

ARTAKE AND HYLAEA IN PROPERTIUS 1.8.25–6*

Elegy 1.8 is Propertius' *propemptikon* for Cynthia,¹ which starts with the poet begging Cynthia not to go off to Illyria with his rival. Once Propertius has abandoned hope of her staying, he modulates into the good wishes for Cynthia's voyage (17–18) which are standard in this genre of content. He himself will continue his elegiac outpourings at her door (21–2), and will accost and interrogate sailors about which sea-port Cynthia has reached on her journey (23–4). Then in lines 25–6 Propertius fantasises about Cynthia settling abroad; he mentions two potential foreign locations – in the MSS they are denoted by *Atraciis* (25) and *Hylaeis* (26) – but he remains confident that she will nevertheless be his in the future. In the Teubner edition of Propertius,² Paolo Fedeli retained the MSS reading *Atraciis* (NFL) and the reading *Hylaeis* implied by the MSS (*Hi(y)le(y)is* NFL), and he printed the couplet as:

et dicam 'Licet Atraciis considat in oris,
et licet Hylaeis, illa futura mea est.'³

Fedeli had already argued for this text in his commentary on Propertius Book 1.⁴ He regarded the unique mention of a river *Atrax* in Aetolia by Pliny the Elder as corrupt or erroneous,⁵ and he took *Atraciis ... in oris* as designating Thessaly in general rather than the Thessalian town of *Atrax*; he interpreted *Hylaeis <in oris>* as referring to an area of Scythia. Hence, as Fedeli understood it, Propertius was not so much concerned with geographical niceties; rather he wanted to make the point that Cynthia's remoteness from him would be no barrier to their eventual reunion.⁶ This approach places the

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¹ For Elegy 1.8 as a *propemptikon*, cf. Cairns (1972) 148–52 and nn. (with earlier bibliography).

² Fedeli (1984, 1994).

³ The Apparatus of Fedeli (1984, 1994) reads: 25 *autariis* ζ : *Autaricis Volscus* (cf. *Strab.* 7.11) : *Artaciis Palmer* (prob. *Housman Class. Pap.* 294, coll. *Apoll. Rhod.* 1.957) *dicam atraciis licet haec* Δ 26 *hilleis* P (prob. *Haupt Opusc.* III 332; cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* 4.522sq., *Steph. Byz.* p. 647, 20 *Meinecke*) : *ellaeis* Δ : *eleis* ζ.

⁴ Cf. Fedeli (1980) 222–3.

⁵ *Aetolorum populi Athamanes, Tymphaei, Ephyri, Aenienses, Perrhaebi, Dolopes, Maraces, Atraces, a quibus Atrax amnis Ionio mari infunditur* (Plin. *NH* 4.6); cf. Fedeli (1980) 222 for discussion of the question.

⁶ So Fedeli (1980) 223.

couplet in the same conceptual area as Propertius' geographical fantasy of Elegy 1.12, where he compares the distance between Rome, where he himself is staying, and Baiae, where Cynthia is on holiday, to that between the Po and the Hypanis, the latter a river also (incidentally) located in Scythia (1.12.3–4).⁷

Atraciiis

Despite the advocacy of Fedeli for the MSS reading, Stephen Heyworth, in his Oxford Classical Text of Propertius, printed in place of *Atraciiis* Palmer's old and easy conjecture *Artaciiis*.⁸ Palmer did not offer formal arguments for his emendation: he simply wrote 'scripsi Artaciiis: Vide Apoll. Arg. 1.954 seqq.: καλὸς δὲ λιμὴν ὑπέδεκτο ... κρήνη ὑπ' Ἀρτακίη. Cf. Arg. Orph. 496.'⁹ Heyworth's argument for printing Palmer's emendation was set forth in his accompanying monograph.¹⁰ It was that 'neither <i.e. of the two possible referents of *Atraciiis*> matches any interpretation or emendation of *Hylaeis*' (37). Heyworth (ultimately) followed Palmer (as did Housman) in regarding *Artaciiis* as a reference to Apollonius' 'Artakian spring' near Cyzicus in Asia Minor.

There are indeed problems with the MSS reading *Atraciiis*, although not the one claimed by Heyworth. *Atracius* can certainly, as Fedeli noted, mean 'Thessalian' in general, but a more exact reference seems called for here. The universal interest of learned Hellenistic and Augustan poets in the details of geography has become better appreciated of late,¹¹ and the other points on Cynthia's imagined route, *Ceraunia* (19) and *Oricos* (20), are precise locations. However, the specific place *Atrax* was a landlocked town in the middle of Thessaly, where the sailors featured by Propertius in lines 23–4 would have had no business. Ancient poetic geography does not of course correspond in all respects with modern cartography, but *Atrax* is not a good answer to the question *quo portu* etc. (24)! This objection cannot be evaded: it is true that *oris* could mean 'regions' as well as 'shores',¹² but *portu* implies that Propertius was thinking of sea-ports in these lines.

