CHANGING THE SAIL: PROPERTIUS 3.21, CATULLUS 64 AND OVID *HEROIDES* 5*

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Abstract: Concentrating on Propertius 3.21 in particular, this article identifies a previously unnoticed network of allusions by three Roman poets (Catullus, Propertius and Ovid) to one another and to Book 1 of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. It shows that these intertextual links are pivoted on the three poets' common use of the verse-ending *lintea malo* in scenes of departure by sea, and on their common interest in framing other aspects of the nautical context (especially the naval equipment involved and the presence of a favourable wind) in specific ways. Highlighting the presence in all three cases of departing male lovers with traditionally compromised or otherwise dubious claims to heroism, the article argues that each of the three instances shows the poet in question interacting competitively and self-consciously with the usages of his predecessor(s) (and with those usages' immediate contexts) and exploiting the choices made by them to serve his new context and to advertise his personal skill in the creative deployment of revered poetic models.

As the poem's commentators have shown, Propertius 3.21 responds in various ways both to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* and to Catullus, including poem 64.[1] On beginning a

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journey to Athens to engage in cultural pursuits and forget Cynthia, 'Propertius'[2] enjoins his companions (*socii*) to launch the ship and set to the oars, followed by the command *iungiteque extremo felicia lintea malo* ('attach fair-weather canvas [i.e. the sail] to the top of the mast': 13).[3] As has been noted,[4] there is an imitation here of *Argonautica* 1.565, where the Argonauts, having set out from Pagasae, make ready for the open sea: first they set up the mast and secure it (563–4), and then κὰδ δ' αὐτοῦ λίνα χεῦαν, ἐπ' ἠλακάτην ἐρύσαντες ('they drew the sail to the top of the mast and let it down from there').[5]

A point that has not previously been highlighted is that Propertius' line also seems to allude to a specific line in Catullus 64. This is line 225, part of Aegeus' instructions to Theseus as the latter departs Athens on his apparently doomed mission to Crete. Aegeus says

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[1] Apollonius: Prop. 3.21.11 recalls *Arg*. 1.386; 3.21.12 recalls *Arg*. 1.395–6: P. Fedeli, *Properzio: il libro terzo delle Elegie* (Bari, 1985), 613; S.J. Heyworth, *Cynthia: A Companion to the Text of Propertius* (Oxford, 2007), 397 n. 100; S.J. Heyworth and J.H.W. Morwood (edd.), *A Commentary on Propertius Book 3* (Oxford, 2010), 310; Prop. 3.21.14 recalls *Arg*. 1.423–4. Catullus: Prop. 3.21.5 (*omnia sunt temptata*) recalls Catull. 11.13–14 (*omnia…temptare simul parati*) (and ultimately Sappho fr. 31.17). 3.21.17 (*Hadriaci*) and 20 (*phaselus*) together recall Catull. 4: Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 311. *Undisonos* in 3.21.18 is first attested there, and could reference the trio of similar formulations in Catull. 64 (*fluentisono*, 52; *clarisonas*, 125; *raucisonos*, 263): Fedeli (n. 1), 616. There are clear allusions to Catull. 64 in the next poem in Book 3: e.g. 3.22.11–14 cf. Catull. 64.1–5.

[2] I use inverted commas to denote Propertius' poetic persona in 3.21.

[3] Text: S.J. Heyworth (ed.), *Sexti Properti Elegi* (Oxford, 2007); translation: Heyworth (n. 1).

[4] Heyworth (n. 1), 397 n. 100; Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 310.

[5] Text and translation: W.H. Race (ed.), *Apollonius Rhodius: Argonautica* (Cambridge MA, 2008), 48–9.

he will equip Theseus' ship with a dyed sail to denote mourning (*inde infecta uago suspendam lintea malo*, 'I shall then hang dyed canvas [i.e. the sail][6] on the wandering [or 'journeying'] mast': 225, cf. 243),[7] on the assumption that the ship will return bringing news of his son's death. Theseus is told to take this down and raise a different, bright white, sail on the journey home if still alive (something he famously forgets to do, precipitating Aegeus' suicide: 243–4). Significantly for us, this sail-hanging in Catullus 64.225 seems to allude to the sail-hanging-and-unfurling of *Argonautica* 1.565 too, if more loosely than Propertius, and if so counts as one of many instances of Catullus' very wide-ranging (and much-studied) engagement with Apollonius in poem 64:[8] the two poets' respective uses of *lintea* and λίνα

[6] In none of the three cases I discuss is there good reason to envisage more than one sail (see e.g. Catull. 64.243, and *pace* K. Quinn [ed.], *Catullus: The Poems* [London, 1973^2], 331); *lintea* and *uela* are poetic plurals here: cf. W.A. Camps (ed.), *Propertius, Elegies: Book III* (Cambridge, 1966), 152.

