

UM Libraries Depository



103294709002

This thesis is subject to  
reserved book regulations



This Thesis Has Been

MICROFILMED

Negative No. T- 992

Form 26









*approved*  
*Walter Miller*

THE RELIGION OF TIBULLUS

by

GLADYS MARTIN, A. B.

-----

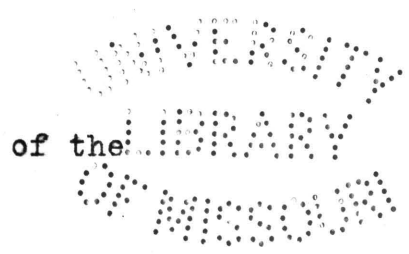
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the

GRADUATE SCHOOL



UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1913.

117852 59





THE RELIGION OF TIBULLUS.

Tibullus is generally considered a poet sincere and devout in his religion; for he is constantly invoking the presence of the divinities, vowing sacrifice to them, and dwelling upon their beneficence to mankind. It is the purpose of this discussion to prove that although he reveals feelings of reverence for the gods in general, in reality he worshiped chiefly the rural gods, especially those in whom were personified the elements of nature. Thus in scope his religion differed little from that of the rude untutored Italian peasant to whom the gods of the country were most familiar and all-important. To be sure Tibullus was born and bred a country lad, but it is rather strange that one who must have spent a large part of his later life in Rome, and who ranked high among the educated people of the city should have remained so true to the simple faith of his childhood. We know that he led a varied life, for, in addition to his activities as a literary man in Rome, he followed Messala upon two or three distant campaigns. Nevertheless his religious

-----

\*Note:- Dissen, Tibullus, Carmina p. XXXIX.

Note:- This discussion is concerned only with books I, II and IV, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 13 and 14, which are generally considered to be the genuine work of Tibullus. Whether IV, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, are spurious or not, they furnish us with no evidence regarding Tibullus' religion.



thought is as simple and peaceful as if he had passed his days in some remote rural district shut off from the broader intercourse of the world. No divinities of Rome or of foreign lands ever lessened his allegiance to the native gods of the country.

Tibullus knew and accepted other deities as existing but he does not seem to worship them personally. They did not seem to awaken in him such feelings of affection as did those gods who blessed the country with its riches and who oversaw every phase of country life. For the rural deities were closer to him than any others and the reason is probably to be found in his exceedingly great love for nature. Other gods were not the realities to him that those were who brought about the miracle of the changing seasons, and of the creation of life. His rich poetical feeling for nature made him see behind all her forces the hand of some god.

This love for nature and nature's gods outweighed any more worldly considerations on Tibullus' part. To the ordinary Roman whose practical interest in life was stronger than his poetical love of nature those divinities, such as Mercury, Fors Fortuna, and others, who meted out success or failure in business and public affairs were most important.\* But Tibullus was a poet who cared little about financial or worldly success. He preferred the simple life

-----  
\*Note:- Mommsen, History of Rome, vol. I, p. 214.



of a farmer to anything that wealth might offer him. So his religious conviction was free from any mercenary motives. His own small farm could not have furnished him with any substantial part of his income. But here he could enjoy the marvelous gifts of nature and in his own simple fashion worship the authors and protectors of all country life.

The proof of my assertion, that Tibullus worshiped chiefly the rural deities, and particularly the nature deities, is found in the evidence gathered from all his poems; for it is safe to assume that a poet of his religious character would not fail to devote some lines to any divinity of importance to him. This evidence shows that no divinities other than those directly interested in country life are spoken of with any degree of religious feeling. In fact, there are very few references to any other gods and these are mentioned only in a brief, casual, and indifferent manner. So the discussion of Tibullus' religion will concern itself with his worship of the rural deities and his general piety.



(A) WORSHIP OF THE RURAL DEITIES.

(1) Tibullus' attitude toward them as a whole.

A portion of the poem describing the festival of the *Ambarvalia* is a hymn to the rural gods which clearly portrays Tibullus' attitude toward them. It is they, he says, who first taught men to build their humble homes of logs, to cultivate the land and gather the golden harvest, to plant vineyards, and make wine. Not only have they taught men these means of obtaining sustenance but they have taught them also all the arts of civilization: poetry, music, dancing, the drama, religious worship, love, etc. Thus in this beautiful passage he ascribes to them all the best things of life.

II. 1, 37-68. (Dissen, Tibullus, Carmina.)

"Rura cano rurisque deos. his vita magistris  
desuevit querna pellere glande famem:  
illi compositis primum docuere tigillis  
exiguam viridi fronde operire domum,  
illi etiam tauros primi docuisse feruntur  
servitium et plaustro supposuisse rotam.  
tunc victus abiere feri, tunc consite pomus,  
tunc bibit irriguas fertilis hortus aquas,  
aurea tunc pressos pedibus dedit uva liquores  
mixtaque securo est sobria lympha mero.  
rura ferunt messes, calidi cum sideris aestu  
deponit flavas annua terra comas.  
rure levis verno flores epis ingerit alveo,  
compleat ut dulci sedula melle favos.





agricola assiduo primum satiatus aratro  
cantavit certo rustica verba pede  
et satur arenti primum est modulatus avena  
carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante deos,  
agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti  
primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.  
huic datus a pleno, memorabile munus, ovili  
dux pecoris hircus auxerat hircus oves.  
rure puer verno primum de flore coronam  
fecit et antiquis imposuit Laribus.  
rure etiam teneris curam exhibitura puellis  
molle gerit tergo lucida vellus ovis.  
hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque,  
fusus et apposito pollice versat opus:  
atque aliqua assiduae textrix operata Minervae  
cantat, et applauso tela sonat latere.  
ipse interque greges interque armenta Cupido  
natus et indomitas dicitur inter equas."

In this passage a couplet is devoted to each different gift of the gods.



(2) The Various Rural Divinities of Tibullus.

His Conception and Worship of Each.

CERES.

One of Tibullus' favorite deities is Ceres, who was probably a rural god of old Italian origin, although she was later identified with the Greek Demeter. Preller says, in speaking of Ceres, Liber, and Libera; "Wie diese drei Götter mit einheimisch italischen Namen benannt sind, so waren sie selbst ohne Zweifel altitalischen Ursprungs." (Römische Mythologie, vol. 2, p. 37.) The name Ceres is connected with the word *creare*. Servius gives the derivation thus: "Ceres a creando dicta." (V. G. 1. 7.) She is the personification of mother earth who received the seed planted by men and gives them back as rich harvest. She taught men to cultivate her fruits and worship her with the simple gifts of the field. So Tibullus prays:

"Flava Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona

spicea, quae templi pendeat ante fores:"(I.1, 15-16)

The epithet *flava* is applied to Ceres because she is the goddess of grain. It was customary for her to be represented with a garland of ears of corn about her head. Baumeister says:-

"Auf Münzen, wo der Demeter-Kopf sehr häufig erscheint, wird die Göttin im älteren Typus durch den Schleier, später fast regelmässig durch den Aehren kranz charakterisiert." - "Auf Wandgemälden endlich, deren Overbeck ein Dutzend aufzählt, findet sich Demeter stets bekränzt mit Aehren oder mit Blumen."

(Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, vol. I.) Hence Tibullus invokes her with these words in the celebration of the ancient



ceremony of the Ambarvalia; (II. 1. 4):

"et spicis tempora cinge Ceres."

As goddess of the fields Ceres held sway over every land. Tibullus expresses this thought in the words which he puts into the sibyl's mouth, (II. 5, 57-60):

"Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis,  
qua sua de caelo prospicit arva Ceres,  
quaque patent ortus et qua fluitantibus undis  
Solis anhelantes abluit amnis equos."

So he conceives of the goddess as looking down from heaven upon her fields. Since she was the author of the harvest Tibullus, in the same poem, declares:

"laurus ubi bona signa dedit, gaudete coloni:

distendēt spicis horrea plena Ceres"; (83-4)

The crackling of the laurel in the fire was generally considered a good omen. Ovid says :

"ure mares oleas taedamque herbasque Sabinas,

et crepet in mediis laurus adusta focis."(F.IV.669-70)

Tibullus being of a superstitious nature of course believed in omens and portents.

#### HECATE.

Closely connected in origin with the worship of Ceres or Demeter was that of Hecate. According to some accounts of Greek Mythology she was the daughter of Demeter, and she was at times identified with her. But she was also closely associated with Artemis, the huntress and moon goddess, so that the two often seemed to be identical. Long before Tibullus' time she had come to be the special goddess of the night and of the crossroads, whence she was called Trivia. She was the



personification of the mystery of the night and the moonlit roads with their ghosts and apparitions were her peculiar province. She was a patroness of witchcraft and all magic charms, and on the last day of each month offerings of food were made to her at the crossroads. The poor people seemed to have appreciated such offerings for they did not hesitate to eat them, as Aristophanes suggests:

“παρὰ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἔξεστιν τοῦτο πυθέσθαι,  
ἔτε τὸ πλουτεῖν ἔτε τὸ πεινῆν βέλτιον, φησὶ γὰρ  
αὕτη

τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ πλουτοῦντας δεῖπνον κατὰ μῆν  
ἀποπέμπειν

τοὺς δὲ πένητας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρπάζειν πρὶν  
καταθεῖναι. (Plut. 596)

Tibullus was naturally rather credulous, for incantations and charms seemed to have been matters of moment to him. Hence Hecate, the goddess of witchcraft, was a divinity to be reckoned with. This is shown in I. 5, where he tells how his prayers to this goddess had effected the recovery of Delia from a serious illness. He had performed rights of purification about her three times with the help of an old witch and had made offerings of consecrated cake. Then with unbound robe he gave nine vows to Trivia in the silent nighttime.:

"ille ego, cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres,

te dicor votis eripuisse meis,

ipseque te circum lustravi sulfure puro,

carmine cum magico praecinuisset anus:

ipse procuravi ne possent saeva nocere





somnia, ter sancta deveneranda mola:

ipse ego velatus filo tunicisque solutis  
vota novem Triviae nocte silente dedi.

omnia persolvi:" (9-17).

So he had tested the efficacy of Hecate's power and had not found it wanting.

Hecate was supposed to be accompanied by a train of Stygian dogs and her appearance was announced by the howling of dogs, Vergil speaks thus of her approach:

"Visaeque canes ululare per umbram,  
adventante dea." (Aen. VII. 257.)

Apollonius also in a gruesome description of this goddess of darkness says:

"ἀμφὶ δὲ τήνῃε  
ὄσειν ὑλακῆν χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο." (III. 1215-6)

Tibullus refers to these dogs in I. 2, 53-4, where he declares that a certain fortune-teller of his acquaintance, who possessed most wonderful powers of witchcraft, was able to tame even the fierce dogs of Hecate:

"sola tenere malas Medeae dicitur herbas,  
sola feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes."