⁷ This formulation assumes that Prop. 1.11 and 1.12 together constitute a single poem: cf. Butrica (1996) 83–91. But the conceptual parallel remains valid even if 1.11 and 1.12 are separate elegies.

⁸ Heyworth (2007a) 13.

⁹ Palmer (1880) x.

¹⁰ Heyworth (2007b) 37.

¹¹ For an overview cf., e.g., Schrijvers (2009) 140–76.

¹² As in Stat. Silv. 5.3.272: *Thessalicis ... in oris*.

So it is difficult to retain *Atracis* if a precise location is required, and this makes Palmer's easy conjecture *Artacis* very attractive. Its reference need not, however, be limited to the Apollonian 'Artakian spring', as Heyworth and his predecessors believed. Ἀρτάκη was sometimes described as a city, but it was virtually a suburb of Cyzicus, and important enough to be mentioned fairly often in ancient texts. A mountain and a harbour on the peninsula of Cyzicus were also associated with the same name (see below). *Artacis* could, then, refer to the place Ἀρτάκη just as easily as to the Artakian spring. Like Hylaea, *Artake/Cyzicus* is remote from Rome; so it meets that criterion as well as solving the problem of landlocked *Atrax* – and *Cyzicus* on the Propontis lies on the route to Scythian Hylaea (below). Fedeli's view that the two toponyms of lines 25–6 are those of remote areas still therefore holds good.

To these general considerations can be added a specific and definitive reason for thinking that Palmer's *Artacis* was what Propertius wrote, and indeed for thinking that Propertius was referring to the city, suburb, or harbour of Ἀρτάκη near Cyzicus, and not to Apollonius' Artakian spring. A surviving Greek hexameter, not cited by Palmer, Housman or Heyworth, and seemingly unknown to Propertian scholarship, reads:

νάσσατο δ' Ἀρτακίοισιν ἐφέστιος αἰγιαλοῖσιν

(and he settled as a refugee on the Artakian shores)

The similarities between this line and Propertius' *licet Artacis considat in oris* (1.8.25) extend beyond the semantic equivalence of *Artacis ... in oris* and Ἀρτακίοισιν ... αἰγιαλοῖσιν. In both phrases the adjective and noun are separated and the equivalent terms are located in similar fashion within the two lines. Propertius' *considerat*, with its *con-* intensive, is clearly attempting to reproduce the combined emphasis of *νάσσατο* and *ἐφέστιος*. It is impossible to believe that this Greek hexameter is unconnected with the Propertian hexameter; and comparison of the two lines also further confirms (if confirmation is needed) that Propertius' *oris* means 'sea-shores', not just 'regions'.

In his *Ethnika* Stephanus Byzantius assembled the sort of information about *Artake* which will have been commonly available in antiquity and so have been accessible to Propertius and his source(s); the entry in the surviving epitome reads:

Ἀρτάκη, πόλις Φρυγίας, ἄποικος Μιλησίων. Δημήτριος δὲ νησίον εἶναι φησι καὶ Τιμοσθένης λέγων "Ἀρτάκη τοῦτο μὲν ὄρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κυζικηνῆς, τοῦτο δὲ νησίον [ἐστὶν] ἀπὸ γῆς ἀπέχον στάδιον· κατὰ τοῦτο λιμὴν ὑπάρχει βαθὺς ναυσὶν ὀκτώ ὑπὸ τῷ ἀγκῶνι ὃν ποιεῖ τὸ ὄρος

ἔχρσθαι τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.” τὸ ἔθνικὸν Ἀρτακηνός. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτακεὺς εἶπε “τί μέλλετ’ Ἀρτακῆς τε καὶ Περκώσιοι;” καὶ Ἀρτάκιος εἶπε Δημοσθένης ἐν ἐνάτῳ Βιθυνιακῶν “νάσσατο δ’ Ἀρτακίοισιν ἐφέστιος αἰγιαλοῖσιν”. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτόθι ἡ Ἀφροδίτη καλεῖται.