[7] Text: R.A.B. Mynors (ed.), *C. Valerii Catulli Carmina* (Oxford, 1958), 67; translation mine. On the colours: C. Weber, 'Two chronological contradictions in Catullus 64', *TAPhA* 113 (1983), 263–71, at 270; J. Clarke, *Imagery of Colour and Shining in Catullus, Propertius and Horace* (New York, 2003), 77–8; R. Sklenář, 'How to dress (for) an epyllion: the fabrics of Catullus 64', *Hermes* 134 (2006), 385–97, at 387–8; Á. Tamás, 'Forgetting, writing, painting: Aegeus as "the father of letters" in Catullus 64', *Paideia* 73 (2018), 1895–1913, at 1908–13.

[8] From a large possible list, see on Catullus' uses of *Argonautica* 1 in poem 64 e.g. R.F. Thomas, 'Catullus and the polemics of poetic reference (Poem 64.1–18)', *AJPh* 103 (1982), 144–64; T. Papanghelis, 'Hoary ladies: Catullus 64.305ff. and Apollonius of Rhodes', *SO* 69 (1994), 41–6; R.J. Clare, 'Catullus 64 and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius: allusion and exemplarity', *PCPhS* 42 (1996), 60–88; J.B. DeBrohun, 'Catullan intertextuality: Apollonius and the allusive plot of Catullus 64', in M.B. Skinner (ed.), *A Companion to*

make the presence of an allusion likely,[9] as does the presence of a highly probable allusion by Catullus to a nearby line of *Argonautica* 1 (551) just three lines further on in Aegeus' speech (64.228: *Itoni*; cf. Apollonius' Ἰτωνίδος).[10] By 'repurposing' Apollonius' sail and mast but adding the new detail that the sail-canvas of the ship in question is dyed (*infecta*), Catullus associates with the departure of Apollonius' Argonauts not only Theseus' imminent departure for Crete itself but also something even more unsettling: the spectre of his failure to change the sail when returning to Athens later, with tragic consequences.

Catullus (Oxford, 2007), 293–313; G.C. Trimble, 'A commentary on Catullus 64, lines 1–201', (Diss., University of Oxford, 2010), 13, 26, 32–3, 37; C.B. Polt, 'Apollonius, the launch of the Argo and the meaning and significance of *decurrere* at Catullus 64.6 and Valerius Flaccus 1.186', *CQ* 62 (2012), 692–704; B. Dufallo, *The Captor's Image: Greek Culture in Roman Ecphrasis* (Oxford, 2013), 42–6, 69. These uses cluster in Catullus' own opening (see below, n. 16), but occur elsewhere too, as noted by R. Avallone, 'Catullo e Apollonio Rodio', *Antiquitas* 8 (1953), 8–75, at 40 (1.540–1 in Catull. 64.58), 59 (1.541 in Catull. 64.179), and 69 (1.553–4 in Catull. 64.278–9).

[9] Catullus gives us the first extant examples in Latin poetry of the use of *lintea* (strictly 'canvas', 'linen') to mean 'sail(s)', possibly following Apollonius' equivalent usage of λίνα: R.O.A.M. Lyne, *Ciris: a Poem Attributed to Vergil* (Cambridge, 1978), 289 on *Ciris* 460, which echoes *Arg*. 1.1278 (again with *lintea* for λίνα). I am indebted to the *CQ* reader for this point, and reference.

[10] Avallone (n. 8), 64; and cf. *Arg*. 1.721, 768. The relative obscurity of *Itoni* makes this especially likely: cf. C.J. Fordyce (ed.), *Catullus: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1961), 305 (Aegeus' use of it is 'an absurd piece of Alexandrian erudition') cf. 274; D.H. Garrison, *The Student's Catullus* (Norman, 2004[3]), 140, 185.

This kind of association is important for the thematic texture of poem 64 itself (see below), but it is also important for Propertius, who seems to be shaping his engagement with *Argonautica* 1.565 with specific reference to Catullus' response to that same line in 64.225. Where Apollonius in *Argonautica* 1.565 shows us the sail both drawn up to the top of the mast and unfurled as the Argo prepares to enter the open sea, Catullus in 64.225 and Propertius in 3.21.13 both focus on a much earlier point in the process: the attaching of the sail to the mast in preparation for departure. Most interestingly for us, both Catullus and Propertius also end their lines with *lintea malo*; and although this is used as a verse-ending on two other occasions by other poets (as we shall see),[11] Propertius' phrase *felicia lintea*—a 'happy' as well as 'fair-weather' sail[12]—seems to signal an explicit revision and inversion of Catullus 64.225 (with its gloomy *infecta … lintea*). Where Catullus' Aegeus envisages a voyage to Athens which will bring news of Theseus' death—the worst possible outcome—'Propertius' in 3.21.13 also envisages a voyage culminating in Athens, but one with a happy outcome for him.

This revision of Catullus' sombre line in fact joins other connections Propertius is making in 3.21 to Catullus' treatment of Theseus' journey back to Athens and arrival to find his home in mourning. The 'shores of Piraeus' (*Piraei ... litora*) in line 23 recall the *Piraei litora* of Catullus 64.74 (*litoribus Piraei*);[13] and even though 'Propertius' actually envisages docking at Lechaeum and heading to Athens on foot (*pedes*) via the Isthmus road (21–2)—like the young Theseus, famously—he in fact chooses to pinpoint Theseus' legacy only when imagining himself accessing Athens via the route from the sea *at Piraeus* along the (ruined)

[11] Ov. *Her*. 5.53; Sil. 1.689: Fedeli (n. 1), 614.

[12] Fedeli (n. 1), 614; Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 310.

[13] As noted by Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 312, who also cite Ov. *Met*. 6.446.

Long Walls (*bracchia longa*).[14] It is specifically *this* part of his route that he calls 'Theseus' way/road' (*Theseae ... uiae*: 24), the route Catullus' Theseus must have taken (after docking at Piraeus) before learning at home of Aegeus' death (cf. 64.246–7), which was itself caused by Theseus' neglect of the instructions given him by Aegeus in the Catullan line Propertius is reworking in his own line 13.[15] Although the parallel between 'Propertius'' escape from Cynthia and Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne serves as a disquieting presence, some confidence that 'Propertius' will secure a happy arrival at Athens arises from the fact that he is symbolically doing the job Theseus failed to do, in exchanging Catullus' gloomy dyed sail (*infecta*) for his own hopeful one (*felicia*). Where Catullus had revised Apollonius' neutral 'sail' (just λίνα) by giving it a characterizing adjective tied to its crucial role in the present narrative, Propertius takes the revision a stage further and inverts the characteristic in question to suit his own needs.

Given the scale and enterprise of Catullus' deployment of Apollonius in poem 64, especially in his opening sequence narrating the Argonauts' departure,[16] Propertius' simultaneous act of allusion to Catullus and to Apollonius (and to Apollonius via Catullus) in

[14] Demolished by Sulla in the 80s: D.H. Conwell, *Connecting a City to the Sea: The History of the Athenian Long Walls* (Leiden, 2008), 194–6.

[15] It is also the road that he took to *go* to Crete in the first place, of course: Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 312.

[16] Avallone (n. 8), 14–18, 21–31; Thomas (n. 8), especially 146–60; H.P. Syndikus, *Catull. Eine Interpretation. II, Die grossen Gedichte (61–68)* (Darmstadt, 1990), 117–23, 125 n. 107, 128; Clare (n. 8), 62–5; DeBrohun (n. 8), especially 295–306; Trimble (n. 8), 13, 19–20, 26, 32–3, 37, 44–5, 52–3.

line 13—a double or 'two-tier' allusion or 'window reference'[17]—functions as a way of asserting his credentials as a creative contributor to Roman reception of the Greek poetic tradition in playful self-distinction from Catullus. This is an especially appropriate claim for 'Propertius' to articulate on departing for Athens (where even fuller engagement with Greek literature awaits: 3.21.25–8). Though the entirety of Propertius' lines 11–14 evokes in miniature both Catullus' Argo departure sequence and the point in Apollonius' own where the Argonauts prepare for the open sea (*Arg*. 1.563–79),[18] Propertius not only reverses Catullus' gloomy sail with *felicia*, but also captures the particular attention Apollonius had paid to the *top* of the mast, with *extremo … malo* corresponding to ἠλακάτην, the masthead: the fair wind is in fact what allows the sail to be taken to the top of the mast at all.[19] This choice serves to assert Propertius' dexterity with Greek poetic usages, given the apparent obscurity of ἠλακάτη used in this sense, i.e. to designate the pointed masthead (it normally

[17] For these terms, see S.E. Hinds, *The Metamorphosis of Persephone: Ovid and the Self-Conscious Muse* (Cambridge, 1987), 151 n. 16, 182 s.v. 'allusion, "two-tier"'; R.F. Thomas, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the art of reference', *HSPh* 90 (1986), 171–98, at 188–9; S.E. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge, 1998), 31; D.P. Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 2001), especially 5 (with references), 519 (index s.v. 'two-tier allusion'); and cf. Polt (n. 8), 696–7; C.B. Polt, 'A Catullan/Apollonian "window reference" at Vergil *Eclogue* 4.31–36', *Hermes* 144 (2016), 118–22; and id., 'Furrowing prows: Varro of Atax's *Argonavtae* and transgressive sailing in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *CQ* 67 (2017), 542–57 for some relevant examples.

[18] Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 310; see above, nn. 1 and 8.

[19] Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 310; though contrast Fedeli (n. 1), 614. Camps (n. 6), 152 leaves this open.

means ‘distaff’; the maritime usage derives from the similar shape).[20] Furthermore, the fact that the only other recorded such usage—indeed the one which explains this maritime usage for us at all—occurs in the work of another Hellenistic writer, Asclepiades of Myrlea,[21] suggests that Propertius is enjoying subverting Catullus in a typically neoteric domain: the creative deployment in Latin of *recherché* post-classical Greek vocabulary.

Propertius’ partial reclamation of Apollonius at Catullus’ expense—moving closer to the model than Catullus 64.225, which recalls *Argonautica* 1.565 only loosely—may be seen not only as a competitive manoeuvre but also as alerting the reader to the relevance to 3.21 of the themes both of Catullus 64 and of *Argonautica* 1. Importantly, it communicates Propertius’ ambition to keep two dynamics (which address the complexity of epic heroism) in

[20] See LSJ[9] *s.v.* ἠλακάτη. Some scholars of ancient textiles prefer ‘spindle’: see E.J.W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles* (Princeton, 1991), 263–4, endorsed by M. Del Freo, M.-L. Nosch, and F. Rougemont, ‘The terminology of textiles in the Linear B tablets, including some considerations on Linear A logograms and abbreviations’, in C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch (edd.), *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia B.C.* (Oxford, 2010), 338–87, at 355–6.

[21] As quoted in Athenaeus 11.474b–5a; see L. Pagani (ed.), *Asclepiade di Mirlea: I frammenti degli scritti omerici* (Rome, 2007), 199–204 on this fragment (F 6). An important parallel for the transferred usage is ἱστός, paired with ἠλακάτη in Homer (*Il*. 6.491; *Od*. 1.357; 21.351; cf. *Anth*. *Gr*. 9.190.5), which can mean both ‘ship’s mast’ and ‘beam of a loom’: see R. Bertolín, ‘The mast and the loom: signifiers of separation and authority’, *Phoenix* 62 (2008), 92–108; M.-L. Nosch, ‘The loom and the ship in ancient Greece: shared knowledge, shared terminology, cross-crafts, or cognitive maritime-textile archaeology?’, in H. Harich-Schwarzbauer (ed.), *Weben und Gewebe in der Antike / Texts and Textiles in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2016), 109–32; see also below, n. 38.

view simultaneously in 3.21: the optimistic evocation of the epic quest narrative and, conversely, the fostering of a sense of uncertainty in the reader as to whether Athens, freighted as it is with the Thesean associations of Catullus 64, will really provide the escape from love that 'Propertius' seeks (his favourable sail only guarantees him a happy *arrival* in Greece, after all); the later part of 3.21 questions whether he can really fit the epic mould at all if his sojourn in Athens is going to consist only in intellectual pursuits (including a selection of study texts without strong ties to the heroic past: 25–8).[22] In lines 11–14, though, optimism is probably uppermost, and this involves Propertius going a stage further than the Apollonian model in a different respect. A new element is the direct command to the crew to attach the sail (*iungiteque ... lintea*) which follows earlier commands (*agite … propellite ... ducite*: 11–12). This recalls Apollonius (1.386, 395–6),[23] but surpasses in immediacy what in Apollonius are simple third-person narrative statements, and also goes further than Aegeus' first-person intentional statement in Catullus 64.225 (*suspendam*): the direct command *iungite* immerses readers in the action now, as fellow *socii* (itself a term resonant of epic).[24] This aspect of Propertius' reworking helps communicate the sense that epic-scale heroic achievements need not be confined to myth (or the epic genre, as represented by Apollonius or, more loosely, by Catullus 64), but can equally take the form of an exciting journey (the *magnum iter* of line 1) for deeper knowledge and new, restorative personal experiences undertaken in what can (even if fictively) pass for the lived present.[25] Propertius' confidence

[22] Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 307.

[23] See above, n. 1.

[24] *socii*: Fedeli (n. 1), 613; Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 310, though for caution see Camps (n. 6), 151.

[25] Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 307: '*magnum* as the first word overturns the Callimachean interest in the small scale and rejection of the large'.

in his own poetic abilities (and in the possibilities of elegy) is also conveyed here in his echoing of a similar sequence of direct commands (involving *lintea* again) in his own poem 3.4, earlier in the book (7–8: *agite … date (lintea) … ducite*). The intimation is that despite the doubts they may have about the heroic status of the visit to Athens itself, readers should at least feel assured about Propertius' ability to deploy the Greek poetic tradition with creativity and independence – perhaps a heroism of sorts in itself.

The special attention I suggest Propertius paid to Catullus' line seems reflected by Ovid too. In *Heroides* 5—part of a collection where we find numerous responses to Catullus 64,[26] and whose contents probably postdate Propertius Book 3[27]—Oenone describes how 'a light breeze stirs the sail hanging from the rigid mast' of Paris' departing ship, 'and the water, churned up by the oars, is white with foam' (53–4: *aura leuis rigido pendentia lintea malo |*

[26] These cluster in *Heroides* 10 (Ariadne): see e.g. H. Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton, 1974), 213–27; B. Pavlock, *Eros, Imitation, and the Epic Tradition* (New York, 1990), 129–46; A. Barchiesi, 'Future reflexive: two modes of allusion and Ovid's *Heroides*', *HSPh* 95 (1993), 333–65, at 346–50; P.E. Knox, *Ovid: Heroides: Select Epistles* (Cambridge, 1995), 233–57 *passim*; R.A. Smith, *Poetic Allusion and Poetic Embrace* (Ann Arbor, 1997), 10–13; L. Fulkerson, *The Ovidian Heroine as Author: Reading, Writing, and Community in the Heroides* (Cambridge, 2005), 32, 127, 133, 137–40; R. Armstrong, *Cretan Women: Pasiphae, Ariadne, and Phaedra in Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 2006), 221–60.

[27] See Jacobson (n. 26), 10, 312–19, 347. Book 3 appeared in the late 20s: Camps (n. 6), 1; J.K. Newman, 'The third book: defining a poetic self', in H.C. Günther (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Propertius* (Leiden, 2006), 319–52, at 330; Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 44. On dating the *Heroides* in relation to Propertius' later Book 4: Knox (n. 26), 18; S.H. Lindheim, *Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative and Desire in Ovid's Heroides* (Madison, 2003), 197 n. 74; Fulkerson (n. 26), 13.

suscitat, *et remis eruta canet aqua*).[28] Oenone's situation—left behind by Paris (and now, it has turned out, rejected in favour of Helen)—is shaped by Ovid in ways that recall the situation of Catullus' Ariadne—left behind by Theseus[29]—and also of his Aegeus (Ariadne's structural opposite, but also linked with her by situation).[30] Accordingly, we should not be surprised to find an allusion to a Theseus-related part of the ekphrasis of Catullus 64 here: *lintea malo* is again in the same verse position as in Catullus 64.225, while the churning up of the sea in Ovid (*remis eruta canet aqua*) seems to recall the departure of the Argo in Catullus 64.13 (*tortaque remigio spumis incanuit unda*).[31] Catullus 64 sustains a close parallelism between the Argo's launch and the movements of Theseus' ship, especially its departure from Dia (cf. here 64.58, *pellit uada remis*, and so in turn cf. 64.6–7 as well as 13), which informs

[28] Text: Knox (n. 26), 51; translation mine.

[29] The section *Her*. 5.55–74 recalls e.g. Catull. 64.53–7, 60, 126–8 (and 5.41–2 the opening of poem 64); on the importance of Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne across the *Heroides* collection, see Fulkerson (n. 26), especially 28, 32–6, 122–42. Oenone's own knowledge of Theseus' treatment of Helen (5.127–30) is relevant too: Fulkerson (n. 26), 62–3.

[30] Especially 64.241–4 cf. *Her*. 5.55–6, 61–6. Ariadne and Aegeus as opposites and parallels: J.H. Gaisser, 'Threads in the labyrinth: competing views and voices in Catullus 64', *AJPh* 116 (1995), 579–616, at 605; Armstrong (n. 26), 215–16; Dufallo (n. 8), 64–6; Tamás (n. 7), 1907.

[31] '…and, whirled by their rowing, the sea grew white with foam'; cf., in Apollonius, the sequence *Arg*. 1.540–3 and 554. I assume that *incanuit* is correct, not *incanduit*: see Fordyce (n. 10), 279; Syndikus (n. 16), 123 n. 91.

the poem's exploration of the complexity and limits of heroism[32] and is therefore clearly relevant to the case of Ovid's departing Paris and to *Heroides* 5 more broadly.

This prompts us to look more closely at the context in Ovid's lines 53–4. Ovid's *lintea malo* in 53 is not only in the same verse position as Catullus' in 64.225 (as just seen), but clearly also in the same verse position as Propertius' in 3.21.13 (*iungiteque extremo felicia lintea malo*). The totality of Ovid's *aura leuis rigido pendentia lintea malo* | *suscitat* in fact seems to allude simultaneously to Catullus and Propertius and specifically to their reworking of Apollonius. The foam-based allusion to Catullus in line 54 might admittedly encourage us to see Ovid's *aura leuis* as recalling primarily the light breeze which is all that is required to speed the Argo along in Catullus, thanks to Athene's design (*ipsa leui fecit uolitantem flamine currum*: 64.9, only a few lines earlier than the foam in 64.13, after all). Ovid might then be alluding to Apollonius through Catullus 64.9, which recalls two Apollonian lines: 1.111, where Athene creates the Argo in the first place (αὐτὴ γὰρ καὶ νῆα

[32] On this core theme, and the Argonauts' (and Jason's) thematic connections with Theseus, see e.g. J.C. Bramble, 'Structure and ambiguity in Catullus LXIV', *PCPhS* 16 (1970), 22–41; D. Konstan, 'Neoteric epic: Catullus 64', in A.J. Boyle (ed.), *Roman Epic* (London, 1993), 59–78, at 65–76; Weber (n. 7), 267–9; J.E.G. Zetzel, 'Catullus, Ennius, and the poetics of allusion', *ICS* 8 (1983), 251–66, at 259–62; Gaisser (n. 30), especially 591–3, 596–7, 613; Clare (n. 8); E.M. Theodorakopoulos, 'Catullus 64: footsteps in the labyrinth', in A.R. Sharrock and H. Morales (edd.), *Intratextuality: Greek and Roman Textual Relations* (Oxford, 2000), 115–41, at 125–9; Sklenář (n. 7), 390–1; DeBrohun (n. 8), 309–10. One specific parallel relevant to this article is in the description of their respective ships: 64.9 cf. 64.84.