This same witch he says, tried to dissolve his love by purifying him with pine torches and by sacrificing black victims to the gods of magic.

"quid credam? nempe haec eadem se dixit amores  
cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos,  
et me lustravit taedis, et nocte serena  
concidit ad magicos hostia pulla deos." (61-4)



Hecate was surely one of those gods of magic to whom Tibullus and this enchantress made sacrifice. In the first quotation given he uses "nocte silente" (I. 5, 15.) and in the passage just quoted "nocte serena". Night was the only suitable time to worship Hecate or to perform any charms or incantations. So Tibullus addresses Pholoe with these words:

"num te carminibus, num te pallentibus herbis  
devovit tacito tempore noctis anus?" (I. 8, 17-18.)

Here, it is noted, he uses "tacito tempore noctis."

So we know that our poet respected and called to his aid the powers of this goddess of the night. He evidently did not consider her a deity to be worshiped regularly, but only to be resorted to in time of need.

### BACCHUS.

Bacchus, being the god of the vine, is naturally expected to hold some place in Tibullus' esteem. Moreover he was the god of all plant creation; for he symbolized the productive force of nature as it was revealed in the vegetation of forest and field.\* He was considered a general promoter of peace and civilization. With his wine he brought joy and happiness to mortals and drove away their cares. So at the time of the vintage he was worshiped with great festivity by the country folk.

---

\*Note:- Preller, Griechische Mythologie, p. 659.



The Romans and Greeks identified Bacchus with Osiris, the chief god of the Egyptians, because he was also a god of agriculture. With regard to this Diodorus Siculus says:

“καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν μεθερμηγευόμενον εἶναι  
Διονύσον, τὴν δὲ Ἴσιν ἔγγιστα πῶς Δήμητραν  
ταύτην δὲ γήματα τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν  
σκαθεξάμενον πολλὰ πράξας πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν  
τοῦ κοινῶ βίου.” (I. 135)

In a more indirect manner Herodotus also speaks of the identification of these two divinities:— “Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας.” (II. 156)

The Egyptians, he says, call Apollo and Diana the children of Dionysus and Isis, that is, of Osiris and Isis. Tibullus speaks of the two as identical in I. 7, 29-49, Under the name of Osiris he gives us a eulogy of Bacchus:

"primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris  
et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum,  
primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae  
pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.  
hic docuit teneram palis adiungere vitem,  
hic viridem dura caedere falce comam:  
illi iucundos primum matura sapores  
expressa incultis uva dedit pedibus.  
ille liquor docuit voces inflectere cantu,  
movit et ad certos nescia membra modos,  
Bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore  
pectora tristitiae dissoluenda dedit.



Bacchus et afflictis requiem mortalibus affert,  
crura licet dura compede pulsa sonent.  
non tibi sunt tristes curae nec luctus, Osiri,  
sed chorus et cantus et levis aptus amor,  
sed varii flores et frons redimita corymbis,  
fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes  
et Tyriae vestes et dulcis tibia cantu  
et levis occultis conscia cista sacris."

In this passage it is interesting to note how the poet emphasizes the divinity by the repetition of his name or else the pronoun or adjective referring to him at the beginning of each line or couplet;— primus - primus, hic -, hic, illi - ille, Bacchus- Bacchus.

So Bacchus is here considered by Tibullus not a wine god alone, but a benefactor of agriculture in general. He describes how the god first fashioned the plow, planted the fields, and taught the art of training the vine and of making wine from its grapes. After so sketching the invention of agriculture under the instruction of Bacchus he proceeds to enumerate the blessings brought by his wine and completes the passage by drawing for us a charming picture of this divinity. In contrast to this personal relation of Bacchus to the welfare of mankind, which Tibullus emphasizes, is the characterization of this same deity by Propertius. To the latter he was merely the god of wine who introduced the cultivation of the vine and destroyed all who opposed him.

"quod si, Bacche, tuis per fervida tempora donis  
accersitus erit somnus in ossa mea,  
ipse seram vitis pangamque ex ordine collis,





quos carpant nullae me vigilante ferae.  
dum modo purpureo cumulem mihi dolia musto,  
et nova pressantis inquinet uva pedes,  
quod superest vitae per te et tua cornua vivam,  
virtutisque tuae, Bacche, poeta ferar.  
dicam ego maternos Aetnaeo fulmine partus,  
Indica Nysaeis arma fugata choris,  
vesanumque nova nequiquam in vite Lycurgum,  
Pentheos in triplices funera grata greges,  
curvaque Tyrrhenos delphinum corpora nautas  
in vada pampinea desiluisse rate,  
et tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Diam,  
unde tuum potant Naxia turba merum." (III. 17, 13-28)

The representations of Bacchus were various. Sometimes he appears in works of art as a bearded man, called the Indian Bacchus. But the commonest conception was that of a youthful Bacchus, of effeminate charm, with head wreathed in ivy, and it is as such that our poet describes him in the above quoted lines. (I. 7, 43-8). He was also represented with horns. Ovid says that whenever he was represented without them he was effeminate in countenance: "tibi cum sine cornibus adstas virgineum caput est." (Met. IV, 19). Tibullus refers to his horns when he invokes him thus in the ceremony of the Ambarvalia:

"Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva  
pendeat," (II. 1, 3-4).

He addresses him again in II. 3, 63-4:

et tu, Bacche tener, incundae consitor uvae,  
tu quoque devotos, Bacche, relinque lacus."



In these lines he utters seemingly impious words against Bacchus, because Nemesis has gone to the country and he cannot be with her. But his jesting tone is sufficient to show that he means no impiety. Moreover for all such words he offers apology when he thus addresses cruel Amor:

"tu miserum torques, tu me mihi dira precari  
cogis et insana mente nefanda loqui." (II., 6, 17-18)

At the ancient festivals in honor of Dionysus the peasants sang and danced in chorus about his altar. From the hymns sung thus in his honor tragedy originated, and the name τραγῳδία (goat-song) is thought by some to have arisen from the fact that the leader of the chorus was rewarded with a goat. Tibullus speaks of the chorus and worship of Bacchus as being established in the very beginning of civilization and refers to this custom of rewarding the leader of the Bacchic chorus with a goat:

"agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti  
primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.  
huic datus a pleno, memorabile munus, ovilli  
dux pecoris hircus auxerat hircus oves." (II. 1, 55-8)

### PRIAPUS.

Priapus was another of the gods who protected the farmers. He was the Greek god of fertility and was introduced into Italy from the region of the Hellespont. He was the symbol of all productiveness but his especial province was the gardens and trees. His worship was popular among the farmers and his statue was frequently to be found in their gardens where it served the purpose of a scarecrow.



Tibullus has reference to this practice when he says:

"pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis,  
terreat ut saeva falce Priapus aves." (I, 1, 17-18)

A similar conception of Priapus as a scarecrow armed with a sickle is found in Vergil's Georgics (IV. 110-11)

"et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna  
Hellespontiacy servet tutela Priapy."

The epithet "Ruber" which Tibullus uses refers to the fact that the image was painted with vermilion. Pliny (N.H. XXXIII. 7,) tells how the early Romans made a practice of adorning the faces of their gods with red paint. Like Tibullus Ovid also calls Priapus "Ruber":

"ruber hortorum decus et tutela Priapus." (F. I, 415).

Priapus was usually represented as a bearded old man. Tibullus gives us some idea of his appearance in I. 4. Here the poet, being unsuccessful in his love-making, consults Priapus who gives him advice as to the manner of conducting such affairs:

"sic umbrosa tibi contingant tecta, Priape,  
ne capiti soles, ne noceantque nives:  
quae tua formosos cepit sollertia? certe  
non tibi barba nitet, non tibi culta coma est,  
nudus et hibernae producis frigora brumae,  
nudus et aestivi tempora sicca Canis.'  
sic ego: tum Bacchi respondit rustica proles,  
armatus curva sic mihi falce deus." (I. 4, 1-8)

From this it appears that the statue of the god was not at all handsome. His beard and hair were rough and his body was bare and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather.



Tibullus, it is noted, calls him the rustic offspring of Bacchus. It was because of his connection with the fertility of vegetation that he was associated with the worship of Bacchus. In Lampsacus he was considered the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite, together with whom he held sway over gardens and fields. Diodorus Siculus says: (IV. 6 1)

“ μυθολογοῦσιν οὖν ἃ παλαιοὶ τὸν Πρίαπον υἱὸν  
μὲν εἶναι Διονύσου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης.”

But he was also called the son of Dionysus and a nymph, Chione, and was often honored along with the nymphs. As the worship of Priapus was introduced into Italy from the Hellespont the Romans too considered him a son of Bacchus.

But this god was also related in significance to Eros, who was worshiped of old at Parion in a form like that of Priapus. This is one reason why Tibullus consulted him as master of the art of love-making. Another lies in the fact that he was a deity familiar and common to all. Mortals could approach him on more intimate terms than the other greater deities. So our poet represents himself as humbly seeking and receiving this god's advice.

#### VERTUMNUS.

Similar to the conception of Priapus and Venus was that of Vertumnus, who was also a god of the spring and the gardens. But he was especially the god of the changing seasons, of the annus vertens, his name being connected with the middle participle of the verb *vertere*. Propertius gives expression to this idea:





"Vertumnus verso dicor ab amne deus.

seu, quia vertentis fructum praecepimus anni,

Vertumni rursus credis id esse sacrum.

prima mihi variat liventibus uva racemis,

et coma lactenti spicea fruge tumet;

hic dulces cerasos, hic autumnalia pruna

cernis et aestivo mora rubere die;

insitor hic solvit pomosa vota corona,

cum pirus invito stipite mala tulit."(IV. 2, 10-19)

So all the gifts of the different seasons, of the fruitful autumn as well as of the spring, were manifestations of the divine power of Vertumnus.

Tibullus mentions him only once, in IV. 2, where he is singing the praises of the beauty of Sulpicia, niece of Messala. He declares her equally lovely in whatever garb she wears and compares her thus to Vertumnus:

"talis in aeterno felix Vertumnus Olympe

mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet."(13-14)

This is a fitting tribute to the everchanging beauties of nature which the poet conceives to be the garb of Vertumnus himself.

