severiorum
omnes unius aestimemus assis (1-3);

who made an ostensibly private note to Licinius Calvus the occasion for public celebration of a decidedly untraditional view of *otium* in poem 50¹⁸). One might ask whether, in the light of all this, Catullus was likely to concern himself at 51, 13-16 with considerations of *otium* from such a traditional stance as is usually postulated here. The emphasis at v. 5 on *miser*, itself an importation into the poem by Catullus with no counterpart in Sappho, has already suggested that this poem lies in the literary tradition of the *miser amator*, with a code of conduct well outside the framework of traditional Roman values¹⁹).

I believe that we can once again turn to the *miser amator* who announces himself in the opening line of the Propertian Monobiblos for illustration of what Catullus might have meant when he wrote *otium*, *Catulle, tibi molestum est*. In Propertius' case too the attraction exercised by the sight of the beloved has the

17) For the traditional view of *otium* in vv. 15-16 and the significance, according to this view, of the transition to it from Catullus' personal *otium* in vv. 13-14, see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 212-213.

18) See C. Segal, "Catullan *otiosi*: The Lover and the Poet", *G. & R.* 2nd. ser., 17 (1970), pp. 25-31. Note especially: "This defiance of Roman busy-ness for a life of love and poetry is implicit in much (though not all) of the Catullan corpus and helps prepare the way for the private world of the Augustan elegists" (p. 28).

19) See above, p. 315 with note 8. Also Commager, *art. cit.* (n. 5) p. 88: "In reading 51, Catullus' contemporaries would think not only of Sappho, but would see mirrored in his poem the whole tradition of stricken lovers. Even the word *miser* (5), which Catullus adds to Sappho, seems less a particular description than the badge of a stock figure, the *miser amator*". For Lucretius' distinction between the love of the *miser* and the less frenetic pleasure of the *sanus*, see *D. R. N.* IV. 1073 ff. How much at home, as a technical term of the *sermo amatorius*, the word *miser* becomes in Catullus' poetry can be seen at poems 45, 21; 8, 1 and 10; and 76, 12. Cf. A. W. Allen, "Elegy and the Classical Attitude toward Love: Propertius I, 1", *Y. C. S.*, 11 (1950), 259-60.

initial effect of robbing him of the power of action, of rendering him incapable of *negotium*. In the first elegy of Book I we have the familiar topos of the man in love rendered inert by love's onset, in contrast to the man of action. Propertius addresses to Tullus the mythological *exemplum* of Milanion, who knows success in love as a result of conspicuous lack of *otium*:

Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
saevitiam durae contudit lasidos (9-10),

in contrast to the present state of Propertius himself:

in me tardus Amor non ullas cogitat artis,
nec meminit notas, ut prius, ire vias. (17-18)

Might not the *otium* that Catullus finds so *molestum* at 51, 13 also be visualised as derived from the effects described in stanzas 1-3 – the effects of a *tardus Amor* at least as oppressive as those described by Propertius at 1, 3-4. I suggest that it is by this sort of lack of enterprise in love, an inert surrender to the emotional and physical effects of love that reach their climax in stanza 3, that Catullus finds himself afflicted in stanza 4; and that it is by this sort of *otium* that he is held back from the god-like bliss of anonymous *ille* of stanza 1²⁰).

Tullus, to whom is addressed this first Propertian statement of the contrast between inert lover and man of action, becomes himself the figure of the man of action in Propertius' next treatment of the subject at I. vi. Here a further stage is reached in the erotic *otium* theme. While eschewing the traditional Roman *negotium* of the young man in public life (*securis*, v. 19; *iura*, v. 20; *armatae cura patriae*, v. 22) undertaken by Tullus, Propertius reveals the double perspective from which devotion to the *vita iners* of the love poet can be viewed. At v. 26 he calls such a commitment by one of the names (*nequitia*) which, according to the traditional code of Roman behaviour, were properly to be attached to it²¹). But within four verses he is applying to the

20) Fredricksmeier, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 161, may be correct in seeing the condition of *ille* (*sedens... identidem*) pictured precisely as that of *otium*, quoting in support Cicero's version of the first of Epicurus' *Kyriai Doxai*: *quod beatum et immortale est, id nec habet nec exhibet cuiquam negotium* (*N. D.* 1. 30.85). But for a mortal to have aspired so high, whether a hero like Hercules (*N. D.* 2. 33.62) or the love-hero we have here, implies the prior exercise of fairly energetic *negotium*.

21) See A. J. Woodman, "Some Implications of *otium* in Catullus

lover's condition a term that invests it with connotations of considerable energy and enterprise:

non ego sum laudi, non natus idoneus armis:
hanc me militiam fata subire volunt. (29-30)

The context is Propertius' first fully developed statement of the theme frequently present in his poetry of love as a kind of war²²). The *laus* and *arma* here rejected represent all the political, military, and social aspirations expected of young men by the normal Roman code of behaviour – the code represented by Catullus' *senes severiores* (5. 2). Like Catullus, Propertius and the other writers of elegy abandoned these in favour of their own lovers' code which imposed its own duty²³). The proper *negotium* of the young man devoted to this *ratio vitae* is the vigorous pursuit of love itself, to avoid having diffidence mistaken for indifference:

a pereat, si quis lentus amare potest (I. vi, 12)

This Propertian verse might well serve as a motto for the Catullus who is impeded by *otium molestum* at 51, 13.

On this interpretation, Fordyce will have been mistaken in rendering v. 13 by "Your trouble, Catullus, is not having anything to do"²⁴). On the contrary, at this stage of the affair the *ratio vitae* of lovers imposes on Catullus the duty of energetic action – the *militia* of love itself, which is the very antithesis of *otium*²⁵). Those who, with Fordyce, cite Ovid's references to *otium* at *R. A.* 135 ff. are not, if this view is correct, adducing parallels to the point. Their point is love's remedy, escape from the effects of a love no longer welcome. Catullus' desire in poem 51 is, as we have seen, for an escape from the effects of a so far unreciprocated love, for love's fulfilment and the achievement of the blessed happiness of *ille* in stanza 1. The apposite Ovidian parallel for this is *Amores* I. ix:

51.13-16", *Latomus*, 25 (1966), pp. 217-226, for the close relationship of *otium* to this and other terms in the language of traditional Roman morality.

22) See R. J. Baker, "Miles annosus: the military Motif in Propertius", *Latomus*, 27 (1968), pp. 322-349.

23) Cf. J.-M. André, *L'Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine* (Paris, 1966), pp. 403 ff.

24) Fordyce, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 219. I agree entirely with Woodman, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 219, that this is a "rather wilful translation".

25) André, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 12, is convinced from his study of the word in both literal and figurative contexts that "l'otium primitif est une notion militaire, qu'il désigne le silence des armes".

quos petiere duces animos in milite forti,
 hos petit in socio bella puella viro. (5-6)

ipse ego segnis eram discinctaque in otia natus;
 mollierant animos lectus et umbra meos;
 inpulit ignavum formosae cura puellae,
 iussit et in castris aera merere suis.
 inde vides agilem nocturnaue bella gerentem:
 qui nolet fieri desidiosus, amet. (41-46)

Ovid found, just as Catullus had, that *otium* was *molestum* and inimical to the proper response to love. So he answered the call to arms²⁶). It is a similar call to action in love's warfare, issued in a manner more oblique than the characteristic clarion call of Ovid, which I believe we are meant to see Catullus addressing to himself at the beginning of stanza 4²⁷).

This conclusion seems almost to have been reached by Woodman, but he deliberately rejected it²⁸). Noting the difference in standpoint towards *otium* marked by references like those at Ovid, *R. A.* 135 ff. and *Amores* I. ix, he allows to Catullus only the day-dreams of the type that are attached to the traditional view of *otium*. He may in general be correct in saying that "Catullus was not like the flippant Ovid, nor indeed the impetuous Propertius". But if this is meant to imply that the type of humour inherent in the idea of love as a *militia* is alien to Catullus, I believe he is mistaken. Catullus was capable of acknowledging the humorous side of the lover's situation, as several recent, and not so recent, studies have shown²⁹). As far as the

26) For the treatment of this theme throughout the *Amores* see E. Thomas, "Variations on a Military Theme in Ovid's *Amores*", *G. & R.*, 2nd ser., 11 (1964), pp. 151-165.

27) This conclusion obviously involves dissent from the recent suggestion by K. Quinn that poem 51 could stand as Wilkinson's "feeler" (see above, n. 16) with the addition of the fourth stanza (traditionally viewed) as a wry final comment when Catullus came to write poem 11, at the time of preparing the collection for publication (*Catullus: An Interpretation* [London, 1972], pp. 58-9; 166-75). The difficulty in this has been seen by E. J. Kenney (*C. R.*, n. s. 26 [1976], p. 29): "If c. 11 was written at that time to form a counterpart to c. 51, would not the qualification conveyed by the added (substituted?) stanza weaken the contrast?" But if the implications of *otium* in the final stanza are as I have argued in the text, the stanza, even if not a later addition, is neither a qualification nor "still an embarrassment" (Kenney) but eminently apposite as part of an *initial* statement of love.

28) See *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 220, note 1.

29) E. P. Morris, "An Interpretation of Catullus VIII", *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 15 (1909), pp. 139-151; A. L.

transition from the personal *otium* to the *otium* of kings and cities is concerned, the humorous implications of this too have been demonstrated³⁰).

Woodman argues that the warlike aspect of love and the energetic attitude it entails are inappropriately sought in a Catullan poem. His grounds are that "from the beginning Catullus yearned for *aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae* (109. 6); it was not for him a continual game of winning and losing"³¹). This implies that the "impetuous Propertius" did not share the same ideal. The truth is that the love elegies of Propertius do convey a longing for an ideal of love very much akin to Catullus' *aeternum foedus*; that Propertius looked for a love cemented by the bond of *fides* which would endure, even beyond the grave and into the *nox perpetua dormienda*³²). And in the light of my foregoing discussion and conclusion it is not without interest to note that Propertius can associate the two ideas, of love's *militia* and the permanency and exclusiveness of that love:

unica nata meo pulcherrima cura dolori,
 excludit quoniam sors me saepe 'veni',
 ista meis fiet notissima forma libellis,
 Calve, tua venia, pace, Catulle, tua.
 miles depositis annosus secubat armis
 grandaevique negant ducere aratra boves,
 putris et in vacua requiescit navis harena,
 et vetus in templo bellica parma vacat:
 at me ab amore tuo deducet nulla senectus. (II. xxv, 1-9)

The adjective *tuo* shows that this is not generalisation about love in the manner of Ovid. It is not to *amor* in general that Propertius refers, nor even to the "game of winning and losing". The

Wheeler, *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry* (Berkeley, 1934), pp. 227-230; R. A. Swanson, "The humour of Catullus 8", *C.J.*, 58 (1963), pp. 193-196; M. Skinner, "Catullus 8: the comic amator as Eiron", *C.J.* 66 (1971), pp. 298-305.

³⁰ By Akbar Khan, *art. cit.* (n. 16), p. 164f. I also agree with Wills, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 197: "Catullus' poem closes, then, not with the wretched morality of disgust, but with the playful moralism of erotic poetry". I have been gratified to discover that Wills has anticipated me in reaching this conclusion. His article came to my notice after the main lines of my approach to the same conclusion from a different direction had been laid down.

³¹ *Art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 220, note 1.

³² R. J. Baker, "Laus in amore mori: Love and Death in Propertius", *Latomus*, 29 (1970), pp. 670-698.

exclusive and abiding love he bears towards Cynthia is the subject of his comparison with the old soldier. I cannot believe that the *tiro* of Catullus 51 would have disagreed.

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