θοὴν κάμε),[33] and 1.566, where a 'shrill fair wind' (λιγὺς … οὖρος) favours the ship's progress, arriving once it is underway and immediately after the letting down of the sail in our key line of Catullus, 565. But Ovid's close association of *aura* and *lintea malo* in 5.53 make it likely that Propertius' own allusions to Apollonius via Catullus in 3.21.13–14 have also played a role in the conception of 5.53–4. Immediately after line 13 (*iungiteque extremo felicia lintea malo*), 'Propertius' comments on the fair wind (*aura*) which favours his journey (*iam liquidum nautis aura secundat iter*: 14),[34] and this recalls not only Apollonius' λιγὺς … οὖρος (566) but also Jason's prayer to Apollo for that very wind before the launch of the Argo (ἐπιπνεύσειε δ' ἀήτης | μείλιχος, 'may a gentle breeze blow': *Arg*. 1.423–4 cf. 335). And although Apollonius' ἀήτης μείλιχος might very well be informing Catullus 64.9 as well (neatly paralleling *leui flamine*), Propertius' use of the rare verb *secundat*[35] (paralleling, albeit not perfectly,[36] the role of ἐπιπνεύσειε in Apollonius) once again signals even closer investment in the model, and also suggests a thematically-relevant 'self'-casting as Jason (another erotically compromised hero, also in the background in Catullus 64) even as he expresses confidence (as we have already seen) about the overall success of 'his' own quasi-heroic enterprise. In his close association of *aura leuis* and *lintea malo*, then, Ovid seems to be responding both to Catullus and to the way Propertius had then overtly reinvested in the Apollonian model and distinguished himself from Catullus by successfully capturing in his

[33] 'For she herself also fashioned the swift ship': Thomas (n. 8), 149; Syndikus (n. 16), 120; Gaisser (n. 30), 583; Clare (n. 8), 62 with n. 11; Trimble (n. 8), 26; Polt (n. 8), 701–2; Dufallo (n. 8), 43; Polt (n. 17), 120.

[34] '…the breeze now renders the journey smooth and favourable for the sailors'.

[35] Heyworth and Morwood (n. 1), 310.

[36] The indicative *secundat* steps beyond Apollonius' optative ἐπιπνεύσειε: 'Propertius' does not have to pray for a fair wind: he can feel one right now.

two consecutive lines (13–14) much of the content of the two consecutive Apollonian lines 1.565 and 1.566 (including the window reference in 13 to Catullus' allusion to *Argonautica* 1.565 in 64.225, signalled by *lintea malo*), as well as Apollonius' ἐπιπνεύσειε in 1.423.

However, rather than just highlighting a site of prior poetic contestation, Ovid appears to make his own interventions. First, he recalls Catullus 64 directly, restoring Catullus' (64.9) (and Apollonius') 'light' or 'gentle' or 'fair' wind by modifying his *aura* with the *leuis* that Catullus (64.9: *leui*) had specified and that Propertius had omitted (relying instead on *felicia* and *secundat* to communicate the breeze's favourable quality). Second, just as Propertius (I have suggested) inverted Catullus' *infecta* (and thus negative) *lintea* to make them *felicia* (and thus positive) and restored Apollonius' pointed top to the mast of the ship concerned, Ovid also homes in on 64.225, as Propertius had, and turns Catullus' 'wandering' or 'journeying' mast (*uago ... malo*) into a 'rigid' or 'fixed' one (*rigido ... malo*) – an ironic touch for a ship captained by the notably inconstant Paris.[37] The result is a piece of intertextual play entirely in character for Ovid: if Propertius changed Catullus' sail and salvaged Apollonius' masthead, Ovid will go one better and re-characterize Catullus' mast itself.[38] I would also suggest tentatively that Ovid points to his own act of allusion in this line

[37] Cf. Oenone's criticisms at 5.109–13. Given Paris' profile, a sexual pun here should probably not be ruled out: cf. J.N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London, 1982), 46, 103 (*rigidus* used of the erect penis in Petr. *Sat*. 134.11; Mart. 11.16.5; *Priap*. 4.1, 45.1).