### VENUS.

Venus was an old Italian goddess of the spring. She was the lovely goddess of flowers and all growing vegetation. The gardens and vineyards were under her care and the gardeners honored her as a divinity of their trade. The first day of April was sacred to her, that month being the beginning of spring, when the flowers burst into bloom and nature



displays all her charms. This sentiment is well expressed by Ovid:

"nec Veneri tempus quam ver, erat aptius illum:

vere nitent terrae vere remissus ager.

nunc herbae rupta tellure cacumina tollunt,

nunc tumido gemmas cortice palmes agit,

et formosa Venus formoso tempore digna est." (F. IV. 125-9)

But Venus was also a goddess of love and this came to be her especial significance to the Romans in later times. Tibullus speaks of her frequently and she is always the goddess of love to him. We feel perhaps that a nature - worshiper like Tibullus ought to display some of her characteristics as a nature goddess. But Tibullus was first of all a love poet, a writer of elegiac love songs. There were other rural deities besides Venus presiding over nature, but there was only one goddess of love. So she was of primary importance to him as such.

Being the goddess of love Venus naturally favors lovers and is enraged at and punishes all wrongs against them. So Tibullus says:

"blanditiis vult esse locum Venus ipsa: querelis

supplicibus, miseris fletibus illa favet." (I. 4, 71-2)

These are words which he puts into the mouth of Priapus. Then in I. 5, we find:

"evenient: dat signa deus: sunt numina amanti,

saevit et iniusta lege relicta Venus." (57-58)

The maiden who is faithless to her lover, we are told, receives her punishment in her old age when she is deserted by all.



Venus looks down disdainfully upon her tears from Olympus, and shows by this example how severe she is to the heartless coquette:

"hanc Venus ex alto flentem sublimis Olympo  
spectat et infidis quam sit acerba monet." (I. 6, 83-4)

Venus punishes the girl who is unkind to her lover, as the poet warns his friend Pholoe:

"nec tu difficilis puero tamen esse memento  
persequitur poenis tristia facta Venus," (I. 8, 27-8)

The goddess is also very severe toward one whose love is outweighed by avarice:

"divitiis captus siquis violavit amorem,  
asperaque est illi difficilisque Venus." (I. 9, 19-20)

She herself aids lovers in clandestine meetings and is ready to punish anyone who should betray them:

"tu quoque ne timide castodes, Delia, falle.

Audendum est: fortes adiuvat ipsa Venus." (I, 2, 15-16)

Venus it is who imposes bonds of servitude upon lovers and frees them according to her will. So our poet declares that he will in time dedicate a shield to Venus for freeing him from his unrequited love. These are the words that will be inscribed upon it:

"hanc tibi fallaci resolutus amore Tibullus  
dedicat et grata sis, dea, mente rogat." (I, 9, 83-4)

In IV. 5 Tibullus, speaking as Sulpicia, begs Venus not to be unjust but let her and Cerinthus be held by equal bonds of love or else free her entirely:



"nec tu sis iniusta, Venus: vel serviat aequè  
vinctus uterque tibi, vel mea vincula leva."(IV. 5, 13-14)

Tibullus is a master of love-making, and he tells us that, although he has not the gift of reading the secrets of the gods, he has been instructed by Venus herself in reading lover's signs:

"non ego celari possum, quid nutus amantis  
quidve ferant miti lenia verba sono.  
nec mihi sunt sortes nec conscia fibra deorum,  
praecinit eventus nec mihi cantus avis:  
ipsa Venus magico religatum brachia nodo  
perdocuit multis non sine verberibus."(I. 8, 1-6)

In a like spirit of boasting he asks all whom Cupid maltreats to extol him as their teacher, and declares that when he is an old man the youths will throng to hear him expound the precepts of Venus. But these words are almost immediately retracted when he confesses how vain are all his arts:

"pareat ille suae: vos me celebrate magistrum,  
quos male habet multa callidus arte puer.  
gloria cuique sua est: me, qui spernentur, amantes  
consultent: cunctis ianua nostra patet.  
tempus erit, cum me Veneris praecepta ferentem  
deducat iuvenum sedulâ turba senem.  
Heu heu quam Marathus lento me torquet amore!

deficiunt artes, deficiuntque doli!"(I, 4, 75-82)

There are a number of other passages in which Venus' name occurs but they add nothing further to her character as conceived by Tibullus, for her name is used mainly as metonymy for love.





From these quotations we can see that Tibullus considered Venus purely a deity of love. To his mind she was a fair and powerful divinity who took pleasure in aiding and protecting lovers. So it was well to remain in her favor. But he did not feel for her the reverence that he did his other rural divinities. She did not appeal to his purest and best emotions, and for this reason we find no very interesting passages relating to this goddess. It is to be regretted that Tibullus did not represent her in her ancient role as a spring goddess. In this case we probably should have had something more worth while written about her.

AMOR.

Amor was the son of Venus and was, like her, a deity of love. He was the youngest of the gods and was represented as a beautiful youth with golden wings. He was armed with bow and arrows or with burning torches. From his love inspiring darts neither gods nor mortals were safe. He dearly loved to play tricks upon men and make sport of them. Of this Tibullus complains:

"semper ut, inducar, blandos offers mihi vultus,  
post tamen es misero tristis et asper, Amor,  
quid tibi saevitiae mecum est? an gloria magna est  
insidias homini composuisse deum?"(I. 6, 194).

There is nothing for men to do but obey the commands of Amor, according to our poet's belief:

"iussit Amor: contra quis ferat arma deos?"(I.6, 30)

-----

"sic fieri iubet ipse deus,"(I. 6, 43).



"Audeat invito nequis discedere Amore,

aut sciat egressum se prohibente deo." (I. 3, 21-2).

If anyone yields to him unwillingly he inflames him all the more with the passion of love:

"desine dissimulare: deus crudelius urit,

quos videt invitos succubuisse sibi." (I. 8, 7-8)

Our poet frequently speaks of Amor simply as "deus". Like Venus, Amor aids lovers in eluding restraint:

" ipse dedit cupidis fallere posse deus." (I. 8, 56).

- - - - -

"nec possit cupidos vigilans deprendere custos,

fallendique vias mille ministret Amor." (IV. 6, 11-12)

He also takes vengeance on those who mock at lovers by reducing them to the same plight, as in the case of Marathus which Tibullus cites:

"hic Marathus quondam miseros ludebat amantes,

nescius ultorem post caput esse deum:" (I. 8, 71-2)

But Amor is so capricious that he sometimes likes to stir up a quarrel between lovers:

"at lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat,

inter et iratum lentus utrumque sedet." (I. 10, 57-8)

The weapons of Amor are first referred to in poetry by Euripides. In the Hippolytus he thus proclaims their power:

" οὐτε γὰρ πυρὸς αὐτ' ἄστρον ὑπέρτερον βέλος

οἶον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἦσιν ἐκ χερῶν

"Ἔρως, ὁ Διὸς παῖς." (530)

Tibullus mentions Cupid's bow and arrows a number of times.



In II. 5 he beseeches Apollo to put an end to bows and arrows because with them Cupid had brought evil to so many, especially the poet himself:

"pace tua pereant arcus pereantque sagittae,  
Phoebe, modo in terris erret inermis Amor.  
ars bona: sed postquam sumpsit sibi tela Cupido,  
heu heu quam multis ars dedit illa malum!  
et mihi praecipue. iaceo cum saucius annum  
et faveo morbo, cum iuvat ipse dolor," (II. 5 105-10)

Horace pictures Cupid for us as sharpening his arrows upon a bloody whetstone.

"ridet hoc inquam Venus ipsa, rident  
simplices nymphae, ferus et Cupido semper  
semper ardentis acuens sagittas  
cote cruenta." (CAR. II. 8, 14)

His torch is mentioned by Tibullus in II. 6, for the poet in his anger at Amor for his cruelty utters the wish that he might see his arrows broken and his torch extinguished.

"acer Amor, fractas utinam tua tela sagittas,  
si licet, extinctas aspiciamque faces!" (15-16)

In another poem Tibullus tells a bit of fiction about Cupid being born in the country among herds of cattle and practicing first with his arrows upon them.

"ipse interque greges interque armenta Cupido  
natus et indomitas dicitur inter equas.  
illic indocto primum se exercuit arcu:  
hei mihi, quam doctas nunc habet ille manus!  
nec pecudes, velut ante, petit: fixisse puellas  
gestit et audaces perdomuisse viros.



hic iuveni detraxit opes, hic dicere iussit  
limen ad iratae verba pudenda senem:  
hoc duce custodes furtim transgressa iacentes  
ad iuvenem tenebris sola puella venit  
et pedibus praetentat iter suspensa timore,  
explorat caecas cui manus ante vias.  
ah miseri, quos hic graviter deus urget! at ille  
felix, cui placidus leniter afflat Amor.  
Sancte, veni dapibus festis, sed pone sagittas  
et procul ardentem hinc precor abde faces." (II., 1, 67-82)

This idea that Amor was born in the country is found also in the Pervigilium Veneris (XIX).

"ipse Amor puer Dionae rure natus creditur:"

The wings of Amor are spoken of in II. 2 where the poet invokes the god thus on the occasion of Cerinthus' birthday:

"vota cadunt. utinam strepitantibus advolet alis  
flavaque coniugio vincula portet Amor." (17-18)

Amor never relaxes the bonds with which the poet is held, as he complains:

"servitium sed triste datur, teneorque catenis,  
et nunquam misero vincula remittit Amor," (II. 4, 3-4).

So he invites anyone else under Cupid's command to come and learn with him the warfare of love.

"at tu, quisquis is es, cui tristi fronte Cupido  
imperat, ut nostra sint tua castra domo," (II. 3, 33-4)

When his brother poet Macer, has gone to war Tibullus jestingly asks what will become of youthful Love. Will he accompany him





on the march? If not, Tibullus prefers to become a soldier too in order to escape from the cruel god.

"castra Macer sequitur: tenero quid fiet Amori?  
sit comes et collo fortiter arma gerat?  
et seu longa virum terrae via seu vaga dacent  
aequora, cum telis ad latus ire volet?  
ure, puer, quaeso, tua qui ferus otia liquit,  
atque iterum erronem sub tua signa voca.  
quod si militibus parces, erit hic quoque miles,  
ipse levem galea qui sibi portet aquam." (II. 6, 1-8)

In regard to appearance and attributes Tibullus' representation of Amor corresponds to the usual one of this god. The epithets applied to him are "lascivus," "tener," and "acer." Like Venus, this capricious god does not awaken a great amount of religious feeling and reverence in the poet. But Tibullus honored him as an important factor in his love-making.

### APOLLO.

Apollo was a divinity especially honored by Tibullus, for he loved to dwell upon his divine powers and picture the charms of his personal appearance. Apollo belonged to the nature gods in origin, for he was the Greek god of the sun and the light. In his epic name Φαῖβος Ἀπόλλων, Φαῖβος designated the beaming nature of light, especially the sunlight. Ploix says in regard to this:

"Il s'appelait Φαῖβος et nous retrouvons ici la racine bha (briller) qui indique, de la façon la plus nette, qu'Apollon est une personification de la lumière." (La Nature Des Dieux, p. 254).



