

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.

OVID, *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.

Turnus at last faces Aeneas, the duel is also called to mind by Ovid's frivolous verses. After his sword shatters in the fighting, at 12.733ff. Turnus flees from a pursuing male intent on killing him,⁴ while Ovid's Juturna flees from a pursuing male intent on copulating with her. Next in the *Aeneid* (12.774ff.) the Rutulian gets vital aid from the country god Faunus (who retains Aeneas' spear) and his sister Juturna (who gives him a sword), but that aid is quickly undermined by Venus (who gives Aeneas his spear back); in the *Fasti* the nymphs (country goddesses and Juturna's sisters) agree to help Jupiter so he can have sex with her, but that aid is quickly undermined by another sister (Lara, who spills the beans to Juturna). In Virgil (12.791ff.) Jupiter next appeals to Juno and tells her to stop interfering, and she agrees; in Ovid he appeals to the nymphs and asks them to interfere (in his amatory escapade), and they agree. Finally, at *Aen.* 12.883ff. a cowed Juturna (warned not to help her brother further) wishes that she could join Turnus in the Underworld and in her grief plunges into a river, whereas in Ovid an uncowed Juturna plunges into water to help herself escape Jupiter's advances, and it is Lara who goes to the Underworld. So one of the most sad and grim episodes in the *Aeneid* and the lengthy climax of the whole epic here receives a makeover. Ovid's lines on Juturna turn it into a flippant and short minor incident, positioned early on in the *Fasti* and with a decidedly anticlimactic feel (as Juturna is not in fact raped here). But then at 2.607ff., with the punishment and rape of Lara, our unpredictable poet⁵ turns things right around and does present a climax, and a tragic and bleak climax at that.⁶

At the same time Ovid also corrects his model here. At *Aen.* 12.139ff. and 878–9 Virgil stated briefly that Juturna had received her immortality and her sway over lakes and rivers from Jupiter in return for the loss of her virginity. Ovid takes us back to the circumstances connected with that loss of virginity and in so doing airily sets the record straight: actually Juturna was a water nymph all along; and (2.587–8) initially she frustrated Jupiter's attempts to rape her for a long time by hiding from him in woods and the water of rivers (so when he finally caught her, he would hardly have rewarded her by making her mistress of one of her major means of escape).

In so elaborating on Virgil's mention of the rape of Juturna, Ovid constructs an irreverent prequel. Providing a comic background for the dismal events of *Aeneid* 12, Ovid places Virgil's tragic nymph in a situation that has a distinctly humorous side and shows us a rather different Jupiter from the august and dominant figure at the close of the epic.⁷ There is also a pawky touch in some retroactive intertextuality.⁸ After reading these lines with their rather bizarre anticipations (sort of pre-echoes) of incidents in Virgil, many will be distracted when re-reading *Aeneid* 12 and find its seriousness somewhat subverted: for instance, Juturna helping Turnus to escape a male

⁴ With water and a tree in the vicinity (12.745, 766ff.); compare *Fast.* 2.587–8.

⁵ Ovid's version of the attempted rape of Juturna is unparalleled, and this is the only place where we find the story of Lara, so there is rarity and possibly innovation in the subject matter (cf. Bömer [n. 2] and C. E. Newlands *Playing with Time Ovid and the Fasti* [Ithaca and London, 1995], 160).

⁶ A rapidly successive series of horrific events connected with the isolated and helpless Lara are conveyed in short clauses and sentences and are packed into only ten lines (in contrast to the rather leisurely twenty-two lines that precede).

⁷ The supreme god is humiliated from the start, with witty inversion of his title of *invictus* in 2.585 and so on (cf. J.-M. Frécaut, *L'Esprit et L'Humour chez Ovide* [Grenoble, 1972], 293). The initial humour heightens the impact of the pathos in connection with Lara.

⁸ On which see S. E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext* (Cambridge, 1998), 99ff. and L. Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore and London, 2001), 159ff.

pursuer (intent on slaying him) will now call to mind Juturna herself escaping a male pursuer (intent on having sex with her); and Jupiter's solemn speech at 12.793ff. asking and ordering Juno to put an end to her hatred of the Trojans will now recall his embarrassing appeal to the nymphs to help him perpetrate a rape.

This prequel also functions as a learned gloss, explaining certain things in Virgil. At *Aen.* 12.142ff. Juno addressed Juturna as someone who was very dear to her and her favourite among all Latin females bedded by Jupiter, and then appealed to her to help Turnus in his combat with Aeneas (which, of course, she did). Thanks to Ovid we can now see why Juno was so fond of Juturna (because she eluded Jupiter and made a fool of him for a long time) and one of the reasons why Juno asked Juturna to act in opposition to the will of Jupiter⁹ (because she had done so before, and with success), and we can now discern an additional motive for Juturna helping Turnus when he was tracked repeatedly on the battlefield and chased in the actual duel by Aeneas¹⁰ (apart from the fact that he was her brother, she had been tracked repeatedly and chased herself).

A further complication is only revealed late on in the narrative. With a typical tease Ovid here does not give us the prequel that we are led to expect. One naturally assumes that Ovid will tell the full story of Jupiter's rape of Juturna, especially when he seems to set that up at 2.591–8 (where the nymphs agree to help Jupiter). However, at 599ff. another sister nymph (Lara) foils the assault by warning the victim. At this point Juturna is suddenly abandoned, so we do not get the full prequel (including the rape of Juturna), only part of it (or a prequel to the prequel). And what we do get on Juturna is in fact only a preamble to the silencing of and attack on Lara, only an early component of another story (one which itself has a precursory aspect, in its explanation of the origins of Muta and the Lares, and one in which the rape of Lara by a determined god foreshadows the eventual rape of Juturna by another determined god). Actually, even more complex than that, when Lara enters the narrative there seems to be a sombre prefiguring of Turnus' death: here too Juturna abruptly drops out of the story, and a sibling of hers¹¹ is subjected to violence, makes a futile appeal to a more powerful character and goes down to the Underworld.¹²

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⁹ Cf. e.g. *Aen.* 12.793ff.

¹⁰ *Aen.* 12.468ff., 783ff.

¹¹ The relationship is spelled out in 2.603 with *Iuturnae . . . sororis* (cf. *Iuturna soror* at *Aen.* 12.222).

¹² There may also be *contaminatio*, if 2.586 *multa tulit tanto non patienda deo* is based on Propertius 4.4.30 *vulnera, vicino non patienda Iovi*, as H. Le Bonniec, *P. Ovidius Naso Fastorum Liber Secundus* (Paris, 1969), 91 suggests.

A LOST ALLUSION RECOVERED: TACITUS, *HISTORIES* 3.37.1 AND HOMER, *ILIAD* 19.301–2

Vitellius addresses the Senate:

mox senatum composita in magnificentiam oratione allocutus, exquisitis patrum adulationibus attollitur. initium atrocis in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio factum; dein ceteri composita indignatione, quod consul rem publicam, dux imperatorem, tantis opibus tot honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidisset, uelut pro Vitellio conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant.