LEABHARLANN CHOLÁISTE NA TRÍONÓIDE, BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH | TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY DUBLIN
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin

Copyright statement

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

Liability statement

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

Access Agreement

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

letum non omnia finit:
Reading Vergilian Intertextuality in Propertius 4

by

Donncha O'Rourke

TRINITY COLLEGE
0 6 NOV 2008
LIBRARY DUBLIN

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

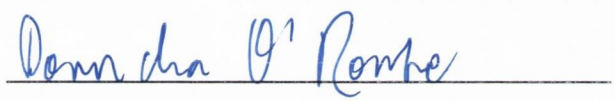
University of Dublin
Trinity College

2008

DECLARATION

This thesis is entirely my own work, and has not been submitted previously as an exercise for degree at this or any other University.

I agree that the Library may lend or copy this thesis upon request.



Donncha O'Rourke

SUMMARY

The objective of this thesis is to assess the extent and nature of Propertius' reception of Vergil in Book 4 of his elegies. Vergil's death preceded the publication of Propertius 4 by at least three years, thereby enabling the elegist to contemplate the Vergilian oeuvre *in toto* and, perhaps, to offer the first in what is an ongoing tradition of responses to it. Vergil's influence on late Propertian elegy is often sensed but rarely pursued; outside of a few obvious passages (in 4.1, 4.6, and 4.9), it is felt that to pinpoint Propertius' reading of Vergil is a hazardous enterprise, owing to the tightness of the chronology and the divergent interests of the epic and elegiac genres. A clear appraisal of the situation is therefore needed. This thesis presents a systematic compilation of Propertio-Vergilian intertexts, and suggests some ways in which these may be read.

Chapter 1 ('Introduction') surveys the *status quaestionis* since Reisch's 'Properz-Studien' of 1887, sets out some theoretical preliminaries vis-à-vis allusion and intertextuality, and explores these in practice through a case study of elegy 4.9, here read as a 'metanarrative' for the allusive process itself. Also discussed in this chapter are elegies 1.9 and 2.34, in which Vergil is mentioned implicitly and explicitly respectively. It is argued that the latter rewrites Vergilian poetry to dichotomise Vergilian and Propertian poetics, but in a way that leaves the door open to the possibility of rapprochement between the two.

Chapter 2 ('*Rus in Urbe*: Vergilian Pastoral in Propertius 4') explores the appropriation in Propertius 4 of the pastoral dimension of the *Corpus Vergilianum*. It is suggested that, on the one hand, the relative affinity of pastoral and elegy enables Propertius to construct the 'generic ascent' to which his elegy aspires in terms of the ascent effected by Vergil within the epic genre (4.1a); the corollary of this manoeuvre, on the other hand, is the implosion of the pastoral world under the pressure of its new (generic) environment – an aspect of Vergilian pastoral which Propertius magnifies to illustrate the instability of his generic enterprise (4.1b). Pastoral thus becomes a 'neutral' territory in Propertius 4, crystallised in a series of *loca amoena* for possession of which the 'supergenres' of elegy and epic wage territorial warfare (4.4, 4.6, 4.8).

Chapter 3 ('As Dead as a Dido: the Vergilian Female in Propertius 4') proceeds from a survey of trends in gender studies in Latin epic and elegy to a discussion of the engagement of Propertius 4 with constructions of gender in the *Aeneid*. It is suggested that Propertius 4 offers

both contrastive and comparative readings of gender in Vergilian epic which expose the 'androcentric' and 'gynocentric' potential of both genres. These are at first polarized by the selective intertextuality of the two halves of 4.1, and then re-examined by the book's ensuing sequence of dead or moribund women, who can each be compared and/or contrasted with the doomed women of the *Aeneid*, in particular Dido, Creusa, and Camilla (4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.11). The ideological and metapoetic implications of this discourse are considered.

Chapter 4 ('The Shield of Propertius') observes the engagement of Propertius 4 with Vergilian strategies of representing history, particularly via the Shield of Aeneas, a recurrent intertext. It is argued that the Shield's ekphrastic dimension is replicated and amplified in 4.6, and that its typological affinities with the rest of the *Aeneid* are extrapolated also into the 'historical' elegies of Propertius 4 in ways that might complicate the 'official' record of Roman history, or amplify uncertainties already latent in the Vergilian account: the fixity of the three Feretrian duels is arguably undermined by their projection onto the duel sequences of the latter books of the *Aeneid* (4.10); Tarpeia's 'legendary' treachery is restored to the 'historical' episode of the Gallic invasion depicted on Aeneas' Shield (4.4). Intertextuality thus yields a cyclic scheme of interpenetrating historical episodes, and implies that not even the 'eternal city' can consider herself immune to time's vicissitudes (4.1, 4.4, 4.10).

Chapter 5 ('*tot in uno corpore formae*: Vergilian structures in Propertius 4') draws together and supplements instances of structural and 'stichometric' intertextuality observed in the preceding chapters. This contentious issue immediately raises the spectre of 'authorial intentionality', particularly relevant to a book once considered to be a hotchpotch posthumous assemblage. After a review of the various positions on, and the implications and limitations of, this kind of analysis, it is suggested that Vertumnus (4.2), commonly recognised as a symbol of Propertian elegy, also illustrates, *en abyme*, the Vergilian intertextual features of the book as a whole. It is also argued that 4.7 and 4.8 can be read as a sophisticated inversion of the bipartite Homeric architecture of the *Aeneid*. In this way, lexical, structural, and stichometric allusion are seen as functionally rather than (merely) aesthetically interwoven.

The Conclusion addresses what attitude(s) to Vergilian poetry and Augustan society are reflected in Propertius 4, and locates this research in relation to *Propertiana* past, present, and future.

In memoriam

Bridget Agnes et Edward Gallagher

avorum

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

ABBREVIATIONS v

A NOTE ON THE TEXTS v

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION **1**

Canon Fodder 1

Propertius 1.9: a rising star? 3

Propertius 2.34: Vergil *in medias res* 5

Status Quaestionis since 1887 26

Allusion or Intertext? 33

Quellenforschung on the site of Rome (4.9) 39

CHAPTER 2: *RUS IN URBE*: VERGILIAN PASTORAL IN PROPERTIUS 4 **51**

Beginning with Pastoral 51

Propertius on the site of Rome (4.1a) 60

Propertius and his Critic (4.1b) 77

The Origin of the Tarpeian Grove (4.4) 83

The Field of Battle (4.6) 89

In Search of Pastures New (4.9) 90

Getting into the Grove (4.8) 95

CHAPTER 3: AS DEAD AS A DIDO: THE VERGILIAN FEMALE IN PROPERTIUS 4 **101**

Introduction 101

Propertius' *Aeneid* (4.1a) 108

Horos' *Aeneid* (4.1b) 112

Arethusa (4.3) 114

Tarpeia (4.4) 124

Acanthis (4.5) 131

Cleopatra (4.6) 136

Cynthia *mortua* (4.7) 149

Diva rediviva (4.8) 160

Cornelia (4.11) 168

CHAPTER 4: THE SHIELD OF PROPERTIUS **174**

enarrabile textum (4.6) 174

History Repeating Itself (4.10) 191

Shielding Tarpeia again (and again) (4.4) 208

The Making and Breaking of Nations (4.1, 4.4, and 4.10) 218

CHAPTER 5: *tot in uno corpore formae*: VERGILIAN STRUCTURES IN PROPERTIUS 4 **233**

In Search of Structure 233

Imposing Structures 238

'deconstruction' and Reconstruction 247

Ekphrastic *monumenta en abyme* and *ne pas en abyme* 251

Vertumnus *en abyme* (4.2) 254

The Shields of Propertius 275

The Propertius Code 279

Stichometric Intertextuality 285

Propertius as Knauer (4.7 and 4.8) 287

CONCLUSIONS **297**

APPENDIX I: Propertius-Vergil Intertexts 307

APPENDIX II: Vergil-Propertius Intertexts 315

BIBLIOGRAPHY 324

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has enjoyed the benefit and privilege of two supervisions: Professor D. Nelis, who launched and piloted it through its first *freta*, and Professor M.R. Gale, whose thoughtful and meticulous mentorship steered it to the haven of submission. Every page is indebted to their insight, as am I to the generosity with which they shared it. The inadequacies that remain are my own.

