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Etymology and Identity in the *Appendix Tibulliana*

*The paper investigates the use of etymologising in the Appendix Tibulliana and concludes that its purpose to link the probably late first-century AD author of this work with the great elegists of an earlier generation, namely Propertius, Ovid and, in particular, Tibullus. This etymologising takes place at the level both of common nouns and of proper names, with plays on the fictitious character names Lygdamus, Neaera and Cerinthus. In both cases the practice is firmly anchored in the literary techniques of Tibullus and the other elegists. The manipulation of earlier elegiac etymologising and of the previous literary identities of these character names provides the whole work with a structural unity and a specific chronological focus, and so lends weight to arguments for a single unitary author.*

*L'articolo indaga la ricerca e la proposta di etimologie nella Appendix Tibulliana, concludendo che il loro fine è quello di collegare l'autore dell'opera (probabilmente della fine del I secolo d.C.) con i grandi poeti elegiaci della generazione precedente: Propertio, Ovidio e, in particolare, Tibullo. L'etimologizzazione si concentra sui nomi, sia propri sia comuni, e gioca su quelli dei personaggi fittizi Lygdamus, Neaera e Cerinthus. In entrambi i casi la pratica è saldamente ancorata alle tecniche letterarie di Tibullo e degli altri poeti elegiaci, ma nell'Appendix la precedente etimologizzazione di ambito elegiaco viene manipolata assieme alle identità letterarie di questi personaggi: ciò fornisce all'opera un'unità strutturale e uno specifico focus cronologico, tali da individuare un singolo autore unitario.*

## 1. Introduction

The premise of this chapter, based on my forthcoming commentary on the third book of the *Corpus Tibullianum* or *Appendix Tibulliana* (henceforth *AT*), is that this book was written by a single author (male or female) near the end of the first century AD. Within the book the author adopts different masks, Lygdamus (*AT* 1-6), a young writer of a panegyric for Messalla Corvinus (*AT* 7)<sup>1</sup>, a companion of Sulpicia (*AT* 8, 10, 12), who sometimes writes in Sulpicia's name (*AT* 9 and 11), Sulpicia herself (*AT* 13-18) and Tibullus (*AT* 19), with the final short poem *AT* 20 remaining anonymous. The 'real' names involved here, Messalla Corvinus, Sulpicia and Tibullus are connected with the elegiac poets of the end of the first century BC and beginning of the first century AD. The pseudonym Lygdamus is chosen for its associations with a slave mentioned in the poetry of Propertius (III 6, IV 7, IV 8). Furthermore the birthdate Lygdamus gives himself at III 5,17-18 *natalem primo nostrum uidere parentes / cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari* [my parents saw my birthday for the first time when both consuls fell by the same fate] is couched in the same terms in which Ovid describes his own birthdate in *trist.* IV 10,5-6 *editus hic ego sum, nec non, ut tempora noris / cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari* [here (i.e. in Sulmo) I was born and, so that you should know the date, it

<sup>1</sup> In this poem Peirano 2012, 132-148 makes a good case for seeing our author as impersonating a young Tibullus, seeking Messalla's patronage at an early stage of his career.

was when both consuls fell by the same fate] and refers ostensibly to 43 BC. The many chronological problems this date has given rise to for commentators are a result of its being taken literally instead of being seen as a complete fabrication, intended by our late first century AD author to associate his invented character Lygdamus with the great age of Latin elegy, as represented by Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid. At the structural level the arrangement of the poems in book three has been likened to that of Tibullus' first book<sup>2</sup>, with the Neaera poems *AT* 1-6 being based on the Delia poems of Tib. I 1-6; the *Messalla Panegyric AT* poem 7 on Tib. I 7 (Messalla's Aquitanian triumph); third party comments on the affair of Sulpicia and Cerinthus in *AT* poems 8, 10 and 12 mirror Tibullus' treatment of the Marathus and Pholoe affair in Tib. I 8 and 9. Even the birthday poems *AT* 11, 12, 14 and 15 have a Tibullan model in Tib. I 7 (to Messalla) and Tib. II 2 (to Cornutus). My aim in this chapter is to show that our author's use of etymology, both of common nouns and of proper names, is also intended to recall that of the great elegists of the past, in particular Tibullus, and to lend a further veneer of authenticity to its pseudo-epigraphic content.

## 2. Evidence for a late first-century AD composition date

Given the amount of Latin poetry which has been lost to us any attempt at dating particular stylistic features must remain an inexact science, but some tentative conclusions can be drawn about the date of some of our author's models<sup>3</sup>.

If the Lygdamus birthdate at *AT* 5,17-18 is based, as seems likely, on Ovid *Tristia* IV 10,5-6 then this couplet must be dated to later than 11 AD, the date of *Tristia* 4, as the couplet fits much more naturally in the *sphragis*<sup>4</sup> at the end of Ovid *Tristia* 4 than it does in *AT* 5,17-18, where its presence seems somewhat forced. At *AT* 1,15-17 there seems to be an echo of [Virg.] *Culex* 11-19, dated to the middle of the first century AD, and at *AT* 2,3 the hexameter ending *tantum ferre dolorem* [to bear so much pain] perhaps echoes Val. Flacc. I 766, dated at 70-79 AD. At *AT* 1.19 the line *illa mihi referet si nostri mutua cura est* [let her tell me if her love is equal to mine] the second half of the hexameter could contain a verbal echo of Martial X 13,9 *si tibi mens eadem, si nostri mutua cura est* [if your mind is the same, if your love is equal to mine] since the syntax of *si* + indicative in a condi-

<sup>2</sup> Holzberg 2001, 98-109

<sup>3</sup> See Maltby 2010. However its conclusion that different parts of the work could have been composed at different times is now rejected by the author.

<sup>4</sup> A 'seal', giving biographical details of the author.

tional clause is regular in Martial, but would be unusual (though not unparalleled) in Lygdamus' indirect question (for the regular *num* or *utrum* + subjunctive). If this really is an echo of Martial this would push our author's date later to after 95 AD, the probable publication date of Martial book X<sup>5</sup>. Verbal echoes from two poets of the end of the first century AD are also apparent in the Messalla Panegyric (AT poem 7). So AT 7,144 the description of the Indian Pedaeian as *impia ... saeuus celebrans conuiuia mensis* [celebrating impious feasts on savage tables] seems to combine echoes of two poems from the last decade of the first century AD, namely Statius *Thebaid* I 246-47 *neque ... / ...saeuae perit iniuria mensae*<sup>6</sup> [and the wrong done at the cruel table has not died away] and Silius Italicus XI 271 *regifice exstructis celebrant conuiuia mensis* [they celebrate their feasts at tables piled royally high]. Similar echoes from Statius and Silius Italicus could also be claimed for poem AT 9 from the *Sulpicia Cycle*<sup>7</sup>. There are no particularly late echoes in the poems in the mask of Sulpicia, AT 13-18, and in the final two poems AT 19 (in the mask of Tibullus) and AT 20, though both show the influence of Ovid<sup>8</sup>. If a single author wrote the whole book then a date at the end of the first century AD seems the most likely date of composition. The political uncertainties of this period could well have caused our author to write anonymously or under pseudonyms. The argument for a single author and single date of composition are based on thematic links and similarities between poems from different groups and a collection of important intertexts, especially Hor. *Epod.* 15, and Ov. *Met.* VII 661-862, whose influence runs throughout the work. These are discussed in the forthcoming commentary<sup>9</sup> and lay outside the remit of the present paper, which is to examine the role of etymology in our author's presentation of himself as belonging to the great age of Roman elegy.