[38] Catullus' fondness for *uagus*—Fordyce (n. 10), 310; Quinn (n. 6), 329—may be a target too. The manoeuvre also works in Greek: Ovid's re-characterized mast becomes the third of a trio of terms involved that are central to the vocabulary both of sailing and of weaving: just as λίνα denotes both the 'sail' and the 'thread', and ἠλακάτη both the 'masthead' and the 'distaff'/'spindle' (see above, n. 20), ἱστός is both the 'mast' and the 'loom' itself (see above,

in another way too: the present-tense *pendentia (lintea malo)*—recalling Catullus' Aegeus' future-tense *suspendam (lintea malo)* in 64.225—could point to the prior existence of the Catullan model itself: Catullus' poetic sail (itself borrowed from Apollonius, and, as a woven item, open to interpretation as a metaphor for poetry itself)[39] is hanging there already, available for deployment by Ovid in a new poetic context and on a new poetic voyage.

To re-characterize a different element of Catullus' ship—the mast—is therefore a stylish and subtle way for Ovid to highlight both his own independence and his creative engagement with his predecessors. On the one hand, he has not only re-adapted the specifics of Propertius' reworking of Apollonius and Catullus and (through them) Catullus' reworking of Apollonius, but has also applied this caucus of images to a ship now fully underway—which supplies the obvious, common-sense reason why the *lintea* are *pendentia*—whereas Apollonius, Catullus, and Propertius had all used them of ships either only just about to enter the open sea or much earlier in the departure process. On the other hand, Ovid's decision to work with these images at all fits with the broader ambitions of *Heroides* 5 (and the *Heroides* collection in general) to weave a richly interactive generic texture to support the characterization of heroine and addressee alike.[40] In these lines, Oenone's generic affiliations

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n. 21): an apt choice by Ovid here given the importance of weaving to Catullus 64 (see below, n. 43).

[39] From archaic Greek poetry onwards: e.g. G. Nagy, *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1996), 64–6.

[40] See e.g. Jacobson (n. 26), 319–48; Fulkerson (n. 26), especially 55–66 on *Heroides* 5; Armstrong (n. 26), 221–41; J. Goodsell, 'Generic experimentation in Ovid's *Heroides*', in M. Borg and G. Miles (edd.), *Approaches to Genre in the Ancient World* (Newcastle, 2013), 59–78; M.O. Drinkwater, 'Irreconcilable differences: pastoral, elegy, and epic in Ovid's *Heroides* 5', *CW* 108 (2015), 385–402.

to epic[41] allow her abandonment by Paris—which jeopardizes any claim he might have to epic heroism in *Heroides* 5—to be linked simultaneously with Catullus' Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne and with the performative aspirations to epic heroism of 'Propertius' in 3.21 as he flees Cynthia (even though his *felicia lintea* may secure him a happier arrival in Athens than Theseus'). The rarity of *lintea malo* as a verse-ending—with only one other use in extant Latin, by Silius Italicus[42]—also helps to indicate that Ovid is participating in similar intertextual manoeuvres to Propertius and Catullus, and that for him, as for them, changing the sail (or the mast)—and specifically on the ship of a departing male lover whose rejection of his love directly informs the reader's assessment of his claims to heroic status—functions as a deft and focussed means of communicating the poet's ingenuity and dexterity in the handling of famous models: an entirely appropriate development given the well-established close association between woven fabric, sailing, and poetic craft in these and many other poets, and especially in Catullus 64.[43]

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[41] As well as elegy and bucolic poetry: see in detail Drinkwater (n. 40), especially 395–6.

[42] Silius may in fact take the allusive thread (or part of it) a stage further: the shaping of his similar line (*summo iam dudum substringit lintea malo*: *Punica* 1.689), where Fabius Maximus is being compared with an experienced mariner who 'reefs his sail at once on the topmost mast' at the approach of a potentially *troublesome* wind (*Corum/Caurum*) may (just possibly) indicate a response to, and inversion of, the favourable, gentle winds in Ovid (*aura leuis*) and Propertius (*aura*; Silius' *summo* would replace Propertius' *extremo*).

[43] See Gaisser (n. 30); Theodorakopoulos (n. 32), 129–34; T.J. Robinson, 'Under the cover of epic: pretexts, subtexts and textiles in Catullus' Carmen 64', *Ramus* 35 (2006), 29–62; Sklenář (n. 7).