To be sure, Apollo did not remain a simple sun-god. He became the god of healing, of prophecy, and of music.

He was early adopted by the Romans but they first called him Apello, the form common among the Greeks of Southern Italy, which had in it the idea of turning away sickness. Or else they called him Aperta, with reference to his prophetic character. Later the name Apollo was accepted. He soon became a powerful divinity worshiped everywhere in Italy, in city and country alike. So it is quite natural for Tibullus to offer his homage to Apollo. He himself enumerates him among his rural gods, for in his song to the rural divinities does he not attribute the gift of music to them, and was not Apollo the author of music?

But he was even more closely related to the welfare of country life than in his guise as a god of healing, of prophecy, and of song; for he was a protector of flocks and cattle. According to the Homeric hymn to Hermes, the herds of the gods fed in Pieria under the care of Apollo. At the command of Zeus he guarded the cattle of Laomedon in the valleys of Mt. Ida.

“Φοῖβε, οὐδ' εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς βουκολέεσκες

Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι πολυπύχου ὑληέσης.” (Il. XXI. 448-9)

Tibullus brings out this phase of Apollo's character by relating the story of his tending the cattle of Admetus at Pherae. He was sentenced to this task by Zeus as a punishment for killing the Cyclopes, according to the version of Euripides:

“Ὡδῶματ' Ἀδμήτει, ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ  
θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι θεός περ ὦν.  
Ζεὺς γάρ, κατακτὰς παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν, αἴτιος,  
Ἀσκληπιὸν, στέρνοισιν ἐμβαλῶν φλόγα·  
οὐδ' ἄλλοι χολωθεῖς τέκτονας Δίου πυρὸς



κτείνω Κύκλωπας, καὶ με θητεύειν πατήρ  
θνητῶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ τῶνδ' ἄποιν' ἠνάγκασεν.  
ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν τήνδ' ἔβουφόρβουν ξένω." (Alcest. 1-8)

But Tibullus follows the version of the Alexandrian poets who made Apollo's love for Admetus the cause of his service. Callimachus states it thus:

“ Φοῖβον καὶ νόμιον κικλήσκωμεν ἔσ' ἐτι κείνου,  
ἔξ' ὅτ' ἐπ' Ἀμφρυσῶι βουγίτιδας ἔτρεφεν ἵππους  
ἠθέου ὑπὲρ ἔρωτι κεκαυμένος Ἀδμητοιο." (Hymn. in Apoll. 47)

Even Apollo's medical art, Tibullus says was vain against the power of love. So he tells how the god himself drove the cattle from the stables and tended them in the deep valleys:

"pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,  
nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae,  
nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis:  
quicquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor.  
ipse deus solitus stabulis expellere vaccas  
- - - - -  
et miscere novo docuisse coagula lacte,  
lacteus et mixtus obriguisset liquor.  
tum fiscella levi detexta est vimine iunci,  
raraque per nexus est via facta sero.  
O quotiens illo vitulum gestante per agros  
dicitur occurrens erubuisse soror!  
O quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,  
rumpere mugitu carmine docta boves!  
saepe duces trepidis petiere oracula rebus,  
venit et a templis irrita turba domum:



saepe horrere sacros doluit Latona capillos,  
quos admirata est ipsa noverca prius.  
quisquis inornatumque caput crinesque solutos  
aspiceret, Phoebi quaereret ille comam.

Delos ubi nunc, Phoebè, Tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho?"(II. 3, 11-27).

From this it is evident that our poet delights to picture this favorite divinity of his in close touch with nature.

We know that Tibullus believed in Apollo's power of healing for in IV, 4. he invokes him as the divine physician at the sick bed of Sulpicia. He beseeches that she may be restored to health and foretells the praise that will be Apollo's reward if he saves her.

"huc ades at tenerae morbos expelle puellae,  
huc ades, intonsa Phoebè superbe coma.  
crede mihi, propera: nec te iam, Phoebè, pigebit  
formosae medicas applicuisse manus.  
effice ne macies pallentes occupet artus,  
neu notet informis pallida membra color,  
et quodcumque mali est et quicquid triste timemus,  
in pelagus rapidis evehat amnis aquis.  
Sancte, veni, tecumque feras, quicumque saporis,  
quicumque et cantus corpora fessa levant:  
neu iuvenem torque, metuit qui fate puellae  
votaque pro domine vix numeranda facit.  
-----  
Phoebè, fave: laus magne tibi tribuetur in uno  
corpore servato restituisse duos.  
iam celebrer, iam laetus eris, cum debita reddet  
certatim sanctis laetus uterque focus.





tunc te felicem dicet pia turba deorum,

optabunt artes et sibi quisque tuas." (Iv. 4, 1-26)

These words revealed the poet's real and anxious desire for the help of Apollo. He is first urgent in his demand:- "huc ades - huc ades,-crede mihi , propera." Then he becomes appealing:- "nec te iam, Phoebe, pigebit formosae medicas applicuisse manus." He continues to entreat him with all the powers of language at his command:

"Sancte, veni, tecumque feras, quicumque saporis,  
quicumque et cantus corpora fessa levant: (9-10)

- - - - -

Phoebe, fave: laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno  
corpore servato restituisset duos." (21-22)

Under Augustus a new temple was built to Apollo upon the Palatine. The Sibylline books were removed to the new temple and the priests who had charge of the books became the special servants of Apollo. This is shown in II. 5, in which poem Tibullus begs Apollo to initiate Messalinus into the mysteries of the Sibylline books since he had lately been admitted to this college of priests.

"Phoebe, fave: novus ingreditur tua temple sacerdos:

huc age cum cithara carminibusque veni.

nunc te vocales impellere pollice chordas,

nunc precor ad laudes flectere verba meas.

ipse triumphali devinctus tempora lauro,

dum cumulant aras, ad tua sacra veni.

sed nitidus pulcherque veni: nunc indue vestem

sepositam, longas nunc bene pectus comas,

qualem te memorant Saturno rege fugato



victori laudes concinuisse Iovi.  
tu procul eventura vides, tibi deditus augur  
scit bene quid fati provida cantet avis,  
tuque regis sortes, per te praesentit aruspex,  
lubrica signavit cum deus exta notis:  
te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla est,  
abdita quae senis fata canit pedibus!

Phoebe, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas  
vatis, et ipse precor quod canat illa doce." (II. 5, 1,-18)

In these lines Tibullus first invites our attention to the musical powers of Apollo by urging him to come with Cithar and with song. He then describes how all the means of learning the secrets of the future are under Apollo's control:- The augur's observation of the birds, the lots, (sortes), the aruspex's examination of the exta, and lastly the utterances of the Sibyl. The Sibyls were inspired priestesses of Apollo. In the following portion of this poem Tibullus relates how the Sibyl of Cumae foretold the greatness of Rome. Her closing words are of interest:

"vera cano: sic usque sacras innoxia laurus  
vescar, et aeternum sit mihi virginitas".(63-4)

It was the custom for a priestess of Apollo to chew the leaves of the laurel to increase her inspiration. After narrating the disasters prophesied by the Sibyls and their dread fulfillment Tibullus begs that Apollo may grant peace for the future and that he may live to sing of the greatness of Messalinus.

"haec fuerant olim: sed tu iam mitis, Apollo,  
prodigia indomitis merge sub aequoribus,



et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis,  
omine quo felix et sacer annus erit ."(79-82)

- - - - -

annue: sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli,  
sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror."(121-2)

Apollo is represented in works of art as a youth ideal in manly beauty. In the passage already quoted (II. 5 1-10) Our poet endeavors to give us some idea of this handsome god. He was graced with flowing locks and his head was wreathed in the sacred laurel. This description corresponds to the famous statue of the Palatine Apollo, the Apollo Citharoedus of Scopas. Tibullus does not seem to be able to speak of him without remarking upon his hair, which is mentioned in II. 3, 12 and 23-4, IV. 4, 2, II. 5, 8, II. 5, 121, and also in I. 4, 35-8 where the poet declares that Apollo and Bacchus alone are blessed with eternal youth.

" crudeles divi! serpens novus exuit annos:  
formae non ullam fata dedere moram.  
solis aeterna est Phoebus Bacchoque iuventa:  
nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum."

In these lines his hair is described as "intonsus crinis". In II. 3, 12 we find "intonsae comae", in line 23, "sacros capillos", II. 5, 8 "longas comas", and in line 121 of the same poem "intonsi capilli". Finally once again in IV. 4, 2 the expression "intonsa coma" is found. So there is little variation in his description. There are only two instances where he does not use the adjective "intonsus", but he varies his language by using crinis, capilli, and coma in both singular and plural. So the long flowing hair of Apollo seems to have



impressed Tibullus more than anything else in his appearance.

From the abundance of references to Apollo there is little doubt that he was indeed an honored divinity of Tibullus. Perhaps the nature worshiping spirit of the poet felt dimly in him some of his pristine character as the god of the sun and the light. At any rate we know that he honored him in all his customary phases, as a protector of cattle, as a god of healing, of prophecy, and of song; and we know that he occupied an important place in that group of rural divinities whom Tibullus worshiped.

#### LARES.

We now come to the group of tutelary divinities which in ancient Italy were worshiped by each household,- the Lares, Penates, and Genius. By some authorities the Lares are thought to have been the glorified spirits of ancestors, but others (Roscher, Myth. Lex.) think that they have no connection with persons, but with places. The latter view is borne out by the fact that they were the guardian spirits of not only the home but of fields, roads, cities, and towns. So they may be divided into two large classes,- private Lares and public Lares. The private Lares were the protecting spirits of each home, worshiped by all the family as the Lares Familiares. Originally there was but one, the Lar Familiaris, but they began to be honored in the plural after the time of Cicero. The public Lares consisted of:- Lares Rurales, the guardians of flocks, herds, fruits, and etc., Lares Compitales, guardians of crossroads, Lares Urbani, protectors of cities, Lares





Marini, guardians of the sea, and other minor divisions. The belief in the Lares Familiares and Lares Rurales must be considered the oldest. These it is whom Tibullus worshiped for they were the protectors of all country intercourse. Our poet declares that the worship of them was among the first acts of civilization that arose under the leadership of the gods.

"rure puer verno primum de flore coronam

fecit et antiquis imposuit Laribus." (II. 1, 59-60)

Indeed Tibullus betrays an especial fondness for the Lares of his household. He seems to have a very intimate feeling for them, perhaps because they were more personal and belonged more to each individual than most other divinities. So he speaks of them familiarly as having brought him up as a child.