Artake, a city of Phrygia, a colony of the Milesians. Demetrius says that it is a small island, as does Timosthenes, who reports: “Artake is both a mountain in the territory of Cyzicus and a small island one stade away from the mainland; opposite it there is a deep harbour for eight ships beneath the angular bay created by the mountain and the shore. The ethnic is ‘Artakenos’. But Sophocles formed it from ‘Artakeus’: “Why do you hesitate, Artakes and Perkosioi?”. And Demosthenes said in the ninth book of the *Bithyniakoi* “and he settled as a refugee on the Artakian shores”. For Aphrodite has the cult-title ‘Artakian’ there.

Stephanus *Ethnika* (epitome) p. 127.13–22 Meineke = 457 Billerbeck (p. 226)

It is this entry which preserves the Greek hexameter underlying Propertius 1.8.25, and the equally valuable information that it comes from Book 9 of the *Bithyniaka* of Demosthenes of Bithynia (fr. 6 CA). Timosthenes’ emphasis on the harbour of Artake should also be noted, as should the fact that he, like Demosthenes, mentioned the shore of Artake (αἰγιαλοῦ).

The question next arises how and in what form this line from Demosthenes’ *Bithyniaka* reached Propertius. Unfortunately, answers to it cannot be other than speculative and will inevitably lack confirmation; but it is at least worth ticking off the possibilities. An optimist might imagine Propertius perusing the ninth book of Demosthenes’ *Bithyniaka* when composing *Elegy* 1.8. Demosthenes was probably a Hellenistic writer and so earlier than Propertius, although that is not certain;¹³ hence this is at least possible. Alternatively a less esoteric source might be envisaged in a handbook by a predecessor of Stephanus.¹⁴ An even more attractive scenario might, however, be that Propertius encountered this line (or something very like it) in the cultural milieu created at Rome in the first century BC by imported Greek poets and

¹³ Cf. Lightfoot (1999) 10.

¹⁴ On these cf. Cameron (2004) 227–8, 233–7.

grammarians. These included another Bithynian poet, Parthenius of Nicaea,¹⁵ a major vector for Callimachean and other Hellenistic learning at Rome in the first century BC, and a teacher to Helvius Cinna, Cornelius Gallus, Virgil, probably to Varro of Atax, and possibly to Catullus, Asinius Pollio, and even Propertius himself. Propertius could have met the Greek line about Ἀρτάκη in a class taught by Parthenius or by another Greek grammaticus, or have found in a work of Parthenius, perhaps even in his *propemptikon*, a similar line written in imitation of his fellow countryman Demosthenes of Bithynia.

A final possibility is suggested by the cluster of earlier first-century BC *propemptika* with which Propertius 1.8 has well-recognised connections. As noted, one of these (to an unknown addressee) was composed by Parthenius himself, who probably introduced the genre to Rome;¹⁶ and one, by his patron and pupil Helvius Cinna, was for Asinius Pollio, another possible patron-cum-pupil of Parthenius (parts of it survive).¹⁷ The immediate predecessor of Propertius 1.8 was the *propemptikon* by a documented patron-cum-pupil of Parthenius, Cornelius Gallus' for his beloved, Lycoris.¹⁸ This poem, echoes of which reach us in Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*, is generally reckoned to have been particularly close to Propertius 1.8, which also shows many signs of Gallan influence.¹⁹ Propertius could, then, have seen a translation or imitation of Demosthenes' line (possibly mediated through Parthenius) in a *propemptikon* of Cornelius Gallus.

Hylaeis

In his OCT (2007a) Heyworth printed *Hylaeis* (referring to an area of Scythia) in line 26. In his *Cynthia* (2007b) 37 two approaches were offered: initially Heyworth seemed more committed to regarding the couplet as exploiting the Homeric placement of the Artakian spring in the land of the Laestrygonians (*Odyssey* 10.107–108), 'a mythically distant region', and the Herodotean envisagement of Hylaea as 'a land beyond Scythia'.

¹⁵ For this milieu and its resources cf. Lightfoot (1999) 10–11; for Parthenius' influence at Rome cf. Hinds (1998) 74–83 (simultaneously privileging Laevius); Lightfoot (1999) 50–76; for his influence on Propertius cf. Cairns (2006) Index III: General Index s.v. Parthenius of Nicaea; for his possible presence in *Eclogue* 6 cf. Harrison (2007) 44–59.

¹⁶ Cf. Lightfoot (1999) 11, 40–41, 70–71, 169–70, 194–6.

¹⁷ Cf. Hollis (2007) 12–14, 21–9.

¹⁸ Hollis (2007) 221–2, 226–7.

¹⁹ Cf. Cairns (2006) 114–16; 203–204 with earlier bibliography.