<sup>5</sup> Another possible echo from Martial occurs at AT 6,21 *conuenit iratus nimium nimiumque severos* [he confronts angrily the too, too severe]; cf. Mart. VIII 3,17 *scribant ista graues nimium nimiumque seueri* [let the too serious and the too severe write such things].

<sup>6</sup> With other possible Statian echoes at 7,1 *cognita uirtus* [well-known virtue], cf. Stat. *Theb.* IX 37; 7,36 *uincto pede ... solute* [in verse or prose], cf. Stat. *Silu.* II 7,72; 7,70 *confinia mortis* [the confines of death], cf. Stat. *Theb.* IV 615; 7,96 *grauis impetus hastae* [the heavy spear's attack], cf. Stat. *Theb.* X 545.

<sup>7</sup> So 9,2 *deuia* + gen. *deuia montis* [trackless mountain places], cf. Stat. *Theb.* V 248 *deuia ... urbis* [trackless city places] and 9,6 *deficiantque canes* [let hounds drop dead], cf. Sil. It. XIV 495 *deficiens ... uolucris* [a dying bird].

<sup>8</sup> See Maltby 2010, 336-337.

<sup>9</sup> See Maltby forthcoming.

### 3. *Etymological play with Tibullan and other Elegiac Associations*

Of the etymologies used by our author to give substance to his adoption of masks from the age of the elegists pride of place is given to those influenced by Tibullus. An obvious example occurs in the opening of *AT* 2:

*AT* 2,1-4 qui primus caram iuueni carumque puellae  
eripuit iuuenem, ferreus ille fuit.  
durus et ille fuit qui tantum ferre dolorem,  
uiuere et erepta coniuge qui potuit.

Iron-hearted was that man who first snatched from a youth his dear girl or from a girl her dear youth. And unfeeling too was he who could bear so much pain and live on with his wife snatched away.

Here the play on *ferreus* [iron-hearted] and *ferre* [to bear] clearly recalls the opening of Tib. I 10:

quis fuit horrendos <u>primus</u> qui <u>protulit</u> enses?	1
quam <u>ferus</u> et <u>uere ferreus</u> ille fuit ...	2
an nihil ille miser meruit, nos ad mala nostra	5
uertimus in saeuas quod dedit ille feras?	6

Who was the man who first brought forth frightening swords? How fierce and truly iron-hearted was that man ... Or was that poor man blameless? Do we turn to our own harm what he gave for use against wild beasts.

The connection is made clear by the echo in *AT* 2,2 of the pentameter ending *ferreus ille fuit* [iron-hearted was that man] from Tib. I 10,2. The association between *ferre* [to bear] and *ferreus* [iron-hearted] is obscured in Tibullus by his use of the perfect form of *profero* [I bring forth], namely *protulit* (1) [he brought forth]. However the fact that the *AT* author understood the etymological link is made clear by his use of the phonetically similar *ferre* (3) [to bear]<sup>10</sup>. Although in both passages the adjective *primus* [first] is associated with the well-known πρώτος εὑρετής [first inventor] figure, it is also a recognised marker or sign-post pointing

<sup>10</sup> Further poetical plays on *ferre* and *ferrum/ferreus* in Maltby 1993, 267-68, Michalopoulos 2001, 80-81.

up etymological play<sup>11</sup>. This hint had been further emphasised in Tibullus by the adverb *uere* (2) [truly], which also serves as an etymological marker<sup>12</sup>. In lines 2 and 6 Tib. introduces a further link in his etymological chain by adding the adjective *ferus* [fierce] and the related noun *fera* [wild beast] which were also to be associated with *ferreus* [iron-hearted] and *ferre* [to bear]<sup>13</sup>. Our *AT* author does not develop this further link here, but it surfaces later at *AT* 4,73-74 in a dream warning from Apollo to Lygdamus:

nescis quid sit amor, iuuenis, si ferre recusas  
immitem dominam coniugiumque ferum.

You do not know what love is, young man, if you refuse to bear a ruthless mistress and a fierce marriage.

This emphasises once again our author's appreciation of the complete range of word-play in Tib. I 10,1-6 and lends credence to his own elegiac verbal learning.

One poem in particular that could be expected to reveal our author's interest in Tibullan etymological play is *AT* 19, in the central couplet of which (13-14) our author explicitly adopts the mask of Tibullus:

nunc licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo,  
mittetur frustra deficietque Venus.

Now though a mistress be sent down from heaven for  
Tibullus, she will be sent in vain and Love will fail

His argument here is that he (naming himself as Tibullus) will not desert his mistress and even if a girl were to be sent down to him from heaven, he would not be able to make love to her. The couplet not only names Tibullus but is also redolent of elegiac themes to be found in that author. Tibullus at I 3,90 describes

<sup>11</sup> See Cairns 1996, 14-24 and cf. Tib. I 4,59 *at tu, qui uenerem docuisti uendere primus* [and you, who first taught men to sell love] marking the etymological link between *uenus* [love] and *uendere* [to sell].

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Plaut. *Stich* 242, Virg. *Georg.* III 280, Ov. *Am.* III 9,4, *Fast.* II 859. The word *ueriloquium* [etymology, lit. true-speaking] was invented by Cicero (*Topica* 35,4) as an equivalent of the Greek *etymologia* [etymology] to bring out the idea of truth inherent in etymology, but was never really taken up by others who kept to the Greek technical term.

<sup>13</sup> For further poetical plays on the association of *ferus* and *ferrum/ferreus* see Cairns 1979, 99, Michalopoulos 2001, 80-81 and cf. especially Cic. *Ad Quint. Fr.* I 3,3 *ferus ac ferreus* [fierce and iron-hearted].

his own surprise arrival home to his mistress from abroad in the following terms: *sed uidear caelo missus adesse tibi* [but let me appear to be sent down from heaven for you]. Combined with this is another Tibullan theme, his desertion by Venus (used by metonymy for the ability to make love) when attempting to find satisfaction with other girls: I 5,40-41 *saepe aliam tenui, sed iam cum gaudia adirem, / admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus* [often I embraced another girl, but just as I was approaching love's joy, Venus reminded me of my mistress and deserted me]. The Tibullan themes here are combined with an idea from Ovid, namely where a lover proves his fidelity by not being tempted by divine beauty: *Ov. Met. VII 802-803* (Cephalus of his young bride Procris), *nec me quae caperet, non si Venus ipsa ueniret, / ulla erat* [nor was there any girl who could captivate me, not even if Venus herself was to come].

The mention of Venus here in the central couplet of the poem (AT 19,13-14) picks up references to her in the opening and closing couplets of the elegy. So

AT 19,1-2      nulla tuum nobis subducat femina lectum:  
                         hoc primum iuncta est foedere nostra Venus.