It has been a pleasure and honour to study and lecture at the Department of Classics at Trinity College, Dublin. I am grateful to the *entire* staff for their comradeship, and record here specific debts to Professor A. Chahoud, whose academic insight and enthusiasm sublimated the process of overseeing administrative particulars; to Dr M. Cuypers, who has been ever available and informative on matters Hellenistic; to Dr H. Dodge, whose expertise (and library) on the city of Rome know no bounds. A special mention is due also to the outgoing and incoming executive officers, Vivienne O' Rafferty and Winifred Ryan.

I have also had the good fortune to be a colleague of the Department of Ancient Classics at NUI Maynooth, whose staff, present and past, I thank, including Breege Lynch and Dr G. Campbell, whose mantle I could not have assumed without his generous help. I am particularly grateful to Professor D. Scourfield for his support, for his interest in and reflections on my work, and for the invitation to address the Classics Research Discussion Group. Sections of Chapters 3 and 4 were presented at seminars and conferences also in Dublin and Oxford; I thank the audiences for their feedback.

My work was much improved by a term at the Corpus Christi College Centre for the Study of Greek and Roman Antiquity at the University of Oxford. I thank Professors P.R. Hardie and S.J. Harrison for the warmth of their welcome, and for reading and responding generously to (much) earlier incarnations of material now incorporated in Chapters 3 and 4. I also thank Dr. S.J. Heyworth for showing interest in my research. I am particularly grateful to Professor G.O. Hutchinson for discussing Propertius with

me, and for sharing with me his then nascent commentary, by which the following pages are much informed.

This thesis has benefited from discussion with Deirdre Craig, the other Propertian of TCD, who has read and responded to chapters along the way; for proofreading, I am also grateful to Dr Killian McAleese and Brian O'Rourke; John O'Rourke worked nothing short of a miracle on the appendices; for contributing in various other ways, I thank Sarah Alexander-Gonzales, Dr Jo Day, Fiachra Mac Góráin, Dr Frédéric Nau, Erin Sebo, and Dr Catherine Ware. Foremost I thank my parents and brothers.

I am very grateful to the Trinity Trust for a Postgraduate Studentship and for financing research in other jurisdictions, and to the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (IRCHSS) for a Postgraduate Award.

D. O'R.

March 2008

Dublin

ABBREVIATIONS

Butler and Barber	H.E. Butler and E.A. Barber, *The elegies of Propertius* (Oxford, 1933)
Camps	W.A. Camps, *Propertius. Elegies, Book IV* (Cambridge, 1965)
Fedeli	P. Fedeli (ed.) *Properzio. Elegie, Libro IV* (Bari, 1965)
Hutchinson	G.O. Hutchinson, *Propertius Elegies Book IV* (Cambridge, 2006)
LSJ	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. by H.S. Jones and R. Mackenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th edition, Oxford 1996)
OLD	P.G.W. Glare (ed.) *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1968)
Richardson	L. Richardson, Jr., *Propertius. Elegies I-IV* (Oklahoma, 1977)
RRC	M.H. Crawford (ed.), Roman Republican Coinage. 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1974)
Shackleton Bailey	D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge, 1956)
Thomas	R.F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1988)
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig and Munich, 1900–)

Abbreviations for journal titles generally follow the system used in *L'Année Philologique*; abbreviations which have seemed obscure have been expanded. Abbreviations of classical authors and works generally follow the conventions of *LSJ* and *OLD*.

A NOTE ON THE TEXTS

Quotations from Vergil and Propertius are derived from the following editions:

R.A.B. Mynors (ed.) *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Oxford, 1969)
E.A. Barber (ed.) *Sexti Properti Carmina.* Second Edition. (Oxford, 1960)

Alternative readings are noted as appropriate.
An asterisk (*) in the text denotes a word which falls in the same *sedes* in both authors.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? uerum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clauam quam Homero uersum subripere.
>
> Suetonius-Donatus 46

> [P]oets, as poets, and particularly the strongest poets, return to origins at the end, or whenever they sense the imminence of the end. Critics may be wary of origins, or consign them disdainfully to those carrion-eaters of scholarship, the source hunters, but the poet-in-a-poet is as desperately obsessed with poetic origins, generally despite himself, as the person-in-a-person at last becomes obsessed with personal origins.
>
> Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, 17-18

Canon fodder

THE FIRST QUOTATION above is said to have been Vergil's retort to the accusation of his *detractores* that in composing the *Aeneid* he pilfered most of his material from Homer. One wonders what myth must be invoked to describe the ensuing generation of *furta* from the Roman Homer – the literary thefts, in other words, from Vergil by his poetic successors. The word *furtum* may still convey something of the furtive subtlety of poetic allusion, but it misrepresents the creativity and originality with which 'strong' poets, to borrow Harold Bloom's terminology, assimilate and sometimes supersede the predecessors to whose work they were in the first place attracted. Servius and Knauer rank among the scholars 'strong' enough to appreciate the depth of Vergil's reworking of Homer, and they paved the way for their successors to transcend what Gian Biagio Conte (himself no admirer of Bloom)[1] has diagnosed as 'comparisonitis', a condition evidently contracted, so to speak, by the consumption of, but failure to digest, the carrion of *loci similes*. Other Vergilian fonts have been explored with equal success, and their scholars will enter the canon of classical scholarship for as long as the Classics are

[1] See Conte (1986) 23 and (for a critique of Bloom's 'intentionalist' approach) 26-27.

read in our cultural and educational institutions (or, as Ovid puts it, *quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris*, *Met.* 15.877).

Preceded and surrounded by such 'strong' scholars, a degree of anxiety is likely to be experienced by a student of the poetic influence exerted by the Roman Homer on Propertius – an anxiety hardly diminished by the fact that Propertius, unlike Vergil, fails to have been sufficiently strong of influence to have qualified for the canon, at least as Bloom has defined it.[2] Propertius for his part drew up a canon of love-poets at the end of elegy 2.34, from which Catullus alone is duplicated in Bloom's list, an agreement which some might take to validate his canonisation, just as the omission by both Propertius and Bloom of Tibullus might be taken to vindicate his non-canonisation. What rather exposes the fallacy, or transience, of Bloom's choices and of canon-formation in general, however, is the fact that Ovid (who *is* canonised by Bloom) saw fit to include in his canon in *Tristia* 2 both Tibullus and Propertius, together with the other poets listed in Propertius 2.34 whom the cruelties of transmission have since ruled out of consideration (*Tr.* 2.421-70). Crucially, Ovid is here candid enough to admit that he reserves judgement on the *nomina uiuorum* (v. 468). Propertius' omission of Tibullus may be self-interested, therefore, but is more likely to be accounted for by the fact that Tibullus was still alive, unlike Gallus, whose recent demise (*modo*, 2.34.91) secures his admission to the Propertian canon and the date of the poem to 26/25 BC,[3] and whose inclusion in the esteem of his contemporaries must be taken as a more reliable indicator of the richness of his verse than the poverty of its extant remains.[4] Though unnamed, Tibullus has been shown to be present in Propertius in other ways: the prospect of compiling exhaustively Propertius' allusions to his elegiac predecessor was described by La Penna as "una dura fatica di Sisifo" (to invoke another myth); that La Penna then went on to provide such a compilation is alone sufficient to prove that Vergil is not the only source of allusion in Propertius 4 any more than Homer is in

---

[2] Bloom (1994) 533 canonises, under the Roman section of his 'Theocratic Age', Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Horace, Persius, Catullus, Vergil, Lucan, Ovid, Juvenal, Martial, Seneca, Petronius, and Apuleius.

[3] As observed by Butler and Barber *ad loc.*

[4] See Janan (2001) 178-9 n.18 for a compilation of negative assessments of the Qaṣr Ibrīm fragment.

