

is to admit all who enter, but devour those who attempt to leave the underworld, as Hesiod tells us at *Theog.* 771ff., so it seems that Virgil has assigned to the Hellish apparitions—Centaurs, Scyllas, Briareus, the Hydra, the Chimaera, Gorgons and Harpies, and Geryon—a comparable role in respect of Aeneas' entering and leaving Orcus' house within the underworld.

The original nucleus of all these apparitions is a single Gorgon. Aeneas' fright and the drawing of his sword against the formidable Gorgons and other insubstantial shades until the Sibyl tells him to desist is modelled upon Heracles' fright and the drawing of his sword against the Gorgon Medusa until he was told to refrain by his underworld guide, Hermes. Heracles' encounter with the Gorgon in the underworld is narrated by Apollodorus in his *Bibliotheca* at 2.5.12, but this mythographer, who consistently ignores Roman literature,³ and Virgil are both said by Norden to have drawn their knowledge of this event from a lost epic version of the Catabasis of Heracles,⁴ which Hugh Lloyd-Jones has shown to be an Attic poem, with Eleusinian connections, composed in the mid-sixth century B.C.⁵ How the Gorgons came to be in Orcus' house in the antechamber of Virgil's underworld, instead of on the far shore of the infernal water, where Heracles attacked the Gorgon in the lost epic and where Virgil now locates the monster Cerberus (417), is a separate matter I have dealt with elsewhere.⁶ The purpose of the present note is to point out for the first time the skill with which Virgil has invested these terrifying apparitions in the house of Orcus with a Cerberus-like function.

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theme, in which the former developed into an underworld figure while the latter simply resembles one. Virgil nevertheless depicts Geryon's shade in Orcus' house.

³ As recognized by E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1926³), 5 with n. 2, and C. M. Bowra, 'Orpheus and Eurydice', *CQ* 2 (1952), at 116.

⁴ Norden (n. 3), loc. cit.

⁵ Hugh Lloyd-Jones, 'Heracles at Eleusis: P.Oxy. 2622 and P.S.I. 1391', *Maia* 19 (1967), 206–29 = *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford, 1990), 167–87. P.Oxy. 2622 = B. Snell and H. Maehler, *Pindarus. Pars II. Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1975), fr. 346. Cf. N. Robertson, 'Heracles' 'Catabasis'', *Hermes* 108 (1980), 274–300, and S. Lavecchia, 'P.Oxy. 2622 e il "Secondo Dittamibo" di Pindaro', *ZPE* 110 (1996), 1–26.

⁶ In 'How Vergil expanded the Underworld in *Aeneid* 6', *PCPS* 47 (2001), 103–16. The location of Cerberus just referred to in the text should not be taken to imply that the Hell-dog appears here in the lost Heracles catabasis, since Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 2.5.12 says that Heracles found him at the gates of Acheron on his way out of the underworld (cf. also *Aen.* 6.395–6). Cerberus' Virgilian location corresponds rather to where the snakes and monsters of Hell were located in this lost catabasis. This seems not to have been realized by Norden (n. 3), 466.

PROPERTIUS 3.4 AND THE *AENEID* INCIPIT

It is common knowledge that Propertius had some acquaintance with the *Aeneid* prior to its posthumous publication in 18 B.C. Elegy 2.34.63–4, where Virgil is described as engaged in the composition of the *Aeneid* in the mid-20s B.C., shows Propertius aware of its subject-matter:

qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitāt arma
iactaque Lauinis moenia litoribus.

Moreover the six emboldened words in the couplet constitute direct allusions to the first lines of the *Aeneid*, and thus demonstrate that Propertius had read, or come to know of, or (most probably) heard Virgil recite, the initial lines of the *Aeneid*. Cf.:

Arma uirumque cano, **Troiae** qui primus ab oris
 Italiam fato profugus **Launia**que uenit
litora—multum ille et terris **iactatus** et alto
 ui superum, saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
 multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
 inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
 Albanique patres atque altae **moenia** Romae. (Aen. 1.1–7)

A further allusion to the unpublished *Aeneid* incipit has been detected in *arma*, the first word of Propertius 3.4, composed before 20 B.C.¹ However, it does not seem to be observed that Propertius 3.4 carries its references to the *Aeneid* incipit much further. The emboldened words again speak for themselves:

Arma deus Caesar dites meditatur ad Indos,
 et freta gemmiferi findere classe maris.
 magna, **uiri**, merces; parat ultima terra triumphos;
 Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent;
 sera, sed Ausoniis ueniet prouincia uirgis; 5
 assuescent Latio Partha tropaea Ioui.
 ite agite, expertae bello date lintea prorae,
 et solitum armigeri ducite munus equi!
 omina fausta **cano**. Crassos clademque piate!
 ite et Romanae consulite historiae! 10
 (Prop. 3.4.1–10)

The combination can hardly be coincidental, since Propertius' allusive terms not only appear in the same order as the *Aeneid*'s *arma uirumque cano* (1.1), but each of them occupies the same *sedes* as its Virgilian counterpart.

Recognition of this pattern confirms (although confirmation is hardly needed) the spurious nature of the alternative *Ille ego* . . . incipit of the *Aeneid*.² It also allows us to set aside the various emendations proposed in place of *uiri* at Propertius 3.4.2,³ including the latest, Wistrand's *Quiris*,⁴ which Goold incorporated into his Loeb text of Propertius 3.4, and which influenced Goold's translation of lines 3–4.