No woman shall steal from me your bed: with this  
agreement we first joined our love-tie.

AT 19,23-24    sed Veneris sanctae considam uinctus ad aras:  
                         haec notat iniustos supplicibusque fauet.

But I shall sit bound at Venus' altars. She brands the  
unjust and favours suppliants.

AT 19, then, is a well-structured poem displaying intentional ring composition. Furthermore veneration of Venus as a protector of lovers which frames this poem is a typically Tibullan theme<sup>14</sup>. Mention of the goddess at the beginning, middle, and end of the poem is a good choice for a poet acting as a *Tibullus personatus* [an imitator of Tibullus]. At the etymological level a link is suggested in 19,23 between *Veneris* and *uinctus* [bound]<sup>15</sup>. The image of being bound in chains at Venus' altar continues the *seruitium amoris* [slavery of love] theme of AT 19,22: *nec fugiam notae seruitium dominae* [nor shall I flee servitude to a mistress I know]. The idea of servitude to Venus, as opposed to servitude to a mistress originated with Tibullus; so, Tib. I 2,99-100 *at mihi parce Venus. semper tibi dedita seruit / mens mea* [but

<sup>14</sup> See Maltby 2002, 422 on Tib. II 4,23-26 and Maltby 2004, 119-20.

<sup>15</sup> See Maltby 1991, 635 s.v. Venus; Michalopoulos 2001, 169, 171; Hinds 2006, 2-15.

spare me, Venus. My mind has always been devoted to your service] II 3,33-34 *felices olim, Veneri cum fertur aperte / seruire aeternos non puduisse deos* [happy were men of old, when the immortal gods were not ashamed to serve Venus openly]. But *uinctus* [bound] also suggests the bonds of love, as at AT 11,13-14 (of the love of Sulpicia and Cerinthus) *nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: uel seruiat aequae / uinctus uterque, uel mea uincla*<sup>16</sup> *leua* [and you, Venus, be not unjust, either let both of us, equally bound, be your slaves, or take away my bonds]. Although common in the later elegists, Propertius and Ovid<sup>17</sup>, this bonds of love theme, like that of servitude to Venus, is thought to have originated in Latin elegy with Tibullus: so I 1,55 *me retinent uinctum formosae uincla puellae* [the chains of a beautiful girl keep me bound]<sup>18</sup>; Tib.I 2,92-93 *uidi ego, qui iuuenum miseros lusisset amores, / post Veneris uinclis subdere colla senem* [I have seen the man who had mocked poor lovers in his youth submit his neck to Venus' chains in his old age]; I 9,79 *cum me uinctum puer alter habebit* [when another boy will keep me bound]. This etymological link between *Venus* and *uinctus* [bound] along with its suggestion of the typically Tibullan theme of *seruitium amoris* [slavery of love], serves then to support the Tibullan identity assumed by our poet in this elegy. Two further Tibullan characteristics of this final couplet give added weight to the impersonation. First, the mention of Venus by name in the final couplet of a poem is typical of that author; so at Tib. I 2,99-100 and I 9,81-84. Second, the emphasis on Venus' ferocity towards wronged lovers is another typically Tibullan preoccupation: so, Tib. I 5,57-58 *sunt numina amanti, / saeuit et iniusta lege relicta Venus* [a divine power stands over the lover and Venus rages when abandoned by an unjust law], I 8,28 *persequitur poenis tristia facta Venus* [Venus pursues with punishment unkind deeds], I 9,20 *asperaque est illi difficilisque Venus* [to him (i.e. the man who accepts money for love) Venus is harsh and difficult], as is her protection of suppliants: Tib. I 4,71-72 *blanditiis uult esse locum Venus: illa querelis / supplicibus, miseris fletibus illa fauet* [Venus wants there to be a place for kindness; she listens with favour to the complaints of suppliants and to the tears of the afflicted].

Although Tibullan etymologies can be seen as performing a specific role of impersonation in AT 19, their presence in the rest of the corpus serves to lend authenticity to the voices adopted there as contemporaries of the elegists. We have already seen this with the *ferrum/ fero/ ferus* plays at AT 2,1-4 and 4,73-4 (in the

<sup>16</sup> Like *Venus* the word *uinclum* [chain] is, of course, also associated etymologically with *uincio* [bind]: see Maltby 1991, 646, Michalopoulos 2001, 177.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Ov. *Her.* 20,86 (Acontius to Cydippe) *seruabor firmo uinctus amore tibi* [I will be kept bound to you by a firm bond of love] with Kenney 1996, 195 *ad l.* who sees the theme as Tibullan.

<sup>18</sup> Murgatroyd 1980, 64 *ad. loc.* sees the theme as a Tibullan invention.



voice of Lygdamus). At *AT* 11, a birthday poem in the voice of Sulpicia, the Tibullan etymologising on *Venus... uinctus... uinclā* at 13-14 discussed above, in the context of *seruitium amoris*, is continued in 15-16 by another Tibullan etymological play on *catena* [chain] from *teneo* [hold]<sup>19</sup>:

*AT* 11,15-16    sed potius ualida teneamur uterque catena,  
                  nulla queat posthac quam soluisse dies.

But rather let us each be held by a strong chain,  
which afterwards no day can untie.

This recalls Tibullus' use of the same word-play in the same context of *seruitium amoris* at Tib. II 4,3<sup>20</sup>:

seruitium sed triste datur, teneorque catenis

But I am given sad slavery and am held by chains.

The same etymology, in a slightly different form and context, occurs also in the *Messalla Panegyric*:

*AT* 7,116-118    te duce, non alias conuersus Dalmata tergum  
                  libera Romanae subiecit colla catenae.  
                  nec tamen his contentus eris ...

Under your leadership the Dalmatian, who never  
before turned his back (in flight) has submitted his  
free neck to the Roman chain. But you will not be  
content with these deeds.

Tibullan etymological play<sup>21</sup>, then, is a feature which links all parts of the *AT* and adds weight to other arguments in favour of a single author for the whole work.

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<sup>19</sup> See Maltby 1991, 114 *s.v.* *catena*, Michalopoulos 2001, 49-50. Literary play on this link also occurs at Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.44-5 and Ov. *Met.* IV 175-176.

<sup>20</sup> See Cairns 1979, 94.

<sup>21</sup> Of course other etymological play is found throughout the work, but this is not linked to specific passages the elegiac tradition: 4,10 *sal/salio*; 5,1-2 *unda/adeunda*; 7,14 *parua/mica*; 7,22 *igneus/aether*; 7,24-27 *Camena/ cano/carmen*; 7,61 *solus/Sol*; 7,72 *Scylla/canis*; 7,89 *celer/sagitta*; 7,113 *renouo/annus*.