Vergil.[5] Let it be stated from the outset, then, lest the current study appear blindly Vergiliocentric, that other textual sources can coexist with Vergil, whatever the extent of his impact on Propertius 4: Propertius' self-identification as the Roman Callimachus at 4.1.64 invites an alternative and perhaps more obvious line of investigation; at least one other, on Horatian influence on Propertius 4, is currently underway.[6] Taken in the context of other studies, then, this investigation will seek to establish the relative importance of Vergil in Propertius 4.

The following introduction will first discuss two passages prior to Propertius 4 where Vergil is, or seems to be, in the elegiac spotlight. A survey of the *status quaestionis* will be followed by a discussion, first in theory and then in practice, of the principles of allusion and intertextuality by which the ensuing pages will be informed.

Propertius 1.9: a rising star?

As all carrion-eaters know, Vergil's name occurs only once in Propertius (2.34.61); what the concordance doesn't say, but what J. Hubaux and others have argued, is that his name can also be read at 1.8.10:[7]

> o utinam hibernae duplicentur tempora brumae,
> et sit *iners tardis nauita* **Vergiliis** 1.8a.9-10

Here the poet, tormented by the prospect of Cynthia voyaging overseas with a rival, prays for a late rising of the Pleiades (*Vergiliis*) and so for the delayed opening of the sailing season. As has been recognised, Propertius' situation in this elegy is similar to, but not so hopeless as that of Gallus in *Eclogue* 10: adhering to the prescription of the *propemptikon*,[8] Propertius warns Cynthia against exposing herself to harsh climes (***tu***

---

[5] La Penna (1950) 223(whence the quotation)-227 and (1951) 57-58 (an appendix of Propertio-Tibullan *loci similes*).

[6] Aspects of Callimacheanism in Propertius 4 are discussed by Pillinger (1969), Miller (1982), Heyworth (1994); DeBrohun (2003) 3-8, 19-22, 201-209; Hutchinson 9-13. Horatian influence on Propertius 4 is the subject of current research by Rebecca Hughes (University of Oxford).

[7] Hubaux (1957) 34-38; so also Fedeli (1980) 204-5, 212-3, Craig (2004) 192-193, and Cairns (2006) Index II s.v. *Vergiliae*.

[8] Initially a 'schetliastic propemptikon': see Cairns (1972) 150-152.

pedibus teneris *positas fulcire pruinas,* | ***tu*** *potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre* ***niues?***, 1.8a.7-8), whereas Gallus, who has already been abandoned, can only hope that Lycoris is immune to identical conditions (*Alpinas, a! dura* ***niues*** *et frigora Rheni* | *me sine sola uides. a,* ***te*** *ne frigora laedant!* | *a,* ***tibi*** *ne* ***teneras*** *glacies secet aspera* ***plantas!***, *Ecl.* 10.47-49). Hubaux sees *Vergiliis* as a signpost to Propertius' model and parallel to Vergil's punning evocation of Parthenius' name at *Ecl.* 10.57. There is perhaps more than "le même homage amusant"[9] at play in Propertius, however, if 1.8 can be read as metapoetically as *Eclogue* 10 has been.[10] Craig reads the poem as a reaction to Vergil's gentle polemic against Gallan elegy in *Eclogue* 10 and as a reaffirmation of the value of subjective love-elegy in the context of countervailing pressures to write epic poetry.[11] Ventures seaward and their preliminary *propemptica* are generally accepted metaphors for the composition of epic,[12] such that the delayed sea-voyage of Cynthia (whose name also doubles for the *Monobiblos*) due to the tardy *Vergiliae* could dramatise Propertius' deferral of the loftier poetry at least under contemplation by Vergil at this time and already under production by Ponticus, the epic poet whose *peripeteia* from *arma* to *amor* occurs between the framing elegies 1.7 and 1.9.[13] Admitting this reading of 1.8, *iners* becomes *le mot juste* for Propertius' artistic idleness; moreover, if his name could be securely identified as *Sextus Propertius Nauta*,[14] then the collocation *nauita Vergliis* would constitute a double pun.[15] The invocation in Propertius 1.8 of Propertius' own name, however, is hardly crucial to

---

[9] Hubaux (1957) 38; Fedeli (1980) 213 also sees the pun as homage.

[10] See e.g. Conte (1986) 100-129.

[11] Craig (2004) 190-196.

[12] The arguments in favour of reading Hor. *Od.* 1.3 in this way are set out by Lyne (1995) 79-81, who cites comparative passages at Verg. *Geo.* 2.41; Prop. 3.3.22-4, 3.9.3f.; Hor. *Od.* 4.15.38.

[13] See Craig (2004) 192: "It is not very surprising that in this poem, which is placed between his two polemics against epic addressed to a man called Ponticus, Propertius should depict Cynthia's planned departure as a trip over the sea (*vesani murmura* ***ponti***) in a ship that is *dura* and in the company of a soldier, whose career is the subject matter of epic" (highlighting at 1.8.5 the possibility of a pun on Ponticus' name, which itself connotes the kind of poetry rejected by Callimachus at *Hymn* 2.106 (ὅσα πόντος), as Craig suggests at pp. 145-146).

[14] Most scholars doubt this nomenclature, taken to have been derived from 2.24b.38 (*quamuis nauita* [*non ita*: Pontanus, followed by Barber] *diues eras*; it is conferred on Propertius by certain MSS (*AFPV*) and two inscriptions (*CIL* XI 4443 and 5308), thought to be spurious. See now Cairns (2006) 4 with n.25, who sees sympathy for this nomenclature, such as that of Newman (1997) Ch. 4, esp. 141, as "unwarranted"; see also (a similarly sceptical) Butler and Barber xviii.

[15] This wordplay might be pushed further if the description of the *Vergiliae* as *tardae* could, in the context of the poem's theme of delay, be taken as a gloss on a suppressed *mora*, thereby adducing Vergil's *nomen* anagrammatically; although this would constitute a pun on an anagram of a synonym, the play on *mora-maro* is one which Vergil himself has been seen to indulge (see Malamud (1998) 116-118).

the reading of the poem as a *recusatio* in metanarrative. That Vergil's name is (nearly) enlisted to signal the kind of poetry being deferred suggests that his presence loomed large in Propertius' poetic consciousness from an early point in his career.

Propertius 2.34: Vergil *in medias res*

The (only) overt occurrence of Vergil's name in Propertius brings this discussion back to elegy 2.34, and to Donatus, who quoted 2.34.65-66 as a contemporary reaction to the nascent *Aeneid*: *'Aeneidos' vixdum coeptae tanta excitit fama, ut Sextus Propertius non dubitaverit sic praedicare: 'Cedite, Romani scriptores* [etc.] (Suetonius-Donatus, 30). Propertius 2.34 has thus been recognised since antiquity as the earliest known *testimonium* of the *Aeneid* (with the possible exception of the proem to the third *Georgic*). It is important to recognise that the couplet quoted by Donatus comes from a twenty line survey of Vergil's entire output. Analysis of 2.34, therefore, is *de rigeur* in discussing Propertius' reception of Vergil.[16] Its interpretation, however, is overshadowed by argument, particularly in Vergiliocentric criticism, as to how *vixdum coeptae* the *Aeneid* actually was during the mid-20s BC. Interpretation has also been complicated by disagreement as to the sincerity of Propertius' assessment of Vergilian poetry: the acrimony that characterises this debate can be witnessed in the exchanges in the 1940s and 50s between Alfonsi, for whom the lines singled out by Donatus are "un complimento anche affetuoso e sincero [...] un grido di ammirazione convinto", and Paratore, who takes the sceptical view that "etsi novum sodalis opus magnis onerat laudibus, vafre ac versute quamquam occulte impotentiam atque redundantiam longorum carminum imminuit."[17] It may well be that

---

[16] Cf. Boucher (1965) 279 for the passage as a "résumé de l'oeuvre de Virgile"; Alfonsi (1954) 205 sees it as the first "valutazione critica" of Vergilian poetry. Butrica (1997) 201-4, however, argues that the passage is an interpolation.