"sed patrii servate Lares: aluistis et idem,

cursarem vestros cum tener ante pedes.

neu pudeat prisco vos esse e stipite factos:

sic veteris sedes incoluistis avi.

tunc melius tenere fidem, cum paupere cultu

stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus.

his placatus erat, seu quis libaverat uvam

seu dederat sanctae spicea sarta comae:

atque aliquis voti compos liba ipse ferebat

postque comes purum filia parva favum.

at nobis aerata, Lares, depellite tela,

hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.

hanc pura cum veste sequar myrtoque canistra

vincta geram, myrto vinctus et ipse caput.

sic placeam vobis:" (I. 10, 15-29)



This passage affords us interesting information with regard to the worship of the Lares. Tibullus preferred to honor them in the simple manner of his ancestors as he did all his deities. He loved those old images roughly carved of wood just as they stood in the home of his grandfather, although they were almost a matter of shame in his day and age. Moreover he bluntly and truthfully declares that the men of long ago kept better faith when wooden statues stood in their shrines.

The statues of the Lares were generally placed in niches in the kitchen wall. Frequently in the homes of very wealthy people a more elaborate shrine was provided in the shape of a diminutive temple placed against a wall of the atrium. Sometimes the pictures of the Lares were merely painted upon the kitchen wall near the hearth. They were usually represented as youths clad in a short tunic with one hand uplifted holding a drinking horn from which wine pours gracefully into a libation saucer held in the other hand. Tibullus gives us no further idea of the appearance of his Lares, but it is probable that his wooden images represented crude figures of this sort. They were surely placed near the hearth for he speaks of running about before their feet as a child.

At each meal these images were given offerings of food and drink, generally wine, salt, and meal. then on the Kalends, Nones, and Ides of each month some sacrifice or gift was given to the Lares, besides on numerous other occasions. In the prologue to the *Aulularia* of Plautus the Lar Familiaris himself says:

"huic filia una est; ea mihi cotidie

aut ture aut vino aut aliqui semper supplicat;"(23-4)



Tibullus has described for us in the passage quoted above the difference between the old manner of making offerings to the Lares and the elaborate one customary in his time. (I. 10, 21-9) He says that of old all that was necessary was to offer a libation of wine or place a wreath of ears of corn upon the god's head. Plautus confirms this for he speaks of placing wreaths upon the Lares.

"nunc tusculum emi et has coronas floreas;  
haec inponentur in foco nostro Lari,  
ut fortunatas faciat gnatae nuptias." (Aulul. II. 8. 15)

But in Tibullus' time to obtain his prayers he must promise to sacrifice a pig and to go through with an elaborate ceremony in which the person making sacrifice follows the victim, clothed in white and bearing baskets wreathed in myrtle. Horace speaks of the sacrificing of a pig to the Lares.

" caelo supinas si tuleris manus  
nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,  
si ture plecaris et horna  
fruge Lares avidaque porca

nec pestilentem sentiet Africum  
fecunda vitis, nec sterilem seges  
rubiginem aut dulces alumni  
pomifero grave tempus anno." (Car. III. 23, 1-8)

But this was only upon special occasions. Each month Tibullus merely offered incense.

"at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates  
reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari." (I. 3, 33-4)



It is the Lares Rurales that Tibullus addresses in I. 1, 19-24. He deplores the fact that he can offer them only the meagre sacrifice of a lamb for when his estate was more prosperous he had been able to sacrifice a calf in behalf of his herds.

"vos quoque , felicis quondam nunc pauperis agri  
custodes, fertis munera vestra, Lares.

tunc vitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuencos:

nunc agna exigui est hostia pava soli.

agna cadet vobis, quam circum rustica pubes

clamet 'io messes et bona vina date'." (I. 1, 19-24)

The rustic youths thus entreat the Lares to grant harvests and good wine in their capacity of general guardians of the countryside.

From our quotations it seems that Tibullus was prompt in worshiping and fulfilling his obligations to the Lares, and that he was impelled by feelings of affection and respect for them.

#### PENATES.

Tibullus mentions the Penates only once but in such a way that we know that his worship of them was a fixed part of his life. The Penates were the divinities who looked after the stores, penus, of each home. But they also cared for the interests of the household in general. Their worship was closely associated with that of the Lares and their statues were generally to be found with the Lares near the hearth. Likewise salt and food were offered to them at mealtime, for which purpose silver dishes were used even in the times of





greatest simplicity. Horace speaks of appeasing them with meal and salt.

"immunis aram si tetigit manus  
non sumptuosa blandior hostia  
mollibit aversos Penates

ferre pio et saliente mica." (Car. III. 23, 17-20)

The worship of the Penates was essentially Roman and in the eyes of the Roman they represented the most ancient gods of his race. So we would expect to find them included by Tibullus within the number of his rural gods; for Tibullus was extremely conservative in his religious beliefs. As has been stated before, new creeds or new divinities had no attraction for him. It is to emphasize this very point that he mentions his worship of the Penates, as a symbol of his conservatism, in I. 3. This poem was occasioned by his illness at Corcyra. He had started for Asia in the company of Messala, but was forced by his illness to remain behind in this strange land. While meditating upon his situation he exclaims thus:

"quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia, quid mihi prosunt  
illa tua totiens aera repulsa manu,  
quidve, pie dum sacra colis, pureque lavari  
te (memini) et puro secubuisse toro?  
nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi (nam posse mederi  
picta docet templis multa tabella tuis),  
ut mea votivas persolvens Delia voces  
ante sacras lino tecta fores sedeat  
bisque die resoluta comas tibi dicere laudes  
insignis turba debeat in Pharia.



at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates

reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari."(23-34)

Although Tibullus would be willing to accept any aid that the goddess Isis might give him, he shows clearly enough that he does not have any faith in her. Indeed his words are rather contemptuous, in spite of the fact that his sweetheart is a devotee of Isis. He makes it plain at once that she is not a divinity of his by his words "tua Isis". In contrast he calls our attention to the fact that he prefers his own long tried divinities (53-4). "But may it fall to me to celebrate my native Penates and give monthly incense to my ancient Lar." The gods of his ancestors are not to be slighted by him for any foreign deities.

Isis was a foreign goddess introduced from Egypt. The old myth of Isis and Osiris formed one of the most ancient cults of the Egyptians. Isis was originally the goddess of heaven and Osiris was the sun-god who was slain at evening by his brother Set, the ruler of darkness. But Osiris was avenged by his son Horus, who succeeded him as the sun of the new day, while his father ruled happily amongst the dead. The followers of this cult believed that man himself was like Osiris and would have a happy life beyond the grave. This old worship of Isis and Osiris (Serapis) was revised by the first Ptolemy, and in its new Alexandrian form soon made its way into Italy and Greece.

Isis was especially a goddess of women while Serapis was considered a god of healing. As the two were intimately associated, some of his medical art must have been attributed to Isis, for Tibullus says that many a painted picture in her



temples bears witness to the fact that she has the Healing art (27-8). It was evidently the custom for those who had been healed of some disease to acknowledge their gratitude By placing pictures in her temple, perhaps showing how they had been restored.

Tibullus also gives us some idea of the manner in which Isis was worshiped, although he shows by his conclusion (33-4) that he does not believe in any such proceedings. The "aera repulsa" of which he speaks in the foregoing passage were the sistra or rattles used in her worship. She had to be worshiped twice a day as he says(31). Early in the morning the priest would go into the temple and open the great doors. The worshipers would take their places in front of the temple, as Delia is represented by the poet (29-32). When the curtains were drawn aside and the statue of the goddess was disclosed to view, they greeted her with prayers and the shaking of the rattle. The service was closed with an invocation of the newly risen sun. The second service was held in the afternoon.

This cult was quite popular for it was full of the charm of mystery and gave its followers the expectation of a blessed immortality. It is interesting to know that it possessed no fascination for Tibullus. He too, believed in a life after death, but he clung to the orthodox conception of the Elysian fields, as we shall see later.

#### GENIUS AND JUNO.

Associated with the Penates and Lares in the household worship was the Genius. Every person was supposed to have



a spiritual protector of his own, called a Genius, who watched over his life from birth until death. The word genius is connected with geno and gigno, and represents a creative being. So the Genius was considered the cause of every individual's life and accompanied him through it as his spiritual self. Varro defines the Genius as that god "qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum." The Genius of a woman was called a Juno, but both Genius and Juno possessed the same attributes. But there was also a Genius of places as well as of persons. Servius says: "genium dicebant antiqui naturalem deum uniusque loci vel rei vel hominis." (Verg. Georg. I. 302) Towns and cities each had a protecting Genius, as did also the theaters, baths, and houses. In Rome they worshiped the city's Genius as the Genius Publicus or Genius populi Romani. Tibullus however, concerns himself with none but the personal Genius. It

It was customary for a man to worship his Genius upon his birthday with special rites. Tibullus yields us some good information with regard to this practice. Poem 7 in book I. is a birthday poem for Messala. In lines 49 to 52 he addresses him as follows:

"huc ades et centum ludis Geniumque choræis  
concelebra et multo tempora funde mero:  
illius et nitido stillent unguenta capillo,  
et capite et collo mollia sarta gerat."

So they were wont to make merry with sport and dancing in honor of the Genius, and to anoint the statue of the god with unguents





and adorn it with garlands. In paintings the Genius is represented as a man clad in the toga, holding a cornucopia or box of incense in the left hand, while with the right he pours a drink offering from a patera. The statues of the Genius which they used in these ceremonies may have been something like this.

In a birthday poem for Cornutus Tibullus gives us a still better idea of the ceremony of worshiping this divinity:

" dicamus bona verba: venit Natalis ad aras:

quisquis ades, lingua, vir mulierque, fave.

urantur pia tura focis, urantur odores,

quos tener e terra divite mittit Arabs.

ipse suos Genius adsit visurus honores,

cui decorent sanctas florea sarta comas.

illius puro destillent tempora nardo,

atque satur libo sit madeatque mero,

annuat et, Cerinthe, tibi, quodcumque rogas.

en age, quid cessas? annuit ille: roga."(II. 2, 1-10)

The poet begins with the usual prayer for the participants in the ceremony to use only propitious words, an essential point in any religious worship. The first step in the rites was to burn fragrant Arabian incense upon the altar. Then the Genius was to be decorated with garlands and his temples anointed with pure nard oil. After that offerings were made to him of cakes and wine. This was of course a very propitious time to entreat of the Genius whatever one most desired. Accordingly Tibullus urges Cornutus to ask some favor of his Genius, assuring him that it will be granted. Ovid also speaks of celebrating the natal day with incense and wine.



" da mihi tura, puer, pingues facientia flammās  
quodque pio fusum stridat in igne merum,  
optime Natalis! quamvis procul absumus opto  
candidus huc venias dissimilisque meo."(Trist. V.5, 11- )

In IV. 5, Tibullus, speaking as Sulpicia, writes to Cerinthus upon his birthday. His Genius is addressed thus:

"Mane Geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto,  
si modo, cum de me cogitat, ille calet. (9-10)

- - - - -

"optat idem iuvenis quod nos, sed tectius optat:

nam pudet haec illum dicere verba palam.

at tu, Natalis, quoniam deus omnia sentis,

annue: quid refert, clamve palamve roget?" (17-20)

These lines do not afford us any additional information but they help to show in a general way Tibullus' attitude toward the Genius.

Although he nowhere addresses his own Genius his attitude toward those of others is full of piety. We can be sure that his own Genius was not neglected, because he was so thoughtful of the necessary rites upon his friends' birthdays. The number of birthday poems that he has written betrays clearly his interest in honoring this divinity.

The Juno was worshiped by women in a similar manner upon their birthdays. So Tibullus has written a birthday poem for Sulpicia addressed to her Juno:

"Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos,  
quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu.



tota tota tibi est hodie, tibi se laetissima compsit,  
staret ut ante tuos conspicienda focos.  
illa quidem ornandi causas tibi, diva, relegat:  
est tamen, occulte cui placuisse velit.  
at tu, sancta, fave, neu quis divellat amantes,  
sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.  
sic bene compones: ullae non ille puellae  
servire aut cuiquam dignior illa viro.  
nec possit cupidos vigilans deprendere custos,  
fallendique vias mille ministret Amor.  
annue purpureaque veni perlucida palla:  
ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero.

- - - - -

si, iuveni grata veniet cum proximus annus,  
hic idem votis iam vetus adsit amor." (IV. 6, 1-14, 19-20)

So we see that incense and wine were offered to the Juno as to the Genius. Only bloodless sacrifices were offered to either as it was not considered fitting to take life in honor of one who was the creator of life. Tibullus represents the goddess as clothed in a purple robe but gives us no other idea of the appearance of this divinity. In paintings she sometimes appears with the attributes of the real Juno, a sceptre and a diadem.

In another poem our poet declares his love for some unknown sweetheart and assures her that in comparison with her not even a goddess could find favor in his eyes, swearing to this by the sacred divinity of her Juno.

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



haec tibi sancta tuae Iunonis numina iuro,

quae sola ante alios est mihi magna deos."(IV. 13. 13-16)

It is evident that such a divinity was revered by the poet, for the Romans swore only by what was most sacred to them.

Like the Lares and Penates, the Genius and Juno were personal divinities. Each individual had his own to worship instead of all worshipping one in common. This explains partly why this group of deities meant so much to Tibullus. Every person naturally was more familiar with these gods than with those who concerned themselves more with the common interests of all. Moreover these were all rural gods in origin, as their worship first arose in the primitive home. The seat of their sincerest worship continued to be in the country, where the people were least affected by the empty religious observances of the cultivated classes of Rome.

### PAX.

No matter what other attributes his divinities might have, the main consideration with Tibullus was ever their relation to the welfare of rural life. A good illustration of this is found in his idea of Pax. Generally she was considered the goddess who opposed war. Under her sway countries flourished and all peaceful arts prospered. But Tibullus can see in her only the protector of agriculture.

It was Peace, he says, who first made it possible for the grounds to be plowed, vines cultivated, and their grapes stored up in wine. Under the rule of Peace the hoe and the ploughshare prevail while rust accumulates upon the soldiers arms.





"interea Pax arva colat. Pax candida primum  
duxit araturos sub iuga panda boves,  
Pax aluit vites et succos condidit uvae,  
funderet ut nato testa paterna merum:  
Pace bidens vomerque vigent, at tristia duri  
militis in tenebris occupat arma situs,  
rusticus e lucoque vehit, male sobrius ipse,  
uxorem plaustro progeniemque domum."(I. 10, 45-52)

There seems to be a lacuna between line 50 and line 51. It is possible that some lines have been lost describing a festival of Pax, for the last two lines tell of a peasant driving his family home from some celebration. The poet concludes this poem with these words:

" at nobis, Pax alma, veni spicamque teneto,  
perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus."(67-8)

This representation of Pax as a goddess holding ears of corn and with her robe over-flowing with fruit marks her as a beneficent rural deity. She was commonly represented with the olive branch and wand of peace, as on the coin of Pupienus Maximus (Baum. 979). But she also is pictured holding the horn of plenty. On a coin of A. Vitellius (68 A.D.) she is represented as holding the horn of plenty in one hand and in the other the olive branch.(Baum. 625.). So we know that by others as well as by Tibullus she was honored as a special divinity of the country.



SPES.

Tibullus also gives us a good characterization of the goddess, Spes. She it is, he says, who fosters life with the hope always of a better future. She encourages the farmer to cultivate the land with the hope of a good harvest. She even lures the birds within the snares and entices the fish to be caught with the baited hook. But she consoles with her promises the fettered slave so that he sings at his work.

"Spes fovet et fore eras semper ait melius  
Spes alit agricolas, Spes sulcis credit aratis  
semina, quae magno fenore reddat ager:  
haec laqueo volucres, haec captat arundine pisces,  
cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus:  
Spes etiam valida solatur compede vinctum  
(crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus):  
Spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa.  
hei mihi, ne vincas, dura puella, deam."(II. 6, 20-8)

Thus Spes is represented as the personification of all hope. But she represented especially the hope of the farmers and gardeners. She is often pictured on Roman coins holding a wand with the left hand and with the right, a flower. So she was a true goddess of the spring and of agriculture. Indeed she is sometimes portrayed with a crown of flowers upon her head and with poppies and ears of corn in her hands, thus showing her to be the herald of a rich harvest.\* Hence it is with no surprise that we find her within

\*Note:- Preller, Röm. Myth. II. 253, Baumeister, vol. 2, 1302.



the category of divinities revered by Tibullus. He himself speaks of her purely as a goddess of agriculture in the opening lines of I. 1, for he entreats her to furnish him always with plentiful crops and an abundance of rich wine.

"nec Spes destituat, sed frugum semper acervos  
praebeat et pleno pingua mustalacu."(I. 1, 9-10)

So she was evidently a goddess of some importance to him, as being one who helped in bestowing the riches of nature.

### SILVANUS.

Silvanus was naturally included among Tibullus' gods, for he belonged everywhere to the gods of country worship. He was originally the good spirit of the forest. So the poet speaks of him as "silvestri deo" in II. 5. Before Rome was founded, he says, cows fed upon the grassy Palatine and humble cabins stood on Jove's citadel. "The garrulous pipe sacred to the woodland god hung there on a tree, as the offering of a wandering shepherd."

"pendebatque vagi pastoris in arbore votum,  
garrula silvestri fistula sacra deo,"(II. 5, 28-9)

The Romans and the Greeks identified Silvanus with Pan, and it was due to this confusion of ideas that the shepherd made an offering of a Pan's flute to Silvanus.

As a god of the forest Silvanus became a god of boundaries for the forest boundaries were everywhere the most ancient. Horace addresses him as "Silvane, tutor finium." Then too the first farms were located in clearings in the forest. So Silvanus became a



deity who was worshiped on every peasant's farm. He was a guardian of their flocks and fields and was as dear to them as the Lares, Ceres, Pales, and other rural divinities. He was worshiped in these three forms:- Silvanus domesticus, who protected the home, Silvanus agrestis, who cared for the flocks and shepherds, Silvanus orientalis, guardian of boundaries. Thus the ancient forest spirit was developed into many forms.

Tibullus worshiped him in his various capacities as protector of the farm. Delia, he says, will offer for him grapes to the gods of the farmer in return for the vines, ears of corn for the crops, and meat offerings for the protection of the flocks.

"illa deo sciet agricolae pro vitibus uvam,  
pro segete spicas, pro grege ferre dapem."(I. 5,27-8)

So Silvanus is a protector of his flocks, and promotes the production of his fields. Vergil also considered him a protector of flocks and of fields:

"Silvano fama est veteris sacrasse pelagos  
arborum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque  
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos."(Aen. VIII. 601)

Although Tibullus does not mention him by name there is no doubt that he refers to Silvanus as "deo agricolae." The sacrifices usually offered to Silvanus were grapes, corn ears, milk and wine. Tibullus mentions grapes, and ears of corn in the passage quoted above. He does not mention milk as does Horace:- "Silvanum lacte piabant." But he also says:

"et quodcumque mihi pomum novus educat annus,  
libatum agricolae ponitur ante deum." (I. 1, 13-14 )

These words show how simple and faithful he was in his worship of





Silvanus.

PALES.

Pales was the ancient divinity of flocks and shepherds and was generally considered female, but sometimes male. Vergil speaks of her as female:

"te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus.

pastor ab Amphryso; vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei."(Georg.III.1)

Servius comments thus on this passage:- "hanc Vergilius genere feminino appellat, alii, inter quos Varro, masculino genere, ut hic Pales." Pales was a deity of the Italian pasture lands and her worship was originally a rustic one. But the ancient settlement of the shepherds on the Palatine worshiped Pales as their especial divinity. So she continued to be worshiped in Rome and her festival, the Palilia, on April 21st was regarded as the birthday of Rome. But her character was purely non-urban as shown by the descriptive adjectives applied to her, such as: ruscicola and silvicola.

Tibullus himself in describing the humble settlement that stood upon the Palatine before Rome was founded declares that a wooden statue of Pales stood there under the shade of the oak and a statue of Pan reeking with the offerings of milk:

"lacte madens illic suberat Pan illicis umbrae

et facta agresti lignea falce Pales,"(II. 5, 27-28)

The Greek god Pan seems to correspond to the male Pales of Roman conception and so we find closely associated with the worship of Pan and Pales.



That Tibullus was faithful in his worship of this rustic deity, Pales, is revealed in I.1. He declares it his custom to sprinkle annually the statue of Pales with milk:

"hic ego pastoremque meum lustrare quot annis

et placidam soleo spargere lacte Palem."(I. 1, 35-6)

These words probably refer to one of the rites performed upon the festival of Pales, which Tibullus describes further in II. 5.

### (3) Tibullus' Love for the Ancient Rites of these Rustic Deities.

#### PALILIA.

With the description of the Palilia we are introduced to another phase of Tibullus' religion which has already been apparent in a lesser degree. Just as he revered the old gods of his ancestors, the simple nature gods, so he clung to the old forms of worship and ritual. Those ancient religious rites which had been handed down for centuries were very dear to his heart, and he wished to foster and to preserve them as much as possible. This is revealed especially in the passage which deals with the festival of Pales and in the poem on the Ambarvalia, although it has already been evident in his worship of the various divinities.

The Palilia was celebrated, in city and country alike, on April 21st. The rustic festival is described by Tibullus in II. 5, as one of the happy results of that peace which he beseeches Apollo to grant for the future. It is woven carelessly into the theme of the poem, but every line betrays how intimately



acquainted is the poet with the scenes which he portrays. One feels that he must have taken part many a time in these festivities.

"at madidus Baccho sua festa Palilia pastor  
    concinet: a stabulis tunc procul este lupi.  
ille levis stipulae solemnibus potus acervos  
    accendet, flammam transilietque sacras,  
et fetus matrona dabit, natusque parenti  
    oscula comprehensis auribus eripiet,  
nec taedet avum parvo advigilare nepoti  
    balbaque cum puero dicere verba senem.  
tunc operata deo pubes discumbet in herba,  
    arboris antiquae qua levis umbra cadit,  
aut e veste sua tendent umbracula sertis  
    vincta, coronatus stabit et ante calix.  
at sibi quisque dapas et festas extruet alte  
    cespitibus mensas cespitibusque torum.  
ingeret hic potus iuvenis maledicta puellae,  
    post modo quae votis irrita facta velit:  
nam ferus ille suae plorabit sobrius idem  
    et se iurabit mente fuisse mala."(II. 5, 87-104)

For the shepherd to leap through the flames, as referred to in lines 89 and 90, was a regular part of the rites of the Palilia. Ovid gives us in more detail a description of this festival.

"pastor, oves saturas ad prima crepuscula lustra  
    unda prius spargat, virgaque verrat humum,  
frondibus et fixis decorantur ovilia ramis,  
    et tegat ornatas longa corona fores.  
caerulei fiant vivo de sulphure fumi;



tactaque fumanti sulphure palet ovis.  
ure mareas oleas paedamque herbasque Sabinas,  
et crepet in mediis laurus adusta focis;  
libaque de milio milii fiscella sequetur;  
rustica praecipue est hoc dea laeta cibo,  
adde dapes mulctramque suas dapibusque resectis  
silvicolam tepido lacte precare Palem.  
'consule' dic 'pecori pariter pecorisque magistris':  
effugiat stabulis noxa repulsa meis."(Fast. IV. 735-48)

From the testimony of these two authors the different steps in the ceremony seem to have been somewhat as follows: First the shepherd purified his sheep by sprinkling and sweeping the fold. Then a fire was made of heaps of straw, olive branches, and laurel and through this each shepherd leapt to purify himself. After this he brought offerings of millet, cakes, and milk to Pales, of whom there was probably a wooden statue in the farmyard. It is of this offering perhaps that Tibullus speaks when he says that he was accustomed to sprinkle the statue of Pales with milk.(I.1,35) After such an offering prayers were made to Pales to avert all evil from the shepherd and his flocks. Hence Tibullus gives this warning:- "a stabulis tunc procul este lupi."(88)

n Naturally the shepherds made merry with great feasting and drinking on this occasion and our poet gives us a good picture of the scenes of abandonment and pleasure that followed the conclusion of the ceremonies of the day. The young men would stretch themselves out upon the grass in the shade of a tree or else make awnings out of their garments, decorating them with garlands. Then each would





build himself a banquet table and a couch of sod, and here he would enjoy his wine. As an added bit of realism the poet suggests the brawls that were likely to ensue between the drunken youths and their sweethearts.

Tibullus sketches the scenes of the Palilia in few words but they are outlined vividly before us. We seem to feel the spirit of religious fervor and joy with which the shepherd leapt through the fire in performance of the ritual, and we seem to reel the spirit of indolence and relaxation with which the warm spring day affects the merrymakers, when the rites are ended and they have given themselves up to the enjoyment of the day. Intimate touches are found in the picture of the little boy giving his father kisses and holding him by the ears:

"natusque parenti

oscula comprensis auribus eripiet,"(91-2)

and of the old man talking baby-talk to his small grandson:

"nec taedebit avum parvo advigilare nepoti

balbaque cum puero dicere verba senem."(3-4)

The artist who painted such scenes with tender touch was surely deeply attached to this spring-time festival, the celebration of which was older than Rome itself.

### AMBARVALIA.

One of Tibullus' most beautiful poems is that in which he describes the old Roman festival of the Ambarvalia. This occurred annually in April and its purpose was to purify or reconsecrate the land. A sacrifice was usually made of a boar, a ram, and a bull, called a suovetaurilia. An important part in the



ceremony was leading the victims in procession three times around the boundaries of the farm. (*ambi-arvum*) whence the name *Ambarvalia* was derived. After this the victims were sacrificed and prayers offered to the gods to protect the farm, its crops, flocks, and vineyards. Tibullus gives us the following description:

"quisquis adest, faveat: fruges lustramus et agros,  
ritus ut a prisco traditus extat avo.

Bacche, veni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uva  
pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.

luce sacra requiescat humus, requiescat arator,  
et grave suspenso vomere cesset opus.

solvite vincla iugis: nunc ad praesepia debent.

plena coronato stare boves capite.

omnia sint operata deo: non audeat ulla

lanificam pensis imposuisse manum.

vos quoque abesse procul iubeo, discedat ab aris,

cui tulit hesternae gaudia nocte Venus.

casta placent superis: pura cum veste venite

et manibus purissimume fontis aquam.

cernite, fulgentes ut est sacer agnus ad aras

vinctaque post olea candida turba comas.

Dii patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes:

vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus,

neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis,

neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos.

tum nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris

ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco,

turbaque vernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,



ludet et ex virgis extruet ante casas.  
eventura precor: videm ut felicibus extis  
significet placidos nuntia fibra deos?  
nunc mihi fumosos veteris proferte Falernos  
consulis et Chio solvite vincla cado.  
vina diem celebrent: non festa luce madere  
est rubor, errantes et male ferre pedes."(II. 1, 1-30)

After making the usual request of those present to be silent and use only propitious words the poet invokes the presence of Ceres and Bacchus to bless the farm. He then bids all labors cease. The plow must be hung up. The oxen should stand garlanded before their mangers. The housewife must cease from spinning, and all devote themselves to the religious worship. Before taking part in the ceremony they must purify their hands with running water. Then clad in fair garments and crowned with olive wreaths they follow the victims to the altar. Vergil also describes the Ambarvalia but according to him Ceres is the main divinity to be honored.

"in primis venerare deos, atque annua magnae  
sacra refer Cereri, laetis operatus in herbis,  
extremae sub casum hiemis, iam vere sereno.  
tum pingues agni, et tum mollissima vina;  
tum somni dulces, densaeque in montibus umbrae.  
cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret;  
cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho;  
terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges,



omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,

et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta;"(Georg. I. 338-47)

He mentions the act of leading the victim around the fields, which Tibullus omits. But the picture of the crowd following the victim is given by both:

"cernite, fulgentes ut eat sacer agnus ad aras

vinctaque post olea candida turba comas."(Tibullus, 15-16)

"terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges

omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes,

et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta."(Verg. 345-7)

Tibullus gives us a prayer to the gods such as was used upon the Ambarvalia (17-18). He prays them to avert evil from the farmers' lands, to grant them good harvests, and to protect their flocks. The sonorous repetition of his words, "purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes," recalls the actual prayer given by Cato to be used on the Ambarvalia:- "Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sis volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae, quocius rei ergo agrum terram fundumque meum suovitautilia circumagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque calamitates intemperiasque prohibeas defendas averrumcesque; utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire sis, pastores pecusque salva servassis quisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae: harumce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lustrique faciendi ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovitautilibus lactentibus immolandis esto: Mars pater, eiusdem rei ergo macte hisce suovitautilibus lactentibus esto."(De. Agr. 141)





So Tibullus tells us of the rites which, as he says, had been handed down from his forefathers. His stately dignified words show how sacred to him is his subject. We cannot fail to be impressed in the opening lines with the solemnity of the occasion, and we are swept along by his religious fervor until finally he breaks forth in rejoicing at the auspicious omens which assure him the fulfillment of his prayers.

The celebration of these agrarian festivals, such as the Palilia and Ambarvalia, with their garlanded and gayly decked throng of merrymakers of course appealed to the poetical side of Tibullus' nature, but primarily they appealed to his religious feelings. As one who loved the ancient rural divinities it was quite natural for him to love and wish to preserve the ritual with which they had been worshiped so long. Not only on festal days but in his ordinary worship he preferred to follow the traditional customs, as we have seen. So he was thoroughly consistent in his creed.

#### (4) Tibullus' Strange Indifference Toward Other Divinities.

Outside of these rural gods which have been discussed Tibullus mentions only a few other gods and these in such a casual manner that they seem to be little more to him than mere names. With the exception of Venus and Apollo none of the great celestial divinities seem to have been really worshiped by him. It appears strange that Jupiter, as god of the sky, sender of rains, and wielder of the thunder-bolt had so little place in his religion, while Juno, the queen of heaven, was also neglected by him.



The explanation probably lies in the fact that they, in their capacity of supreme rulers of the universe, were more concerned with the welfare of the world in general than with the special interests of the country, which Tibullus had at heart. They were far away deities to whom he seldom cared to make appeal because they did not seem vital and real to him as did those lesser rural divinities whose power was supposedly manifested everywhere about him in the glories of nature. Mommsen says that these gods of the home, the forest, and the fields, though lowest in the rank of the divinities, had the greatest hold upon the Romans because "it was not the broadest and most general, but the simplest and most individual abstraction in which the pious heart found most nourishment." (History of Rome, I. 214)

At any rate it is true that there are only a few insignificant allusions to Jove. He is represented as god of the weather in two unimportant passages.

"ianua difficilis dominae, te verberet imber,  
te Iovis imperio fulmina missa petant."(I. 2, 7-8)

- - - - -  
"Nile pater, quam possim te dicere causa  
aut quibus in terris oculuisse caput?  
te propter nullos tellus<sup>tua</sup> postulat imbres,  
arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi."(I. 7, 23-6)

In I. 3, Tibullus eulogizes the golden age of Saturn and compares it with the slaughter and death that prevail under<sup>the</sup> rule of Jove. Then suddenly terrified at his presumption he begs for mercy, declaring himself free from all impiety.