Finally, another etymology of Venus, which is not specifically Tibullan, but has an important role to play in elegy in general, as well as in earlier Latin poetry<sup>22</sup>, is that of *Venus* from *uenio* [come]<sup>23</sup>. The most explicit statement of this etymology occurs in Cicero's *De natura deorum*: II 69 *quae... dea ad res omnes ueniret Venerem nostri nominauerunt* [since the goddess comes (*ueniret*) to all things our people called her Venus]; III 62 *Venus quia uenit ad omnia* [Venus because she comes (*uenit*) to all things]. We saw it above in Cephalus' words about Procris at *Ov. Met.* VII 802-803 *nec, me quae ceperat, non si Venus ipsa ueniret / ulla erat* [nor was there any girl who could captivate me, not even if Venus herself was to come (*ueniret*)]. It occurs in all three earlier elegists:

Tib. II 1,12-13      cui tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus.  
casta placent superis: pura cum ueste uenite

(Keep away) you whom Venus granted joy last night.  
The gods love purity: come (*uenite*) with clean clothes.

Tib. II 3,54        iam ueniant praedae si Venus optat opes.

Now let booty come (*ueniant*) if Venus wishes for wealth.

Prop. IV 7,18-19    alterna ueniens in tua colla manu.  
saepe Venus triuiis commissa est...

Coming (*ueniens*) hand over hand to your embrace.  
Often love (Venus) was made at the cross-roads.

*Ov. Am.* I 10,33    quae Venus ex aequo uentura est grata duobus.

The love (Venus) that will come (*uentura*) as equal joy to both.

In *AT* the etymology occurs only in those poems which concern Sulpicia. The Sulpicia Cycle, in which our author assumes the mask of a third-party observer on Sulpicia's affair with Cerinthus, begins with an address to Mars to come and admire Sulpicia on the occasion of the Matronalia:

<sup>22</sup>For examples in Plautus, Catullus, Lucretius and Horace see Michalopoulos 2001, 170.

<sup>23</sup>See Maltby 1991, 635 s.v. Venus, Michalopoulos 2001, 169-170, Hinds 2006, 17-18, 29-33. The play is particularly frequent in Ovid: *Am.* I 10,33, *Her.* 5,35-36, 16,139-140, *Ars* I 86-87, II 608-609, 716-717, *Rem.* 505-506, *Fast.* IV 13-14, *Trist.* II 295-296.

AT 8,1-4 Sulpicia est tibi culta tuis, Mars magne, Kalendis:  
spectatum e caelo, si sapis, ipse ueni.  
hoc Venus ignoscet. at tu uiolente caueto  
ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant.

Sulpicia is adorned for you, great Mars, on your Kalends. Come (*ueni*) yourself, if you are wise, from heaven to see her. Venus will pardon this. But you, violent one, take care your arms do not shamefully fall to the ground as you wonder.

Here, though *ueni* [come] (2) and Venus (3) occur in close proximity, the verb which would normally refer to Venus is actually used of Mars, serving to remind the reader of the fact that Mars and Venus were lovers. We may contrast the opening of Sulpicia's own poem AT 13 which associates the arrival of love AT 13,1 *tandem uenit amor* [at last comes (*uenit*) love], with Venus' answering her prayers AT 13,5 *exsoluit promissa Venus* [Venus has fulfilled her promises]. Returning to AT 8 it is probable that the phrase *Venus ignoscet* [Venus will pardon] (3) contains another etymology of Venus from *uenia* [forgiveness]<sup>24</sup> and in the same line *uiolente* [violent one], addressed to Mars, may recall an etymology of Venus from *uis* [force]<sup>25</sup>. The classic passage which links Venus with both *uinctio* [joining] and *uis* is Varro *Ling. V 61 horum uinctionis uis Venus* [the force of their (i.e. male and female) joining is Venus]. As with *ueni* (3), an etymology of Venus is usurped by Mars. The violence of Mars is invoked where it would have been more appropriate to call upon the erotic *uis* of Venus. Mars, a god famous for his adultery with Venus, is asked to come and gaze upon Sulpicia (2), but to be careful not to fall in love with her (3). As a potential partner of Mars, Sulpicia usurps the role of Venus. This exchange of roles, a key theme in the whole book, is underlined later in the poem when etymologies suggesting Venus are applied to her.

AT 8,10-12 seu compsit, comptis est ueneranda comis.  
urit, seu Tyria uoluit procedere palla:  
urit, seu niuea candida ueste uenit.

If she combs her hair, she is adorable in combed hair. She enflames if she chooses to walk in a Tyrian robe; she enflames if she comes (*uenit*) shining in a snow-white gown.

<sup>24</sup> Maltby 1991, 635; Hinds 2006, 33.

<sup>25</sup> Maltby 1991, 635; Hinds 2006, 31. This play between *Venus* and *uis* occurs in Latin poetry as early as Val. Aed. fr. 2, see Maltby 1997.

By applying *ueneranda* [adorable; lit. to be venerated] (10) to Sulpicia our author suggests her almost divine status. Although *ueneror* is not associated specifically with Venus in the grammatical tradition, it has been suggested, on the basis of Prop. III 5,1 *pacis Amor deus est, pacem ueneramur amantes* [Love is the god of peace, we lovers venerate peace] that such an etymological connection may have existed<sup>26</sup>. Certainly the use of *uenit* with reference to Sulpicia in 12 is a case of an etymology associated with Venus being applied to Sulpicia (as it had been to Mars in 2) and this would strengthen the case for *ueneranda* being used in the same way. Before leaving this etymology of Venus it is worth mentioning the final example of this association used by Sulpicia in an address to Cerinthus who is absent hunting boar in *AT* 9. There she argues that if she could lie with Cerinthus beside his snares the wild boar could approach Cerinthus' nets and escape unharmed:

*AT* 9,17-18      tunc ueniat licet ad casses<sup>27</sup>, inlaesus abibit,  
ne Veneris cupidae gaudia turbet, aper.

Then, though the wild boar come (*ueniat*) to the nets, he will go away unharmed, so as not to disturb the joys of eager Venus.

The aim in this section was to show how etymological play in the *AT* serves to anchor the work in the conceptual and semantic world of the earlier elegist. The fact that such plays are found throughout the work, whatever the mask adopted by our author, lends unity to the book as a whole. In moving next to the related topic of personal proper names and their associations it will be shown that in this area too a deliberate effort is made to reflect earlier elegiac, and particularly Tibullan practice.

#### 4. *Etymology and Identity in Personal Proper names*

##### a. *Lygdamus*

Plays on an author's proper name in his own verse, as a sort of *sphragis*, go back at least to the time of the fifth-century BC Greek philosophical poet Empedocles, who derives his name from a coinage such as ἐμπεδόκλειτος [ever in fame]

<sup>26</sup> Hinds 2006, 12.

<sup>27</sup> The fact that the boar could approach the nets but go away unharmed may reflect the etymology of Servius auctus on *cases* at *Aen.* II 85 *cassum est quasi cassum et nil continens ... , unde et retia casses, quod multum in se uacui habeant*. The boar will escape and leave Cerinthus' nets empty.

and, more relevant to the Roman elegists, the Hellenistic epigrammatist Meleager, who derived his name from μέλας [black] and ἀργός [white]<sup>28</sup>. Tibullus does not provide us with his *nomen gentilicium* Albius in his works, but Horace probably does<sup>29</sup>, and plays on its significance in two poems:

Hor. *Carm.* I 33,1-4     Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor  
    immitis Glycerae neu miserabilis  
    decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior  
    laesa praeniteat fide

Albius, do not grieve too much as you think of cruel  
 Glycera and do not sing plaintive elegies asking why  
 a younger rival outshines you as she breaks her trust

Hor. *Epist.* I 4,1             Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex

Albius, fair judge of my satires

where Albius is picked up by words suggesting brightness, *praeniteo* [outshine] and *candidus* [candid, fair].

Tibullus' reference at I 7,58 to *candidaque antiquo detinet Alba Lare* [and white Alba Longa detains with its ancient Lar] may contain a veiled reference to his own name, Albius, and to his own "pure" style, a reference which is trumped later in the poem (I 7,64) by an ironic reference to his patron Messalla Corvinus, whose cognomen suggests a "black" crow, as *candidior* [even purer in style]. This poem, which celebrates Messalla's birthday and his Aquitanian triumph in 27 BC, contains two more epithets which associate Messalla with brightness. At 7,8 in a couplet directly addressed to Messalla, there is reference to the *nitidis... equis* [shining horses] which will pull his triumphant chariot and at 7,51 there is mention of the *nitido... capillo* [shining hair] of Messalla's Genius at his birthday celebrations<sup>30</sup>.

These plays on his own name and on that of his patron Messalla in Tibullus were not lost on the poet who speaks in poems 1-6 of the *AT* under the pseudonym

<sup>28</sup> Booth and Maltby 2005, 125 and cf. Empedocles F 77 (with Sedley 1998, 25 n. 91) and Meleager *Epigram* 98, 3-4 (G-P = *AP* XII 165,3-4).

<sup>29</sup> The identification Horace's Albius and the elegist Tibullus is questioned (in both passages) by Mayer 1994, 133 and 2012, 2001-2, but defended by Murgatroyd 1980, 6-7 and others. Tibullus' plays on the names Albius [White] and Messalla Corvinus [(Black) Crow], suggest it is true. The author of *AT* certainly seems to have believed it and based his own onomastic word-play on it.

<sup>30</sup> Full discussion in Booth and Maltby 2005, 126-28.

Lygdamus and who in *AT* 7, masquerading perhaps as a young Tibullus<sup>31</sup>, addresses his patron Messalla on the occasion of his entry upon the consulship in 31 BC. In adopting the name Lygdamus for his mask in *AT* 1-6 our author chooses a name which is not found in Greek mythology or literature. In Roman inscriptions it occurs as the name of freedmen<sup>32</sup>. It appears in Greek inscriptions from Southern Italy in the form Lygdamis<sup>33</sup>. The name, like that of Cerinthus discussed below, may be intended to suggest lowly origins and the composition of humble poetry. More importantly the fact that Lygdamus occurs as a slave name in Propertius (poems III 6, IV 7 and IV 8) could serve to associate his voice with the theme of “slavery of love”, *seruitium amoris*, which acts as a linking theme throughout the work<sup>34</sup>.

One of the etymological associations of the name Lygdamus is with the Greek λυγδος [white marble] and the adjective λυγδινος [marble-white, luminous]<sup>35</sup>. Whereas the plays on *candidus* in Tibullus are based on its associations with a clear, lucid style (*OLD candidus* 9), in the case of Lygdamus the “white” associations of this pseudonym are associated with the pallor of death<sup>36</sup>. In the only two cases of *candidus* in *AT* with reference to Lygdamus, the adjective is applied to his bones after death:

*AT* 2,9-10    ergo cum tenuem fuero mutatus in umbram  
                  candidaque ossa supra nigra fauilla teget

And so when I am changed into an insubstantial  
shade and black ash covers over my white bones.

*AT* 2,17-18    pars quae sola mihi superabit corporis, ossa  
                  incinctae nigra candida ueste legent.

Wrapped in black clothes let them gather my white  
bones, the only part of my body that will remain.

The context is a description of Lygdamus’ funeral, attended by mourning relatives

<sup>31</sup> Peirano 2012, 132-149.

<sup>32</sup> *CIL* VI 5327,2, VI 21744, IX 816, X 1403g, X 8059, XV 1418, XV 1419, *Inscr. It.* III (I) 286; cf. Hutchinson 2006, 178, Knox 2018, 139 n. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Fraser and Matthews 1987-, III. A s.v. Lygdamis.

<sup>34</sup> *AT* 4,66; 4,73-74; 6,14 (“Lygdamus”); 10,12; 11,3-4; 11,13-14; 12,10 (Sulpicia Cycle); 16,4 (“Sulpicia”); 19,22-25 (“Tibullus”).

<sup>35</sup> First observed by Dissen 1835, XXXI.

<sup>36</sup> Navarro Antolín 1996, 21 suggests another association could be that of the traditional pallor of the lover.

and a grieving mistress. This is a characteristically Tibullan theme (cf. Tib. I 1,59-68, 3,5-10), found also in Propertius (Prop. I 17,19-20, II 13,17-58). It serves to associate the Lygdamus poems with the earlier elegiac tradition and etymological play in the Tibullan manner on the name of Lygdamus emphasises this generic affiliation. Whether the juxtaposition in both instances of *candida* with *nigra* harks back to earlier plays, discussed above, on the names of Meleager from “white” and “black”, and, in Tibullus, Messalla Corvinus “black” (from the “crow”, Corvinus, part of his name) but “white” *e contrario* is unclear. The latter is more likely given his interest in Tibullan plays on Messalla. It is clear that the use in relation to Messalla of adjectives implying brightness in Tib. I 7, as explained above (7,8 *nitidus*; 7,51 *nitido*; 7,64 *candidior ... candidiorque*), is picked up and referenced by the author of the Messalla Panegyric:

AT 7,121-123    nam modo fulgentem Tyrrio subtegmine uestem  
                   indueras oriente die duce fertilis anni,  
                   splendidior liquidis cum Sol caput extulit undis.

For you had just put on the robe that shone with  
 Tyrian weave, as the day dawned that leads the  
 fruitful year, when the a brighter Sun raised his  
 head from the liquid waves.

On the day of Messalla’s inauguration he donned a shining robe *fulgentem uestem* and the Sun shone brighter *splendidior* than usual. The comparative *splendidior* must contain an acknowledgement of Tibullus’ *candidior* applied to Messalla’s Genius at Tib. I 7,64. Furthermore, if Sulpicia is to be taken as a close relative of Messalla’s, as the address to him as *propinque* [kinsman] in her voice at AT 14,6 suggests, then it can be no coincidence that the epithet *candidus* is twice applied to her in this book: 8,12 *urit si niuea candida ueste uenit* [she enflames if she comes shining in a snow-white gown] and, implying moral innocence and purity in her affair with Cerinthus, at 10,17-18 *at nunc tota tua est, te solum candida secum / cogitate* [but now she is all yours, of you alone does the pure girl think in her heart].

The ancients did not believe that each name had only a single etymology, but saw multiple etymological associations as elucidating multiple characteristics of the person or object named. In his model, Tibullus, the name *Albius* allowed of only one particular association, but our *AT* author takes this further in relation to Lygdamus’ name and plays on other possible etymological links. These occur in the only context in which Lygdamus names himself, namely in the inscription which is to mark his epitaph at the end of *AT* 2, the poem on his own funeral, discussed above:

AT 2,27-30     sed tristem mortis demonstret littera causam  
                        atque haec in celebri carmina fronte notet  
 LYGDAMVS HIC SITVS EST. DOLOR HVIC ET CVRA NEAERAE  
                        CONIVGIS EREPTAE CAVSA PERIRE FVIT.

But let an inscription show the sad cause of my  
 death and mark this epitaph on the frequented side:  
 “Lygdamus is buried here. Grief and love for Nea-  
 aera, the wife snatched from him, caused his death”.

Here two further associations of Lygdamus’ name become apparent. The first is a further Greek derivation of Lygdamus from the adverb λύγδην [with sobs], connected with the verb λύζω [to sob] and the noun λυγμός [a sob]<sup>37</sup>. In this connection it may be significant that the word *dolor* [grief] in line 29 of the epitaph quoted above occurs mid-verse, between the two names *Lygdamus* and *Neaerae*. This word recurs frequently elsewhere in the poems spoken in the voice of Lygdamus (AT 2,3; 2,6; 2,13; 6,3; 6,43) and may well have been associated with his name. Words for elegy in Latin were, of course, associated etymologically with lamentation<sup>38</sup> making the name appropriate for an elegiac poet. The second element of Lygdamus’ name, δᾶμος [people], Doric for δῆμος, could also be etymologically significant for the construction of his persona. The publication of his verse represents the theme of “making public” his elegiac sufferings. This theme is brought out in the couplet immediately before the epitaph quoted above (lines 27-28). Here *tristem* [sad] refers to the first “elegiac” element of his name (picked up in 29 by *dolor* [grief]), while *demonstret* [show], *celebri... fronte* [on the frequented side] and *notet* [mark] underline his desire to make public his experiences. That is to open them to the people δᾶμος. This desire had already been foreshadowed in line 7 of poem 2 *nec mihi uera loqui pudor est* [I am not ashamed to speak the truth]. The contrast between revelation and secrecy is one that dominates the whole collection, not just the Lygdamus poems, and could be used as further evidence that the poet who adopts the mask of Lygdamus was in fact the author of the whole book, writing in different sections of the book under different masks. The theme dominates the Sulpicia poems, which begin with the tension between hiding and revealing one’s love (AT 13,1-2). Later in this poem she decides to reveal her love (5-6) and to remove the mask she wears for reputation’s sake (9-10). In AT 18,5-6

<sup>37</sup> Ehrwald 1889, 6. Cf. *Schol. et Gloss in Nicand.* 81b,2 λύγδην ἀντὶ κατὰ λυγμόν [with sobs, for with a sob] and *Schol. in Soph. OC* 1621,1 (= Suda, *Lambda* 767,1, 789,5) λύγδην λύζοντες [with sobs, for sobbing].

<sup>38</sup> Maltby 1991, 201-202 *s.v. elegeus, elegia, elegiacus*.



Sulpicia regrets abandoning Cerinthus the previous night out of a desire to keep her passion secret. In *AT* 19, by contrast, the poet, who there takes on the mask of Tibullus, regrets his open confessions of love to his mistress (20) and wishes to keep his love to himself (8) and withdraw from society (9-10). This theme comes to its climax in the closural epigram *AT* 20 in which the final word *tace* [be quiet] (III 20,4) seeks total silence. Our author's use of etymological plays on the name Lygdamus, then, serves the dual purpose of acknowledging and imitating the use of such onomastic plays in Tibullus and of giving support to such unifying themes as *seruitium amoris* and revelation and secrecy which dominate the whole book.

#### b. *Neaera*

Whereas in traditional elegy the elegists speak of themselves using their real names, Tibullus, Propertius, and Naso (for Ovid)<sup>39</sup> and reserve pseudonyms for their mistresses, Delia, Nemesis, Cynthia and Corinna, in the case of Lygdamus and Neaera in *AT* poems 1-6, both names appear to be pseudonyms. In choosing Neaera as the name for Lygdamus' mistress our author again had a Tibullan precedent before him. Both Delia, the mistress of Tibullus' first book, and Neaera appear as Greek-based slave names for mistresses in Virg. *Ecl.* 3. Neaera is the faithless mistress of the master of the flock, whom he fears prefers Menalcas: *Ecl.* 3,3-4 *ipse Neaeram / dum fouet ac ne me sibi praeferat illa ueretur* [while your master courts Neaera and is afraid that she prefers me] and Delia at *Ecl.* 3,66-67 where Menalcas' lover Amyntas is better known to his dogs than is his slave *contubernalis* Delia: *at mihi sese offert ultro meus ignis Amyntas / notior ut iam sit canibus non Delia nostris* [but my love, Amyntas, offers himself to me of his own accord, so that he is better known to my dogs than Delia]. As the "bright" Delia is a suitable name for "Albius" Tibullus in his rustic idyll, so the faithless Neaera is a suitable name for the "grieving" Lygdamus' unfaithful wife<sup>40</sup>. But it is in this case it is not Virgil or Tibullus who provides the important intertext for the Lygdamus/Neaera affair, but rather Horace. In *Epode* 15 Horace loses his faithless mistress Neaera (named in line 11) to a rich rival. This in my view provides the inspiration for Lygdamus' affair with Neaera, with Lygdamus suffering the fate predicted for his rival by Horace at *Epod.* 15,23 *eheu translatus alio maerebis amores* [alas, you will mourn for her love transferred to another]. This rival's interest in Pythagorean

<sup>39</sup> Tibullus at Tib. I 3,55 and I 9,83 (both in the context of inscriptions); Propertius at Prop. II 8,17, 14,27, 24b,35, 34,93, III 3,17, 10,15, IV 1b,71, 7,49; Naso at Ov. *Am.* I 11,27, II 1,2, II 13,25 and frequently outside the *Amores*.

<sup>40</sup> Neaera is described as Lygdamus' *coniunx* [wife] at *AT* 1,26-27, 2,4, 3,32 and their relationship is described as a *coniugium* [marriage] by Apollo in Lygdamus' dream at 4,74 and 4,79.

reincarnation: *Epod.* 15,21 *nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati* [nor do the secrets of reborn Pythagoras elude you] connect him further with the author of the Messalla Panegyric and his discussion of Pythagorean reincarnation at *AT* 7,204-211. Horace's search for a relationship based on mutual love at *Epode* 15,10 where Neaera swears to him that their *amorem mutuuum* [mutual love] would last forever is picked up by Lygdamus at *AT* 1,19 where Neaera is to tell him whether their love is mutual *illa mihi referet si nostri mutua cura est* [let her tell me whether her love for me is equal to mine (for her)]. This theme also connects Lygdamus with the *Sulpicia Cycle* *AT* 11,5-7 *iuuat hoc, Cerinthe, quod uror / si tibi de nobis mutuus ignis adest. mutuus adsit amor* [it pleases me Cerinths, that I burn, provided a mutual fire for me enflames you] in the voice of Sulpicia and *AT* 12,8 *sed iuueni quaeso mutua uincla para* [but I beg you prepare mutual chains for the young man] in the voice of the *Amicus Sulpiciae*. Both Horace and Lygdamus make the mistake of wishing for a permanent and marriage-like relationship with a faithless Neaera, whose name connects her with the world of the *hetaira* [prostitute].