[17] Alfonsi (1954) 205 (see also Alfonsi (1943-4) 464) and Paratore (1957) 75 and *passim* for a broadside against Alfonsi. Propertius' sincerity is accepted by Laird (1999) 32: "Clearly it celebrates, as well as announces, the arrival of the epic"; Cairns (2006) 313 ("accurate for its time, straightforward, and highly laudatory") and 342; Dimundo (2002) 303-4: "sincera ammirazione"; Newman (1997) 220: "Propertius–of course–sincerely admired Virgil's achievement"; La Penna (1977) 12-13; Brakman (1926) 77 (though he admits to having doubts about Propertius' sincerity elsewhere); Paley (1853) *ad loc.*: "a fine eulogy of Virgil [...] Propertius pays his friend an elegant compliment"; Fedeli (2005) 988 detects in the reference the courtesy of a *recusatio*. Sceptical are Robinson (2006) 201, whose translation of *cedite* ('get out of the way!') sounds to be mediated by Ezra Pound's hyperbolic version ("Make way, ye Roman authors, | clear the street, O ye Greeks, | For a much larger Iliad is in the course of construction | (and to imperial order) | Clear the streets, O ye Greeks!") ; Stahl (1985) 181: "a very dubious, because ambiguous, compliment"; D'Anna

a calculated Propertian ambiguity here reveals more about scholarly bias, since Propertius has generally been constructed according to one or other of these extremes.[18] A third factor which has hampered interpretation is the indeterminacy of the text: some truths, such as the unity of the poem, have been lost in transmission and may never be recovered; one suspects, however, that some uncertainties stem from the emendations made by critics who, with an agenda more rigid than that of Propertius, have sought to 'fix' those parts of the text that foster ambivalence. These difficult questions cannot be sidestepped in evaluating the content and meaning of this important literary document.

2.34 addresses a poet of epic, didactic and tragedy named Lynceus, possibly identifiable with L. Varius Rufus (later the redactor of the unpublished *Aeneid*),[19] first rebuking him for moving in on the poet's mistress (vv. 1-24), then exulting over his submission to love (vv. 25-58), and concluding with a comparison between Vergilian poetry, summarised in a twenty line survey, and the canon of love-poets, to which Propertius aspires to be admitted (vv. 59-94). Like 1.8, then, 2.34 can be read as a kind of *recusatio*, the characteristically ambivalent attitude of which towards epic contributes to the ambivalence of Propertius' evaluation of Vergilian poetry: as Knox has written, it is "a tribute that doubles as a *recusatio*."[20] Closing with a *recusatio*, Book 2 reaffirms its opening stance in 2.1 (*pace* Lachman's division), where Propertius declines *Caesaris in*

(1979-80) 383: "una reminiscensa che non denota completa ammirazione"; Sullivan (1976) 25: "purely perfunctory and indeed may be seen as another critical thrust at the Augustan poetical establishment". Closer to the view here is Farrell (1991) 337: "[i]t is not equivocal to maintain that there are elements of truth in both views".

[18] See previous note. Stahl (1985), whose (?re)construction of Propertius reflects possibly the most marked scholarly agenda, paradoxically seeks to counteract a (perceived/constructed) pro-Vergilian prejudice in critical assessments of Propertius: "In his lifetime, already, he stood in the shadow (as of the regime so) of Vergil, and later generations, from antiquity to modern times, have confirmed this. I do not here intend to reassess the two men as to respective poetical rank, but I wish to point out a tragic overtone: Propertius has been termed an "Augustan" poet so definitively that even where he cautiously opposed Vergil he has been understood to admire him. At least, his true voice has a right to be heard." (p. 173); that Stahl (1998) xiii-xxxiii sees the *Aeneid* as receptive to divergent political agendas rather exposes the fallacy of assuming Propertius had an extremist view on the matter. In a European anticipation of the 'Harvard School', Paratore (1957) 76 senses well the difficulty of assuming Propertius' attitude to his society can be taken at face value: "Hoc etiam nobis est animo infigendum atque insculpendum, Propertium, quid de re publica, de arte poetica, de sodalibus ipsis sentiret, callida dubitatione et saepe subtili dissimulatione protulisse."

[19] In support of this identification, see Cairns (2006) 296-300, with extensive bibliography at nn.2-4, Camps (1967) 234-235 (a short 'postscript'), and (with reservations) Fedeli (2005) 952-4.

[20] Knox (2006) 137.

Phrygios condere nomen auos (2.1.42; cf. 4.1.2: *Phrygem Aenean*), a neat encapsulation of the typological strategy of the *Aeneid*, on the grounds of his current stylistic unsuitability.[21]

The poem's tripartite structure has occasioned considerable debate over its unity,[22] which in turn has bearing on how its interest in Vergil should be interpreted:[23] a resemblance to the scenario of the two Ponticus poems in Book 1 (both Ponticus and Lynceus experience an erotic *peripeteia* that highlights the futility of epic poetry) lends support to the view that the narrative shift at v. 25 marks the start of a new but related elegy;[24] no clean break can be made thereafter, since the generic and dramatic situations are part of the same continuum, as in the *recusatio* of 2.1, where disunity is not suspected:[25] the comparison between Vergilian epos and Propertian elegy in the third movement is so integral to the vindication of elegy illustrated by Lynceus' unexpected enamourment in the second that he may be taken as a foil for Vergil, whose career has moved in the opposite direction, from the bucolic *amor* of the *Eclogues* to the epic *arma* of the *Aeneid*. The inversion of Vergil in Lynceus is observed by Stahl,[26] who sees Propertius opposed to both poets, but primarily concerned with the "syncrasis of Propertius and Vergil" formally initiated in the juxtaposition of the elegist, content to languish in the aftermath of an erotic symposium (vv. 57-60), and the epic poet, now telling of the battle of Actium (vv. 61-66). The ensuing juxtaposition of Vergil's *Aeneid* (vv. 61-66) with his *Eclogues* (vv. 67-76) appears similarly pointed, suggesting that the couplet dealing with the *Georgics* (vv. 77-78) need not be transposed to an intervening

---

[21] The affinities of 2.1 and 2.34b are discussed (with differences in interpretation) by Newman (1997) 220; Alfonsi (1943-4) 462-463; Stahl (1985) 172-173.

[22] In fact, 2.34b is transmitted attached to 2.33, but there is little disagreement as to the necessity of division here.

[23] See now Fedeli (2005) 950-952, who argues in support of unity; so also Richardson. Division at v. 25 was first proposed by Barth, and is endorsed by Butler and Barber who observe *ad locc.* that vv. 23-4 "has all the ring of a concluding couplet", while v. 25 (*Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores*) "makes an excellent opening".

[24] The parallels with the Ponticus poems are noted by Stahl (1985) 174-175, Robinson (2006) 199-200, and Newman (1997) 221 with n.68, who nevertheless upholds the unity of the poem on the grounds that the reference to the addressee in the third person at 2.34b.25 (*Lynceus ipse...*) would make an unlikely start to a new poem "since this is a privilege reserved for Cynthia" and because the dramatic development does not necessarily have to occur across separate poems ("Propertius cannot be held to academic standards") despite the precedent for this ploy in 1.7 and 1.9 ("*admittedly* in separate elegies" (my emphasis)). Comparable is the debate about Propertius 1.8, where a similar reversal of dramatic situation occurs at v. 27 (Cynthia has not sailed off after all), which in many editions marks the beginning of a new poem.

[25] So Fedeli (2005) 950.

[26] Stahl (1985) 177-178.

position.[27] In sum, therefore, it seems best to divide 2.34 at v. 25 (hereafter 2.34b),[28] but not thereafter. The importance of this division will be relevant below.

The construction of Lynceus and Vergil as poets who have moved in opposite directions might also suggest, somewhat paradoxically, the possibility for affinity between Propertius and Vergil, insofar as their respective careers commence with erotic poetry. Despite the diversity of critical opinion regarding Propertius' attitude to Vergil, his far lengthier appraisal of the *Eclogues* is generally seen as an expression of his finding in them a spirit more congenial to that of elegy.[29] The comparative evaluation of Vergil's three works is in fact carried out with some precision since, as Richard Thomas has observed, Propertius reduces the twelve books of the *Aeneid* to six lines (vv. 61-66) and the four *Georgics* to two lines (vv. 77-78), whereas the ten *Eclogues*, despite their relative brevity, receive a line apiece (vv. 67-77) in a roughly sequential line-to-*Eclogue* correspondence: "[f]or Propertius, therefore, one of the *Eclogues*, Virgil's chief exploration of the amatory dilemma, will be worth as much as two books of the *Georgics* or the *Aeneid*."[30] On the one hand, therefore, the juxtaposition of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues* serves to distance Vergil from Propertius, while, on the other, it portrays Vergil as Propertius' precursor in erotic poetry and, perhaps, as a trailblazer towards the more exalted poetics which Propertian *recusationes* style as beyond the elegist's reach, but which Propertius finally approached in his own way in Book 4.

The *Eclogues*, then, are pivotal in evaluating Propertius' relationship with Vergil. That Propertius is both like and unlike Vergil is predicated on his somewhat distorted reading of the *Eclogues*, whereby the fragility of the Arcadian ideal and the gloominess of

---

[27] Ribbeck's proposal to transpose vv. 77-80 to follow v. 66 is adopted in Goold's Loeb edition, and is robustly defended by Günther (1997) 32 as "so patently correct that nobody who does not object to such transpositions in principle can fail to adopt them".

[28] So Barber's OCT: see n.23 above.

[29] This is one of the few points on which Alfonsi (1954) 209 and Paratore (1957) 79-82 agree. See especially Fantazzi (1966) on the *Eclogues* as "a species of love poetry" (171) from the same neoteric provenance. See also Knox (2006) 137-141; Fedeli (2005) 994; Farrell (1991) 335; Stahl (1985) 181; Boucher (1980) 43; Van Sickle (1974-5) 117-119.

[30] Thomas (1996) 242 [= Thomas (1999) 264].

Roman reality, so pervasive in Vergil, are absent in Propertius' Vergil.[31] Propertius paints pastoral love as something more carefree than its elegiac counterpart: thus when Propertius says that Vergil sings *utque* ***decem*** *possint corrumpere* ***mala*** *puellas* | ***missus*** (2.34b.69-70), he bypasses the homoeroticism of *Eclogue* 3 (*quod potui, puero siluestri ex arbore lecta* | *aurea* ***mala decem misi***, *Ecl.* 3.70-71) to reinstate the heterosexual relations of the Theocritean original, but he pointedly reverses its fruitlessness, as if to emphasise the 'ataraxic' quality of Vergilian love with respect to its more angst-ridden Theocritean counterpart: for Propertius' Vergil, ten apples *possint corrumpere*, whereas Theocritus' δέκα μᾶλα (*Id.* 3.10) are rejected by Amaryllis.[32] At one level, this 'window-allusion' through to Vergil's model could be taken to illustrate Propertius' appreciation of and indebtedness to Vergilian allusive technique.[33] Marco Fantuzzi sees the "idealising interpretation" of pastoral love here constructed by Propertius as emphatic of his and (his) Vergil's distance from Theocritean love,[34] and pointing to the existence of a now lost erotic-pastoral alternative glimpsed in the fragments of Bion.[35] However, that such a mistress is an unattainable ideal in elegy points out the fundamental difference between, not sameness of, Vergilian and Propertian erotic poetry. To be sure, the contrast between pastoral and elegiac love is one which emerges from the *Eclogues* themselves, particularly *Eclogue* 10, in which the elegist Gallus fails to find consolation for his unrequited love in pastoral surroundings.[36] Propertius thus endorses the view of Vergilian love poetry, endorsed by Vergil himself, as a genre "weaned of its subjective throbbings and existing in an idealized world of song".[37]

Yet, for some readers, such a portrayal of pastoral love may give too one-sided an impression: in the *Eclogues*, the pastoral idyll is constantly threatened with disturbance

---

[31] So Alfonsi (1954) 215 and 218: "L'Arcadia ideale, insomma, splogiata dei contrasti e delle attese pensose"; Van Sickle (1974-5) 118: "his attitude is that of a sophisticated urban lover who looks with mingled wonder and disdain on the simplicity of rural love".

[32] This 'window allusion' is well-known though differently perceived: Butler and Barber assume "Propertius' memory is at fault", as does Richardson, whereas Alfonsi (1954) 213 sees a "voluta compenetrazione e lavoro alessandrino di intarsio [marquetry] con squisiti sottintesi allusivi".

[33] On this principle in 2.34b, see Knox (2006) esp. 138.

[34] Fantuzzi (2003) 2 and 3. Similarly, Cairns (2006) 313 recognises Propertius' *deformazione* of Vergil here, but sees this as a mock polemic in which (contrary to the argument set out below) Propertius "transforms the *Eclogues* into elegies".

[35] This argument is set out at greater length in Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 170-190.

[36] For this reading, see Conte (1986) 100-127 and Fantazzi (1966) 182-184, 190-191.

[37] Fantazzi (1966) 190.

by the urban passions of war and elegiac *amor*.[38] Perhaps too easily, or tendentiously, does Propertius' view of the happy promiscuity and inexpensiveness of pastoral love invert Tityrus' losses in *Ecl.* 1 (cf. *Ecl.* 1.34: ***ingratae*** *premeretur caseus urbi*)[39] and dismiss his complaints with a facetious echo of Vergil's beatitude of Lucretian man in the *Georgics*:

> **felix**, **qui** uilis pomis mercaris amores!
> huic licet **ingratae** Tityrus ipse canat. 2.34b.71-2
>
> **felix qui** potuit rerum cognoscere causas *Geo.* 2.490[40]

Vergil goes on in the following lines (*Geo.* 2.493-4) to assert the validity also of the pastoral religiosity which Lucretius had implicitly critiqued in the *Kulturgeschichte* of the *DRN* as a downside of the otherwise exemplary Epicurean existence lived by primitive man (see *DRN* 4.589, 5.1398). 2.34b.71-2 might be read through Vergil to the account of primitive prostitution at *DRN* 5.965, where Lucretius himself has been seen to be "mildly satirizing the conventions of pastoral wooing".[41] Propertius' upbeat Tityrus filters out the gloom of the *Eclogues* and redirects Vergil's attention to the essentials of the Lucretian text by which he was so influenced.[42] Likewise, the Propertian Corydon is altogether more blissful (*felix*) than his Vergilian counterpart in *Eclogue* 2 (*nec quid speraret habebat*):

> felix intactum ***Corydon** qui temptat ***Alexin**
> agricolae **domini** carpere **delicias**! 2.34b.73-74

---

[38] See Hardie (1998) 12-13; Boyle (1976) 16-31.
[39] Noted by Butler and Barber *ad loc.*
[40] "[A]n echo and travesty" according to Van Sickle (1974-5) 118 n.12, who notes a similar use of the same line at Propertius 1.12.15. See also Laird (1999) 32 n.61. Alfonsi (1954) 215 posits an affinity instead with *Geo.* 2.458-9.
[41] Costa (1984) *ad loc.*
[42] Cairns (2006) 314 sees Propertius reflecting here on the Epicurean recommendations of *uulgiuaga Venus* but does not pursue the implications of this for the psychological effects of pastoral versus elegiac *amor*, and so arrives at the (opposite) conclusion that Propertius' Vergil is "a serious and minimally Epicurean figure". For Lucretian influence on the *Eclogues* (and its limits), see Hardie (1998) 10-13 (with further bibliography) and (2002) 131 and 154-6 . See more generally Rosenmayer (1969).

Formosum pastor *__Corydon__ ardebat *__Alexin__,
__delicias domini__, nec quid speraret habebat. *Ecl.* 2.1-2

Critics have long felt that Corydon's ensuing *Liebeslied* makes for "a truly elegiac pastoral", or even "a complete translation of the elegiac situation to the pastoral mode."[43] Only at the end of his lament does Corydon resume his neglected pastoral errands and console himself with the thought that there are, so to speak, other fish in the sea (*inuenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin*, v. 73), leaving the reader questioning the lover's conviction in his platitude. Vergil's probing of the attainability of pastoral detachment continues in the *Leibestod* of *Eclogue* 8, where the shepherd of Damon's song, having failed to win his beloved, resorts to the elegists 'way out' by taking his own life:[44] given Propertius' prevailing misrepresentation of the *Eclogues*, it is perhaps not coincidental that the bleak *Eclogue* 8 is the only case where Thomas' line-for-*Eclogue* comparison can find no match in 2.34b.[45] It could be said, therefore, that Propertius' misreading (or, in Bloom's emulative model, 'misprision') of the *Eclogues* misrepresents Arcadian *amor* as something more straightforward and attainable than it actually is. Of those critics who have noticed this distortion, some have taken it to show the distance between bucolic and elegiac love, and consequently as a fundamentally serious expression of Propertius' opposition to Vergil;[46] others have detected a more playful contrast whereby the elegist envies the *Eclogues* as "an inspired paradise of love poetry";[47] others again take Propertius to be concelebrating with Vergil if not the attainment of love, then the abandonment to it.[48] If Propertius wished to maintain the ambivalence of his attitude to Vergil even in his summary of the *Eclogues*, he clearly succeeded.

---

[43] Coleman (1977) 109 and Kenney (1983) 73. See also Fantazzi (1966) 178-184 on the elegiac aspects of *Ecl.* 2, 8, and 10, and Hardie (2002) 123-127 for the contrast, within the *Eclogues*, of "pastoral plenitude and presence" and "elegiac lack and absence".

[44] On the elegist's obsession with his own death, see in general Papanghelis (1987).

[45] See Thomas (1999) 265 with n.42 (where, however, it could be noted that *Ecl.* 2.1-2 is echoed in 2.34b.74); the absence of *Ecl.* 8 (among others, however, for which there are discernable correspondences) is noted also by Boucher (1965) 286-291, following A. Cartault, in what he terms a "résumé incomplet" of the *Eclogues* designed "[p]our souligner la parenté de la Bucolique et de l'Élégie et render homage à Virgile" (287).

[46] Stahl (1985) 182.

[47] Fantazzi (1966) 176.

[48] Alfonsi (1954) 217.

Propertius reads the *Georgics* in a similarly tendentious way. Just as he foregrounds, however inaccurately, the erotic dimension of the *Eclogues*, so too does he emphasise the pastoral content of the *Georgics*, thus merging Vergil's agro-pastoral work in contradistinction to his epic.[49] The *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are set in parallel by their introduction with the same phrase, *tu canis* (vv. 67 and 77). The first instance is reminiscent of the second person pronoun and verbs and the shaded setting of the first *Eclogue* (*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* |...*meditaris*; *Ecl.* 1.1-2; *tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra* |...*resonare doces*, *Ecl.* 1.4-5) which is here evoked with an admixture of the principal characters and activity (cf. *calamo trivisse labellum*, *Ecl.* 2.34) of the *Eclogues* in general:[50]

> **tu** canis **umbr**osi **sub**ter pineta Galaesi
> Thyrsin et at**tritis** Daphnin harundinibus 2.34b.67-68

By suggesting in this way that the singer of the *Eclogues* (*tu canis*) is also a singer *in* the *Eclogues*, Propertius perhaps hints at the identification of Vergil with aspects of his shepherd-singers.[51] The reference to the river Galaesus is anomalous in this intensive evocation of the *Eclogues*,[52] for it is derived from the *Georgics* (4.126):[53] its migration to

---

[49] The "vicinanza" (p. 213) between the lyric aspects of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* is well analysed by Alfonsi (1954) esp. 209-220; Paratore (1957) 81 similarly points out the "haud tenue discrimen" suggested between the *Aeneid* and Vergil's earlier works, which Propertius sees as "eodem sensu, eodem animo praedita". See also D'Anna (1979-80) 382.

[50] As G. Brugnoli detected, v. 67 alludes to Varius' *De Morte* fr. 4.1 Büchner (***ceu canis umbrosam*** *lustrans Gortynia vallem*): see Cairns (2006) 298-9 who takes the allusion as support for the identification of Lyncaeus with Varius.

[51] See now Hunter (2006) 126-8 on how "biographical interpretation is thus put at the heart of the *Eclogues*" (128) and 129 n.46 for the possibility that Propertius 3.3 glosses the Tityrus of *Eclogue* 6 as 'Virgil'. See also Fedeli (2005) 994-5 (on *tu canis*) and Butler and Barber (on *mercaris* at v. 71, i.e. equating Vergil with Tityrus). In view of Servius' biographical reading of *Ecl.* 2.1 (see also Servius *ad Ecl.* 1.1), Rothstein (1889) 5-6 cautions against reading this bucolic convention for biographical information; Alfonsi (1954) 218 similarly refrains from connecting *ille* (v. 75), referring to Vergil, with Corydon in the previous couplet, thus ruling out the insinuation in the ancient *Lives* about Vergil's sexual preferences. Nevertheless, the identification of *ille* is split grammatically between Corydon and Vergil, while, as it happens, v. 74 (*agricolae domini carpere delicias*), the eighth line of Propertius' "mini-*Eclogue* book" (Thomas (1996) 264), uniquely disrupts Thomas' line-to-*Eclogue* sequence by referring not to *Ecl.* 8, but to the homoerotic triangle at *Ecl.* 2.1-2 used by Servius *ad loc.* to 'out' Vergil. Richardson finds the connection between *ille* and Vergil to be "obvious", but speculates no further.

[52] See Camps *ad loc.*: "the Galaesus was a Calabrian river and so appropriate to pastoral poetry; but it is not in fact mentioned in the *Eclogues*, to which Propertius is referring in 67-76 here"; Fantuzzi (2003) 1 regards it as an "undoubtedly arbitrary decision".

[53] Butler and Barber *ad loc.* detect "probably a vague reminiscence" of the georgic Galaesus.

this context, however, intensifies rather than contaminates the pastoral overtones, for the *Galaesus* occurs in the *Georgics*' ultra-pastoral interlude in Tarentum. From the start of his survey of the *Eclogues*, then, Propertius also highlights the pastoral dimension of the *Georgics*.[54] The echo of the georgic Epicurean in the simple love enjoyed by the pastoral shepherd (*felix qui*, 2.34b.71 and *Geo.* 2.490: see above) continues this careful interlacing of Vergil's first two works, such that the *Aeneid* takes on the appearance of a more unscripted departure from his poetic course than it actually was.

The second *tu canis*, introducing the *Georgics* proper, continues the same strategy of conflation, except in reverse:

> tu canis Ascraei ueteris praecepta poetae,
> *quo* **seges** in campo, *quo* uiret **uua** iugo. 2.34b.77-78

The hexameter recognises the Hesiodic inspiration of the *Georgics* (cf. *Geo.* 2.176), while the pentameter, instantiating the only occurrence of *seges* in Propertius, loosely recalls its *incipit* (*Quid faciat laetas* ***segetes, quo*** *sidere terram* | *vertere*, *Geo.* 1.1-2), but more closely reworks a line of more random provenance:

> *hic* **segetes**, *illic* ueniunt felicius **uuae** *Geo.* 1.54

The lines are lexically and structurally similar (*quo...quo* ~ *hic...illic*), as has been recognised;[55] what has not hitherto been observed is that, if a new elegy is taken (as argued above) to begin at 2.34b.25, the pentameter, renumbered accordingly as 2.35.54, occupies an identical line position to *Geo.* 1.54 (which rather makes the case both for the division of 2.34b into two elegies of 24 and 70 lines apiece, and the non-transposition of the lines on the *Georgics* to a seemingly more logical position between those on the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*). The couplet, therefore, is studiedly georgic. However, just as Propertius began in v. 67 by situating within an evocation of *Ecl.* 1 (*tu canis* etc.) an allusion to *Geo.* 4 (*Galaesi*), now he rounds off his synopsis of the *Georgics* and

---

[54] See Fedeli *ad loc.* ("contaminazione"); Boucher (1965) 286-287 (bucolic atmosphere); Alfonsi (1954) 213 (Propertius identifies an idyllic "squarcio" of the *Georgics*); Paratore (1957) 81; Laird (1999) 32 n.61.

[55] Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*

Vergilian agro-pastoral poetry generally with a lingering evocation of the *Eclogues* (*tu canis*). This ring-composition precisely retraces Vergil's steps, in that the *sphragis* of the *Georgics* also concludes with a momentary evocation of *Ecl.* 1.1 (*Tityre,* ***te*** *patulae* ***cecini*** *sub tegmine fagi*, *Geo.* 4.566), with the difference that Vergil now explicitly casts himself as one of his shepherd-singers.

The ensuing couplet is sufficiently non-specific (*tale...carmen*) for it to be taken as a comment on Vergil's agropastoral work more generally:

> tale facis carmen docta testudine quale
> Cynthius impositis temperat articulis. 2.34b.79-80

The reference to Vergil's *doctrina*, following as it does the couplet dealing more specifically with the *Georgics*, is generally taken as a tribute to the Alexandrian refinement of that work, but the absence of any direct georgic evocation, in comparison with the allusive density of the previous lines, makes it difficult to restrict the reference to the *Georgics* alone.[56] Learnedness is an equally characteristic aspect of the neoteric *Eclogues*, as acknowledged by the Propertian 'window-allusions' in the foregoing section. Indeed, as scholars have noted, the compliment here is couched in a clear allusion to that work, where it is precisely pastoral song that is being praised (*Ecl.* 5.45-6).[57] The ambiguity, therefore, as to which work Propertius is here referring could be seen to complete his integration of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* into an agropastoral continuum. The reference to Cynthian Apollo is thus well placed, for the epithet is used only twice by Vergil, once in the *Eclogues* (6.3) and once in the *Georgics* (3.36).[58] *Cynthius* is taken by Stahl to point out the difference between Vergilian and Propertian poetry, which is

---

[56] Stahl (1985) 182-3 reads the couplet as a reference to the *Geo.* alone and so, following La Penna, sees a total of five distichs on the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* counterbalanced (and, for Stahl, neutralised) by the five on the *Eclogues*. This is less obvious than the observations of Thomas (see p. 8 with n.30 above) in that the five distichs on the *Eclogues* come between those on the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*, and less neat in that vv. 79-80 are of too general reference to apply to the *Georgics* alone. However, it could be argued that the ambiguity of vv. 79-80 is such that the La Penna-Stahl view is admissible in conjunction with that of Thomas.

[57] Camps (1967) and Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*; Alfonsi (1954) 219 and Paratore (1957) 81 draw particular attention to the couching of a laudation of the *Georgics* within an allusion to the *Eclogues*.

[58] These references occur centrally in each work (see Thomas (1983) 96), thus offering a further parallel with 2.34b, which on most reckonings of the organisation of the Propertian corpus can be taken as its midpoint.

explicitly stated to have been inspired by Cynthi*a* rather than Apollo (2.1.3-4).[59] For those who take Cynthia to be a literary construction based on the same epithet, however, the line could be seen to draw the learned poetics of Vergil and Propertius closer together.[60] As Clausen has shown, it was probably Vergil who introduced the epithet into Latin to signal the specifically Callimachean aspect of his work;[61] that it was then personified in the form of Propertius' muse offers the possibility of a particularly close collaboration between the two poets.[62] In the main, then, the couplet seems laudatory, but not to the extent that any previous ambivalence can be forgotten.

This sustained uncertainty as to Propertius' attitude to Vergil's erotic and Callimachean agropastoral poetry has translated into sharply divided readings also of the ensuing lines, which make the transition to the elegiac canon Propertius wishes to join. The more straightforwardly complimentary tone now adopted is taken by overly decisive critics to refer either to Vergil, if they construe an act of genuine homage in this poem, or to Propertius himself, particularly if they take him as an opponent of Vergilian poetry. The ambiguity hangs firstly on whether the referent of *haec* in v. 81 is Vergilian agropastoral poetry or Propertian elegy, and secondly on textual difficulties in vv. 83-4:

> non tamen haec ulli uenient in**grata** legenti,
> **si**ue in **amore** rudis **si**ue peritus erit.
> nec minor his animis aut sim minor ore canorus[63]
> anseris in[ ]docto carmine cessit olor.
> **haec quoque** perfecto ludebat Iasone *Var*ro 2.34b.81-85

[59] Stahl (1985) 182-3.
[60] See Boucher (1980) 42-3 and Loupiac (1999) 290 for the suggestion that Propertius is here associating Vergil with Callimachus' Cynthian Apollo via *Ecl.* 6.
[61] Clausen (1976 and 1977). Some objections to Clausen's contention that the epithet was a Callimachean invention are raised by Butrica (1996) 102-104, though he concedes that "[t]here seems to be little reason to doubt that Virgil found the title in Callimachus" (p. 103). See also Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.36.
[62] See not dissimilarly Farrell (1991) 336-7, who concludes that "Propertius sees himself and the Vergil of the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* as poets of one tradition who have developed in different ways".
[63] For v. 83, Barber's OCT (following Housman) reads *nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus*; the square brackets in v. 84 have also been added. See further below.

As to *haec*, the adversative *tamen* is not so directive as to dictate whether Propertius means 'These poems [by Vergil], *though they are agropastoral rather than elegy*...'[64] or 'These poems [of mine], *though they have not the same status as Vergil's*...'.[65] The former reading takes the view that Propertius found Vergil's earlier works (*haec*) so congenial to his own erotic poetry that Vergil effectively stands as a precursor of the elegiac tradition, and by implication is subsumed into the elegiac canon that begins officially with Varro of Atax in v. 85 with a resumptive *haec quoque*.[66] As Fedeli points out, Varro's prominent position at the head of the catalogue draws attention to the similarity of his poetic career to Vergil's, even if it progressed in the inverse direction, from epic (i.e. his translation of Apollonius' *Argonautica*) to love elegy.[67] This view can be supported by sustained allusion to Vergil in these lines, and specifically to his *recusatio* in *Eclogue* 6, to which allusion has already been made in the reference to *Cynthius* (2.34b.80, *Ecl.* 6.3):

> non iniussa cano. **si** quis tamen **haec quoque, si** quis
> captus **amore** leget, te nostrae, *Vare*, myricae,
> te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebo **gratior** ulla est
> quam sibi quae *Vari* praescripsit pagina nomen. *Ecl.* 6.9-12

As Vergil now ascends the generic hierarchy to sing of *reges et proelia* in the *Aeneid*, Propertius echoes the double protasis of his earlier *recusatio* in *Eclogue* 6 where it was maintained that attenuated, Cynthian poetry (*haec quoque*), though read by lovers, can compete for equal dignity.[68] On this reading, then, Propertius aligns his poetry with that of Vergil, despite some differences in the detail.

---

[64] See Alfonsi (1954) 119-220.

[65] So Rothstein (1889) 8-9; Butler and Barber *ad loc.*; Stahl (1985) 183; Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*; Richardson *ad loc.*; Camps (1967) *ad loc.* (*haec* "*surely* means personal love-elegy, and more specifically the personal love-elegy of Propertius himself" (my emphasis)). That *uenient* is future is not decisive against the identification of *haec* with Vergil's previous poetry, as Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.* argues (rather literally), since poetry continues to be read after its production (which applies as much to Propertius' poetry as to Vergil's); that *haec* is confined to Propertian elegy on the grounds that it is resumed by *haec quoque* (v. 85, referring to the elegy of Varro *et al.*), as argued by Butler and Barber *ad loc.*, reads too retrospectively, and the resumption is not so definitive that *quoque* could not convey a degree of alterity.

[66] Propertius' possible enumeration of the Vergil of the *Eclogues* as love-poet is recognised by La Penna (1977) 51.

[67] Fedeli (2005) 1005-6 *ad* 2.34b.85-94.