"quam bene Saturno vivebant rege prius quam  
tellus in longas est patefacta vias!  
nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas,  
effusum ventis praebueratque sinum,  
nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris  
presserat externa navita merce ratem.  
illo non validus subiit iuga tempore taurus,  
non domito fraenos ore momordit equus,  
non domus ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris,  
qui regeret certis finibus arva, lapis.  
ipsae mella dabant quercus, ultroque ferebant  
obvia securis ubera lactis oves.  
non acies, non ira fuit, non bella nec ense  
inmiti saevus duxerat arte faber.  
nunc Iove sub domino caedes et vulnera semper,  
nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente viae.  
parce, pater. timidum non me periuria terrent,  
non dicta in sanctos impia verba deos."(I. 3, 35-52)

Saturn was a mythical king of Italy, deified and honored as the introducer of agriculture and all civilized arts. His age was called the golden age of Italy because peace and plenty filled the land. In a lighter vein we find these jesting words with regard to Jove:

"nec iurare time: Veneris periuria venti  
irrita per terras et freta summa ferunt.  
gratia magna Iovi: vetuit pater ipse valere,  
iurasset cupide quicquid ineptus amor:"(I. 4, 21-4)



His name occurs once again in the sibyl's song:

"impiger Aenea, volitantis frater Amoris,  
Troica qui profugis sacra vehis ratibus,  
iam tibi Laurentes assignat Iuppiter agros,"(II. 5,39-41)

Juno is referred to only once and then quite incidentally .

"illic Iunonem tentare Ixionis ausi  
versantur celeri noxia membra rota,"(I. 3,73-4)

This completes the number of references to the supreme deities of heaven found in the poems of Tibullus.

The allusions to other divinities are likewise few and unimportant. The poet's fear of dying alone in Coreyrawrings from him this entreaty to Mors, the god of death:

"abstineas avidas, Mors precor atra, manus.  
abstineas, Mors atra, precor:" (I.3, 4-5)

Mars, the god of war, is bidden to be present on the Matronalia, the Kalends of his own month, and to behold the beauty of Sulpicia:

"Sulpicia est tibi culta tuis, Mars magne, kalendis:  
spectatum e caelo, si sapis, ipse veni."(IV. 2, 1-2)

But the poet does not wish to be a soldier even with the favor of Mars:

Malus sit fortis in armis,  
sternat et adversos Marte favente duces,  
ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta  
miles et in mensa pingere castra mero."(I. 10,29-32)

The goddess Bellona whose name occurs in I. 6, is not the old Sabine Bellona, the wife or sister of Mars, and goddess of





war, but she is a goddess of prophetic powers introduced from Cappadocia. Tibullus tells how the inspired priestess of this Bellona cut her own arms and sprinkled the statue of the goddess with her blood. Then with her side transfixed and her bosom torn she sang of the events which the goddess foretold to her:

"sic fieri iubet ipse deus, sic magna sacerdos  
est mihi divino vaticinata sono.  
haec ubi Bellonae motu est agitata, nec acrem  
flammam, non amens verbera torta timet:  
ipsa bipenne suos caedit violenta lacertos  
sanguineque effuso spargit inulta deam,  
statque latus praefixa veru, stat saucia pectus,  
et canit eventus, quos dea magna monet."(I.6,43-50)

Such fanatic rites as these were not unusual in the worship of Asiatic deities.

The miscellaneous quotations in the above paragraphs complete the number of references to divinities, of any significance, found in the poems of Tibullus. Their character is such as to verify the statement that he worshiped chiefly the rural gods, that is, those who were closely associated with country life; for there are no quotations of any importance with regard to any other divinities. This does not mean that he was a scoffer towards other gods, but that they were vague beings of little importance to him. The reason for this is not so easily understood. In view of the successful campaigns that he engaged in under Messala we should perhaps expect some lines to be devoted to the glory of Mars. But Tibullus



did not like the life of a soldier, as he emphatically declares, and so he cared not to sing the praises of the god of war. Likewise we might expect one of his piety to offer homage to some of the tutelary divinities of Rome, since he must have spent a good portion of his mature years there. Nevertheless his preference for country life remained fixed and so did his love and worship for those divinities who invested it with its charm.

(B) GENERAL PIETY.

Having assured ourselves of this fact, it will be well to investigate his general piety. Towards the gods as a whole there is no doubt that he possessed feelings of reverence. Quite a number of passages bear witness to this. In the opening lines of the first poem of Book I. he assures us that he is ever worshiping:

"nam veneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris  
seu vetus in trivio florea sarta lapis:"(I. 1, 11-12)

Mere stones in the fields or trunks of trees, sometimes carved into the semblance of a head, were honored by the Romans as representations of divinities. So Ovid speaks thus:

"Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro,  
stipes ab antiquis, sic quoque numen habes."(Fast. 2,641)

Tibullus also invites the gods to receive gifts from his poor table and humble vessels of earthenware:

"adsitis, divi, nec vos e paupere mensa



donec nec e puris spernite fictilibus.  
fictilia antiquus primum sibi fecit agrestis  
pocula, de facili composuitque luto."(I. 1, 37-40)

Concerning the sure punishment that will overtake a perjurer he says:

"quid mihi, si fueras miseros laesurus amores,  
foedera per divos, clam violanda, dabas?  
ah miser, etsi quis primo periuria celat,  
sera tamen tacitis Poena venit pedibus.  
parcite, caelestes: aequum est impune licere  
numina formosis laedere vestra semel."(I. 9, 1-6)

He cannot refrain from adding a plea to the gods for mercy in spite of his first assertion. Jestingly he warns a scornful maiden that it is of no use for one guilty of disdain to give incense to the sacred altars of the gods:

"oderunt, Pholoe, moneo, fastidia divi,  
nec prodest sanctis tura dedisse focus."(I. 8, 69-70)

Because he fears that the coldness of Delia is a punishment of the gods for some sin of his he hastens to proclaim his abject submission to them:

"num Veneris magnae violavi numina verbo,  
et mea nunc poenas impia lingua luit?  
num feror incestus sedes adisse deorum  
sertaque de sanctis deripuisse focus?  
non ego, si merui, dubitem procumbere templis  
et dare sacratis oscula liminibus,



non ego tellerum genibus perrepere supplex  
et miserum sancto tundere poste caput."(I. 2, 81-8)

This description of making atonement to the gods by crawling as a suppliant, kissing the sacred thresholds, and beating the head against the doorpost, is said to be without parallel in the literature of antiquity. It resembles somewhat the early Christian idea of doing penance for a sin.

Because Tibullus was secure in the knowledge of having fulfilled his obligations toward the gods he was certain that he would be granted a happy life after death, in the Elysian fields, the immortal home of the pious. They were originally thought to be situated in the far west, but later they were considered to be in the lower world set apart from Tartarus, the home of the wicked. Tibullus gives us a good description of both, contrasting the charms of Elysium with the horrors of Tartarus. From the close connection of the descriptions we infer that Tibullus considered them both in the lower regions. Venus herself, he says, will lead him to the Elysian fields. "Here dance and song hold sway and the birds flitting hither and thither sing sweetly with their small throats. The uncultivated ground bears the cinnamon and the kindly earth blooms through all the fields with fragrant roses."

"sed me, quod facilis tenero sum semper Amori,  
ipsa Venus campos ducet in Elysios.

hic choreae cantusque vigent, passimque vagantes  
dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aves,





fert casiam non culta seges, totosque per agros  
florete odoratis terra benigna rosis:  
at iuvenum series teneris inmixta puellis  
ludit, et assidue praelia miscet Amor.  
illuc est, cuicumque rapax mors venit amanti,  
et gerit, insigni myrtea sarta comma."(I. 3,57-66)

The Vergilian conception of the Elysian fields is similar  
in certain points:

"his demum exactis perfecto munere divae ,  
devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta  
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.  
largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit  
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt,  
pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,  
contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;  
pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt."(Aen.VI.

637-44) The last line is to be compared with these words of  
Tibullus:- "hic choreae cantusque vigent," (59) A somewhat similar  
idea is expressed by each also in these words:

"pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,  
contendant ludo et fulva luctantur harena;"(Verg.642-3)

- - - - -

"at iuvenum series teneris inmixta puellis  
ludit, et assidue praelia miscet Amor."(Tibullus, 63-4)

In contrast to the pleasing picture of Elysium given by  
Tibullus is that of Tartarus. "But the home for the wicked," he  
says, "Lies wrapped in profound darkness."



"at scelerata iacet sedes in nocte profunda  
    abditā, quam circum flumina nigra sonant:  
Tisiphoneque impexa feros pro crinibus angues  
    saevit, et huc illuc impia turba fugit:  
tunc niger in porta serpentum Cerberus ore  
    stridet et aeratas excubat ante fores.  
illic Iunonem tentare Ixionis ausi  
    versantur celeri noxia membra rota,  
porrectusque novem Tityos per iugera terrae  
    assiduas atro viscere pascit aves.  
Tantalus est illic, et circum stagna: sed acrem  
    iam iam poturi deserit unda sitim:  
et Danaï proles, Veneris quod numina laesit,  
    in cava Lethaeas dolia portat aquas."(I. 3,67-80)

Here we find mentioned the usual list of notorious inhabitants of Tartarus:- Cerberus, Ixion, Tityos, Tantalus, and the Danaïd maidens. The gloominess and desolation of Tartarus are sketched again thus:

"non seges est infra, non vinea culta, sed audax  
    Cerberus et Stygiae navita turpis aquae:  
illic percussisque genis ustoque capillo  
    errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus."(I. 10,35-8)

The restless spirits of the dead are here considered as retaining the appearance they had when half-consumed upon the funeral pyre.

Tibullus' faith in the belief that men become spirits, or Manes, after death is shown again in one or two passages. In melancholy contemplation of his own death he begs Delia when



he is gone not to grieve his spirit by unrestrained mourning  
for him.

"tu Manes ne laede meos, sed parce solutis  
crinibus et teneris, Delia, parce genis."(I.1,67-8)

It was thought that the Manes could return to earth at times. So  
Tibullus warns Nemesis lest the Manes of her sister, neglected,  
might send her evil dreams and return to haunt her couch:

"illius ut verbis, sis mihi lenta veto,  
ne tibi neglecti mittant mala somnia Manes,  
maestaque sopitae stet soror ante torum,  
qualis ab excelsa praeceps delapsa fenestra  
venit ad infernos sanguinolenta lacus."(II. 6,36-40)

It was natural to suppose that these spirits would make their return  
to earth through their tombs. Hence we are told that a fortune-teller,  
whom Tibullus knew could call forth the Manes from their tombs by  
means of her magic art.

"haec cantu finditque solum Manesque sepulcris  
elicit et tepido devocat ossa rogo.  
iam tenet infernas magico stridore catervas,  
iam iubet aspersas lacte referre pedem:"(I. 2,47-50)



So in the course of our investigations we have seen how Tibullus believed that men lived after death in the form of spirits or Manes, that they were rewarded with immortality in the Elysian fields if pious, but if wicked were consigned to the realms of Tartarus. We have seen that he was quite reverent toward the gods in general. But we have found that it was chiefly the rural gods, and especially the nature gods, to whom he really devoted his worship and praise.

















378.7M71  
XM365

University of Missouri - Columbia  
  
010-100911408

~~This is a copy of the original document.  
No other copies are available.~~