In both Greek and Latin literature the name had often suggested untrustworthy girls. A *hetaira* of this name is the target of pseudo-Demosthenes *Oratio* 59 and a wife named Neaera seduces her husband's friend in Parthenius *Erotika Pathemata* 18. Elsewhere in Greek literature the name is applied to several relatively innocent nymphs<sup>41</sup> as well as to characters in comedy<sup>42</sup>. In Latin literature the name always has associations of infidelity. It occurs first in a comedy by Licinius Imbrex, where the name connotes a girl of loose morals:

Licinius Imbrex *apud* Gell. XIII 23,16 = Ribbeck<sup>3</sup>, Com. fr. 1

nolo ego Neeram te uocent, sed Nerienem,  
cum quidem Mauorti es in conubium data.

I do not want them to call you Neaera, but Nerienis (a  
consort of Mars), since indeed you have been given in  
marriage to Mars.

Perhaps the reference to her being given *in conubium* [in marriage] to Mars could refer in the play to her association with a *miles gloriosus* [glorious military] figure. I would hesitate to make any connection between this poem and *AT* 8,1-2 *Sulpicia est tibi culta... Mars magne... / spectatum e caelo... ipse ueni* [Sulpicia is adorned for you... great Mars... come yourself... from heaven to see her] dis-

<sup>41</sup> See *RE* XVI 2104, including the mother of Phaethusa and Lampetie in Hom. *Od.* XII 133.

<sup>42</sup> Timocles fr.25-26, Philemon fr. 49.

cussed above, where Mars is invited to take an erotic interest in Sulpicia, but such a connection cannot be ruled out. In Virg. *Ecl.* 3,3-5, as we saw above, Neaera is a girl whose affections are fought over by two shepherds. At Hor. *Carm.* III 14,21-22 she is a hired singing-girl invited by Horace to his symposium: *dic et argutae properet Neerae / murreum modo cohibere crinem* [tell clear-voiced Neaera to hurry and put her chestnut locks in a knot]. Nisbet – Rudd’s commentary here<sup>43</sup> quite plausibly suggests an association of Neaera’s name with youth, cf. Gk. *véa* [young girl], contrasting with the grey-haired Horace (*albescens... capillus* 25 [my whitening hair]). At Horace *Epode* 15,11 *o dolitura mea multum uirtute Neaera* [o Neaera, who will suffer much at my manhood] we have already discussed how she is named as Horace’s faithless mistress. Finally in Ov. *Am.* III 6,27-28 she is a beautiful nymph who ravages the river Xanthus:

nondum Troia fuit lustris obsessa duobus,  
cum rapuit uultus, Xanthe, Neaera tuos.

Not yet had Troy been besieged for two lustrums (ten years) when Neaera ravaged your eyes, Xanthus.

By the time of Prudentius (*Steph.* 10,240) the term *neaera* is used as a common noun to denote a prostitute. In Lygdamus these associations are clearly present, but I suggest there may also be a bilingual pun at work on Greek *véa* [new] and Latin *era* [mistress] reflecting the idea that Neaera will be the subject of a different kind of elegy, centred upon the failing marriage of a couple of equal status. The book as a whole shows, as we have seen, a movement from openness at *AT* 2,7 *nec mihi uera loqui pudor est* [I am not ashamed to speak the truth] (Lygdamus) to secrecy and silence (*tace* [be quiet]) the final word of the book *AT* 20,4), from a new Lygdaman type of elegy as exemplified in his affair with Neaera to the traditional Tibullan form of elegy in *AT* 19 involving servitude to the well-known traditional mistress:

nec fugiam notae seruitium dominae

nor shall I flee servitude to a mistress known to me.

a thematic which, I would argue, lends unity and development to the whole collection.

The Greek pseudonyms Lygdamus and Neaera are, then, full of significance derived from their etymologies and from their past literary associations. Greek names had of course been used in pastoral for the shepherds who speak in Virgil’s

<sup>43</sup> Nisbet - Rudd 2004, 189 *ad l.*

*Eclogues*, but a closer elegiac parallel for our author comes perhaps from Propertius' use of the Greek pseudonyms Arethusa and Lycotas in Prop. IV 3 where a Roman wife writes to her husband abroad on military service. Other Greek names occur elsewhere for minor characters in Roman elegy: in Tibullus there are Marathus in I 4 and I 8 and Pholoe in I 8 and in Propertius, in addition to his use of Lygdamus as a slave name, there are Panthus in II 21, Demophoon in II 22a and Lynceus in II 34. One further such name in *AT* remains to be discussed and that is the name of Sulpicia's lover, Cerinthus.

### c. *Cerinthus*

Cerinthus, the name of Sulpicia's lover occurs six times in the *AT*<sup>44</sup>. Like Lygdamus the name is Greek, restricted on Greek inscriptions mainly to Italy<sup>45</sup>, and occurring in Latin inscriptions mostly as a slave name (*ThLL Onom.* s.v.). There is one funerary inscription of a higher status Cerinthus, connected to the same gens *Valeria* as Messalla<sup>46</sup>. In Greek literature it occurs as a place name in Euboea in Theognis and in Homer<sup>47</sup>. Like Arethusa, Lycotas, Lygdamus and Neaera, the name is probably a pseudonym.

Etymologically the name has been connected with the Greek κήρινθος [bee bread], a mixture of pollen and honey made by bees to feed their young<sup>48</sup>. The connection between bees and poetry is widespread in Apolline poetics<sup>49</sup> and so a substance used for feeding bees is a good name for a character providing the poet/poetess with material for his/her poetry. Roessel 1990, 243-245 takes this idea further by suggesting that the connection between beeswax κηρός and Cerinthus' name could be connected with the wax tablets with which Sulpicia communicated with him, with Cerinthus again providing the medium for her epistolary epigrams. A suggestion by Knox 2018, 152 would associate the pallor of beeswax with the common image of the pallor of the lover, which would thus link Cerinthus with Lygdamus and his associations of pallor.

At Virg. *Georg.* IV 62-63 the poet recommends sprinkling the herb *cerintha* [honeywort] to attract bees: ... *huc tu iussos adsperge sapos, / trita melisphylla et cerintha ignobile gramen* [here spread the scents I prescribe, crushed balm and

<sup>44</sup> Five vocative addresses (*AT* 9,11, 10,15, 11,1, 17,1) and once in the abl. *sine Cerintha AT* 14,2.

<sup>45</sup> Fraser and Matthews 1987-, s.v. Cerinthus.

<sup>46</sup> *CIL* VI 6.4.3 39011 for an L. Valerius Cerinthus; see Fulkerson 2017, 31.

<sup>47</sup> Hom. *Il.* II 538, Theognis I 191,4.

<sup>48</sup> Aristotle *HA* 623b 23, Plin. *Nat.* XI 7,2, cf. Davies 1973.