Then, however, Heyworth displayed some enthusiasm for the alternative interpretation of the MSS reading, i.e. *Hylleis*. The Ὑλλεῖς were an Illyrian or Liburnian tribe, so with *Hylleis* Cynthia's second possible place of settlement would be on the coast of Dalmatia. Heyworth next offered a complex argument that might justify the combination of *Artacis* and *Hylleis*. In essence it picks up Haupt's and Housman's citations of widely spaced Argonautic passages as reported in Fedeli's *Apparatus* (above n. 3), and it proceeds as follows: Apollonius mentions the Artakian spring at *Argonautica* 1.956–7, and the Propertian place-names *Ceraunia* and *Oricos* (1.8.19–20) at *Argonautica* 4.1214–15; *Ceraunia* appeared again alone earlier at *Argonautica* 4.519 (to quote Heyworth) 'just before the section on the Ὑλλῆες (4.522–51), and Apollonius is here talking about the Illyrian coast'. Thus, Heyworth claimed, Propertius could be matching a location from the Argonauts' outward journey to Colchis (the Artakian spring at Cyzicus, 25) with a location from their return journey (the Illyrian Ὑλλεῖς, 26); this, according to Heyworth, would encourage 'a metapoetic reading of Cynthia's prospective fickleness'.

Heyworth's recreation of this Argonautic background to lines 25–6 is, however, problematic. A modern scholar can easily imagine using a well-indexed Loeb or World's Classics Apollonius to come up with a location on the Argonauts' outward voyage and one on their return journey. But it is hard to take seriously the idea of Propertius (or a predecessor) unrolling and rolling the long scrolls of the four books of the *Argonautica* in search of such a combination. To be sure an industrious scholar in the Museum might have compiled a list of place-names in the *Argonautica*, but there seems to be no evidence for such a list.²⁰

Another consideration is the underlying logic of Propertius' discourse as perceived by Fedeli. In lines 25–6, in accordance with his habit of enhancing his declarations of love by mentioning far-off places, Propertius is imagining Cynthia as 'settling' (*considat*) in remote locations. Cyzicus is such a remote location, and indeed it may have been one of the standard places of exile for Romans.²¹ To follow up *Artake*/*Cyzicus* with the Ὑλλεῖς on the much closer coast of Dalmatia would be anticlimactic and bathetic. On the other hand Scythian *Hylaea* is even remoter than *Artake*, and it is mentioned in five passages of Herodotus,²² and hence it was

²⁰There would surely have been traces of it in the ancient lexica and grammarians, but there do not seem to be any.

²¹Cicero, going into exile in 58 BC, claimed several times that he was going there; cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 3.6.1; 3.13.2; 3.15.6; 3.16. *Cyzicus* lies just beyond the 500-mile limit from Rome that exiles had to observe.

²²Hdt. 4.9.1; 4.18.1; 4.54, 55; 4.76.4; cf. Asheri et al. (2007) 589.

presumably well enough known to be referred to casually by Propertius. Hylaea was also a maritime area, as a remark of Pliny the Elder underlines, so it fits the more specific sense of *oris* too.²³ Finally, Artake/Cyzicus is on the way to Hylaea, so the imagined route makes sense. Hence *Hylaeis* should be left untouched.

There is a link between Cyzicus and Hylaea which could have brought these locations together in the mind of Propertius or, more likely, his source(s). One of the Herodotean passages mentioning Hylaea (4.76) tells how the Scythian Anacharsis came to Cyzicus, witnessed the rites of Cybele being performed there, and introduced those rites to Hylaea, with fatal consequences for himself.²⁴ Anacharsis was a much discussed figure in antiquity,²⁵ and it may be that Propertius' source(s) associated the two places combined in 1.8.25–6 because they knew that tale about Anacharsis. As for Cyzicus itself, it was the city where one of Propertius' first patrons, the younger Volcacius Tullus, eventually found himself based (Prop. 3.22.1). Whether Tullus had decided on Cyzicus as his base before the publication of Propertius' first book of elegies is not known; but it is at least a suggestive coincidence that Artake is mentioned in this couplet of 1.8, given that 1.8 is the companion *propemptikon* to 1.6,²⁶ addressed to Tullus.

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²³NH 4.83: *inde silvestris regio Hylaeum mare, quo adluitur, cognominavit; Enoecadioe vocantur incolae.*

²⁴Cf. also Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 2.24.

²⁵Cf. Kindstrand (1981); on the Herodotean passage cf. id. 20–23; Asheri et al. (2007) 635–8.

²⁶For Prop. 1.6. as a *propemptikon* cf. Cairns (1972) 3–16, 115–17, 123–4.

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