Something of Propertius' pride in belonging to Maecenas' circle and (probably) attending Virgil's recitations emerges from 3.4. The covert way in which Propertius alludes to the *Aeneid* incipit (substituting *uiri* for *uirum* and omitting *-que*,⁵ and

¹ W. R. Nethercut, 'The ironic priest. Propertius' "Roman Elegies", III, 1–5: imitations of Horace and Vergil', *AJPh*. 91 (1970), 385–407, 394. P. Fedeli, *Properzio: il libro terzo delle elegie: introduzione, testo e commento*, Studi e commenti 3 (Bari, 1985), 159, approves of this suggestion, noting the presence of Aeneas in line 20.

² Cf. R. G. Austin, 'Ille ego qui quondam . . .', *CQ* n.s. 18 (1968), 107–15. For additional bibliography, see P. A. Hansen, 'Ille ego qui quondam . . . once again', *CQ* n.s. 22 (1972), 139–49, 139, n. 1. Hansen's objections do not overturn Austin's verdict.

³ For those prior to 1968, see G. R. Smyth, *Thesaurus Criticus ad Sexti Properti Textum*, Mnemos. Suppl. 12 (Leiden, 1970), 92.

⁴ E. Wistrand, *Miscellanea Propertiana*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 38 (Göteborg, 1977), 9–13.

⁵ It might seem (and may be) foolish to suggest that the missing *-que* eventually turns up in *clademque* (9). On the other hand Propertius' earlier transfer of *-que* (from Aen. 1.1.2–3's *Launia*que . . . / . . . *iactatus* to Prop. 2.34.64's *iactaque Lavinis*) looks deliberate.

spacing out his allusions over lines 1, 3, and 9)⁶ might simply be the poet's way of teasing his readers. But it could indicate that those attending at Vergil's recitations were pledged to confidentiality, which Propertius is half-attempting to keep; it certainly implies that Propertius anticipated a readership within Maecenas' circle which shared his acquaintance with the *Aeneid* incipit and which was sophisticated enough to comprehend his allusions to it.

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⁶ The reason for this particular spread is not clear (the first line may not be significant within the sequence since it is of the nature of incipits to begin at the beginning!). Naturally one thinks (with lack of conviction) of 3 + 9 equalling the twelve books of the *Aeneid*, of the three Graces and nine Muses, and of three and nine as 'typische Zahlen' (but most low numbers are). The infinite resources of B. Sprenger, 'Zahlenmotive in der Epigrammatik und in verwandten Literaturgattungen alter und neuer Zeit', dissertation (Münster, 1962) do not seem to help.

OID, *FASTI* 2.585–616 AND VIRGIL, *AENEID* 12

The influence of Virgil on the *Fasti* in general has been clearly established by scholars,¹ but so far nobody has investigated Virgil's relationship to *Fast.* 2.585ff. in particular.² There, as so often, proper understanding of the Virgilian allusion is vital for a full and informed appreciation of the Ovidian passage. We find in Ovid a replay of *Aeneid* 12 with a whole series of variations and also polemical engagement with his predecessor and a form of prequel to Juturna's appearance at the end of the epic, as Ovid impudently plays around with his revered source and parades his own cleverness.

Firstly there is an extensive and systematic rerun (with twists) of major events in *Aeneid* 12,³ as Virgil's loving Juturna becomes a nymph who rejects love. At *Aen.* 12.222ff., when Juturna incites the Rutulians to break the truce, she foils the duel between Turnus and Aeneas; in Ovid she foils her own rape. Whereas at *Aen.* 12.448–9 she flees from the onset of Aeneas (by now recovered from the arrow wound), in the *Fasti* (2.595) she flees from the onset of a lustful divine admirer. At *Aen.* 12.468ff. she takes the place of Turnus' charioteer and drives him over the battlefield, repeatedly evading the enraged Aeneas; in Ovid she repeatedly evades the aroused Jupiter. When

¹ See most recently S. Döpp, *Virgilischer Einfluss im Werk Ovids* (Munich, 1969), 60–76; R. J. Littlewood, 'Ovid and the Ides of March', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 2 (Brussels, 1980), 305–14; J. C. McKeown, 'Fabula proposito nulla tegenda meo: Ovid's *Fasti* and Augustan politics', in A. Woodman and D. West (edd.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge, 1984), 171–2; D. Porte, *L'Étiologie Religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide* (Paris, 1985), 144–50; R. Schilling, *Ovide Les Fastes* (Paris, 1993), 119–51; W. Schubert, 'Zur Sage von Hercules und Cacus bei Vergil (*Aen.* 8.184–279) und Ovid (*Fast.* 1.543–586)', *JAC* 6 (1991), 37–60; E. Fantham, 'Ceres, Liber and Flora: Georgic and anti-Georgic elements in Ovid's *Fasti*', *PCPhS* 38 (1992), 39–56; G. Brugnoli and F. Stok, *Ovidius παρωδήσας* (Pisa, 1992); and A. Barchiesi, *The Poet and the Prince* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1997), 21–2 and 164–6.

² There are only bare acknowledgements that the Ovidian passage looks to Virgil's allusion at *Aen.* 12.138ff. to Juturna's loss of her virginity (for example, in J. G. Frazer, *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Fastorum Libri Sex* [London, 1929], 2.452 and F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso: Die Fasten* [Heidelberg, 1957], 1.30).

³ Readers may not be convinced by every single link that I suggest, but there are enough probable correspondences and contrasts to make sport with Virgil certain.