<sup>49</sup> See Thomas 2011, 113 on Hor. *Carm.* IV 2,27-32.

the lowly herb, honeywort]. The plant, obviously connected the Greek κήρινθος [bee bread] occurs only here and at Plin. *Nat.* XXI 70. Servius *ad l.* comments on *ignobile gramen: uile, ubique nascens* [lowly herb: common, growing everywhere]. The suggestion could be that the status of Cerinthus, as an inspirer of verse, is lower than that of the poet/poetess cf. Sulpicia at *AT* 16.5-6 *solliciti sunt pro nobis quibus illa dolori est / ne cedam ignoto maxima causa toro* [Those are worried for me to whom it is the greatest source of pain that I should submit to an ignoble bed-fellow]. It may be significant that Virg. applies the same adjective to his poetic leisure in the *sphragis* at the end of the *Georgics*: IV 564 *studiis florentem ignobilis oti* [rejoicing in the pursuits of lowly leisure].

Hints in the poems about Cerinthus' social status are confusing. His interest in hunting (*AT* 9) is a characteristic of the Roman elite, however, Sulpicia taunts him, as we have seen, at *AT* 16,5-6 with being of lower status, perhaps meaning only that he is not as noble as her own family, the Servii Sulpicii (see *AT* 3-4 below). Unlike Lygdamus, Cerinthus is not himself a poet, but simply a recipient of love poems from Sulpicia. In this sense the pseudonym, like Tib.'s Marathus (another Greek plant-derived name), would suggest Cerinthus belonged to the tradition of the *puer delicatus*<sup>50</sup>, a low-status, effeminated young man, who is the object of erotic attention, in this case, unusually, from a woman<sup>51</sup>. If we accept that he is a literary creation, based, as was the case with Lygdamus and Neaera, on earlier Roman poetry, then these apparent inconsistencies can be better explained. As always in the *AT* we are dealing with a character who originates not in real life, but in poetry. The two literary sources for Cerinthus are a low class *puer delicatus* in Horace *Serm.* I 2,80-82 and a noble prospective husband (Cornutus) in Tib. II 2 and II 3. The apparent inconsistencies concerning the exact status of Cerinthus arise from the amalgamation of facets from both these characters. Both poems have clear textual links with the Cerinthus poems and clearly contributed to the establishment of his character. In the *Sermones* passage Horace advises the effeminate Cerinthus, who prides himself on his own beauty, that he should seek as a partner a readily available, toga-clad prostitute rather than a rich *matrona*:

Hor. *serm.* I 2,80-82 nec magis huic inter niueos uiridisque lapillos  
sit licet, hoc, Cerinthe, tuo tenerum est femur aut crus  
rectius, atque etiam melius persaepe togatae est.

Though entwined by white pearls and green emeralds

<sup>50</sup> For Marathus as the name of a *puer delicatus* from the Greek μάραθος "fennel" see Murgatroyd 1980, 9.

<sup>51</sup> But cf. Marathus' affair with a girl called Pholoe in Tib. I 8 and I 9.

a lady's thigh is not softer or her leg straighter than yours, Cerinthus; and very often those of a toga-clad girl are even better.

The situation is clearly reflected in *AT* 16,3-4 *sit tibi cura togae potior pressumque quasillo / scortum quam Serui filia Sulpicia* [let your love for a toga-clad girl and for a strumpet weighed down by a wool-basket be preferable in your eyes to Sulpicia, daughter of Servius] where Sulpicia accuses Cerinthus of being more interested in a toga-clad slave-girl rather than he is in herself. The presence of the rare *quasillo* [wool-basket] here recalls the speech of Cynthia's ghost at Prop. IV 7,41 *et grauiora rependit iniquis pensa quasillis / garrula de facie si qua locuta meast* [and she unjustly assigns baskets with heavier loads to any chattering servant who has referred to my beauty]. This is the only other extant occurrence of this word in verse, suggesting that our *AT* passage clearly looks back to Propertius. Here Cynthia's ghost criticises Propertius' slave-girl mistress for punishing those who had formerly praised Cynthia's beauty with extra loads of wool.

The Horatian parallel here, suggesting a low-class Cerinthus with interests in a slave as a mistress in preference to the noble Sulpicia can be seen as a reversal of the Lygdamus-Neaera relationship in which Lygdamus looks for a respectable marriage arrangement with a character whose name suggests a low-class prostitute. This is just the kind of miss-matching that Horace in his Ode addressed to Albius Tibullus sees as the essence of elegiac love poetry, Hor. *Carm.* I 33,10-12: *sic uisum Veneri, cui placet imparis / formas atque animos sub iuga aenea / saeuo mittere cum ioco* [Thus it seems good to Venus, whose pleasure it is to send beneath her brazen yolk ill-matched bodies and minds].

This picture is then complicated by the suggestion, first made by Gruppe 1838, 27, that Cerinthus is to be identified with Cornutus, the addressee of Tib. II 2 and II 3, whose birthday and forthcoming marriage are the subject of Tib. II 2. The Cornutus referred to there was probably M. Caecilius Cornutus (*CIL* VI 32338), a member with Messalla of the Arval college (or possibly his son *CIL* VI 2023a). I would not concur with Hubbard 2004, that Cornutus and Cerinthus are the same person under different names, but rather I would argue that Tib.'s poem about Cornutus influences some aspects of the character of Cerinthus as presented in our poems. First, the names are metrically equivalent, share the same C R N T consonants and could provide an example of a bilingual pun (Greek κέρας [horn] and Latin *cornus* [horn]). Second, as pointed out by Hubbard 2004, numerous verbal echoes connect Tib.'s poem with those about Cerinthus. So the conjugal chains of Tib. II 2,18-19 are echoed in *AT* 11,13-16; the nod of the Genius at II 2,9-10 is echoed in *AT* 11,20 and 12,13; the offering of cake and wine to the Genius at II 2,8 is echoed in *AT* 12,14 with *libo* [cake] and *mero* [wine] in the same *sedes*.

The influence of Tib. II 2 is not restricted to the birthday poems; the sweet-smelling Arabian herbs of II 2,3-4 are those worthy to be offered to Sulpicia at the Matronalia in AT 8,17-18 and the gems from India and the Red Sea to be rejected in favour of love at 2,15-16 are a worthy gift for Sulpicia at AT 8,19-20. Other echoes between Tib.'s birthday poem and the Sulpicia poems are listed by Hubbard 2004. Our Cerinthus is not to be identified either with the Horatian Cerinthus or with the Tibullan Cornutus, but these poems clearly contribute to the construction of his character and its inconsistencies, just as Horace *Epode* 15 and poems III 6, IV 7 and IV 8 of Propertius contribute to the construction of Lygdamus and Neaera.

### 5. Conclusions

This chapter has shown how the author of the *Appendix Tibulliana*, although probably writing in the late first century AD, uses strategically placed etymological plays, both on common nouns and proper names to associate himself with the poets of the golden age of Latin elegy at the turn of the first centuries BC and AD. He combines etymological interpretations with earlier literary references to create a series of characters whose associations lend novelty and unity to the whole book. In my view this collection is the product of a single author, male or female, who adopts a series of masks throughout the work and whose manipulation of these characters and their previous literary identities provide thematic and structural unity to the whole.

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