[68] For this allusion, see Camps (1967) and Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*

Yet the alternative interpretation of these lines, that Propertius seeks to draw attention to the U-turn made by Vergil in taking on epic poetry, can also find support in Propertius' scrutiny of Vergil's onetime *recusatio* of the epic poetics to which he has now graduated.[69] Similarly, the commencement of the catalogue with Varro, who like Lynceus lately turned to erotic pursuits, could equally point out the road not taken; moreover, the *Argonautica*, as a romance (an aspect perhaps accentuated in Varro's neoteric translation), could be seen as a specimen of the only kind of epic poetry acceptable to an elegist. In view of this line of interpretation, *haec* in v. 81 could be taken to refer exclusively to Propertian elegy, thus establishing at this point in the text a bifurcation of the elegiac and Vergilian erotic traditions. Most critics have tended to argue dogmatically in favour of one reading or the other, rather than embracing the ambivalence and the implications it raises.[70]

In the next couplet, Propertius describes his relationship to Vergil in terms of competing birdsong (the vexed vv. 83-4, quoted above). This analogy makes arguably the best case for accepting sustained ambivalence as the strategy of this passage, for an abstraction of this order cannot but foster multiple interpretations: who is the gander, and who the swan? In *Eclogue* 9, one of the shepherds (=Vergil?) likens the poets Varius and Cinna to swans, and himself to a gander (*argutos inter strepere anser olores*, *Ecl.* 9.36, cf. 9.29), perhaps punning on the name of a contemporary poet(aster) called Anser (as identified by Servius *ad loc.* and contrasted with Cinna also by Ovid at *Tr.* 2.435). Whether in 2.34b Vergil remains the gander, squawking epic, and Propertius is the swan, singing elegy (thus subverting *Eclogue* 9),[71] or whether Vergil has been promoted to a swan and Propertius now plays the self-deprecating gander of small poetry (thus

---

[69] Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*: "Raffinato risulta l'espediente di prendere le distanze dalla poesia di Virgilio servendosi di terminologia virgiliana." Stahl (1985) 353 n.28 notes that Propertius' allusion to *Ecl.* 6.9-10 "expressly leaves Vergil's modesty behind and exceeds the self-limitation of the *Bucolics*." Camps (1967) *ad loc.* takes Vergil's *haec quoque* as a precedent for the expression referring to one's own rather than another's poetry.

[70] A partial exception is Robinson (2006) 202 with n.107 who construes a "mischievous hint" as to Propertius' estimation of Vergilian epic on a reading that takes *haec tamen* to refer momentarily to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, but then in retrospect to love-elegy.

[71] So Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*; Camps (1967) *ad loc.*: "The wording echoes Virg. *Ec.* IX, 35-6 [...] but the application here is evidently quite different, for in the *Eclogue* the speaker compares his own inadequacy to that of the goose, whereas here what is emphasized is the superiority of the swan."

inverting *Eclogue* 9),[72] or whether Vergil is the swan, sweetly singing his epic, having superseded Varius, now the gander (thus updating *Eclogue* 9)[73] is beyond determination, and yet each of these interpretations has found its proponents. Uncertainties in the text have enabled critics to emend the line (or interpret Housman's emendation) according to their preference,[74] yet the text as transmitted yields not unacceptable meaning if it is allowed to contribute to the essential ambivalence of the passage: without rewriting the text, Rothstein and Stahl read (or hear) *in docto carmine*, but arrive at different interpretations, while Alfonsi reads (or hears) *indocto carmine* only to arrive at another again.[75] Rather than endorsing any one of these interpretations, one might better view the disagreement as to the meaning of the couplet as a reflection of its functional ambiguity in the passage as a whole. With consummate equivocalness, then, Propertius both is, and is not, an admirer of Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

Propertius' famous lines on the *Aeneid* (2.34b.61-66) have engendered similarly diverse critical interpretations, as noted above, which suggests again that no single interpretation can have priority over any other. The ambiguity here lies in that most divisive of qualities: tone. For once, textual difficulties are minimal, and variant readings cannot be marshalled to the defence of an interpretation either way. The phraseology (which is not to say the intent) is equally unambiguous: for Tränkle, Propertius here speaks of the *Aeneid* "mit erwartungsvollen und zuversichtlichen Worten".[76] What is at issue, however, is the degree of Propertius' familiarity with the *Aeneid* at this point in the mid-twenties BC: the text is secure, but the intertext is not. That Propertius might

---

[72] So, with different emphasis, Butler and Barber *ad loc.* (concentrating on Vergil), Alfonsi (1943-4) 465-6 (seeing Propertius identifying with and complimenting Vergil), and Stahl (1985) 183 ("in what was once his own field, Vergil has given way to Propertius"), noting that *cessit* (v. 84) picks up *cedite…cedite* (v. 65).

[73] So Rothstein (1889) 10-11, perhaps not without point if Lynceus can be identified with Varius.

[74] *N* transmits an incomplete hexameter (*nec minor his animis aut sim*) which is supplemented with the consensus reading of the lesser MSS (*nec minor his animi aut sim minor ore canorus*): see further Fedeli (2005) 1002-3 with speculation as to the reason for *N*'s omission. Günther (1997) 72 considers *minor ore canorus* to be an interpoloation, though notes that v. 83 "yields faultless syntax and even makes some feeble sense in the context, if we accept *si* instead of the dittography *sim*". Housman (followed by Barber's OCT) proposed *nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus | anseris indocto carmine cessit olor*, which imposes severe strain on the Latin (see the circumlocution and special pleading of those who second it, e.g. Fedeli (2005) 1003 and Camps (1967) *ad loc.*) and which can in any case be made to fit competing interpretations (it is adopted by Fedeli and Camps with one interpretation, but also by Butler and Barber with another).

[75] Rohstein (1889) 11; Stahl (1985) 184 and 353nn. 29-30; Alfonsi (1943-4) 465-7.

[76] Tränkle (1960) 53.

or might not be representing or misrepresenting the *Aeneid* as he knew it or as we know it is a messy state of affairs that makes for unpromising prospects for any attempt to interpret Propertius' attitude to the *Aeneid*. It has even been proposed that any discernable similarities here are the product of an allusive flow in the opposite direction.[77] The six lines have been scrutinised long and hard for allusive accuracy, particularly by a Vergiliocentric criticism more concerned with how and when the *Aeneid* was composed, and often without consideration of the fact that lexical sharing is less necessary when the target text has, as here, been clearly specified.[78] Such intensive scrutiny, however, has yielded little consensus of opinion as to how accurately or otherwise Propertius is alluding to the *Aeneid*. La Penna deemed there to be no precise allusion to the *Aeneid* in these lines,[79] while others have detected in the initial couplet an allusion to Vergil's depiction of the Battle of Actium on the Shield of Aeneas (cf. *Aen.* 8.675-6: *in medio classis aeratas,* ***Actia*** *bella,* | *cernere erat*;[80] *Aen.* 8.704: ****Actius*** *haec cernens arcum intendebat *Apollo*), a theme arguably in Vergil's mind as early as the proem to *Georgics* 3:

> ***Actia** Vergilium custodis **litora** *Phoebi,
> Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis 2.34b.61-2

Alternatively/additionally, audible here too is *Aeneid* 3.280 (***Actia****que Iliacis celebramus* ***litora*** *ludis*, cf. 2.34b.66: *maius Iliade*), which pinpoints an allusion to what Vergilians commonly consider to be the earliest book of the *Aeneid*, and therefore involves none of the chronological difficulties of reckoning with an allusion at this date to *Aeneid* 8.[81] So convinced was Richardson of the dissimilarity of the two texts that he ventured the

---

[77] Alfonsi (1944-5) 129 speculates that Propertius versified part of Vergil's prose redaction of the *Aeneid* (cf. Suetonius-Donatus 16D) in elegy 2.34b, which Vergil then looked to when doing the same.

[78] An exception here is Boucher (1965), esp. 281-3 (on Propertius' *Eclogues*) and 292-3 (on Propertius' *Aeneid*).

[79] La Penna (1950) 216.

[80] See Alfonsi (1944-5) 127-9; Rothstein *ad loc.* Alfonsi (1954) 208, Butler and Barber *ad loc.*, Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.* refer more generally to the passage *Aen.* 8.671ff.

[81] For the similarity with *Aen.* 3.280, see Fedeli (2005) 989 *ad loc.*; G. Brugnoli: *GIF* 43 (1991) 135 [*olim uidi*]; Horsfall (2006) xxvi n.27 notes the echo is "scarcely significant" with a view to dating the *Aeneid* given the earliness of *Aen.* 3 (the argument for which is set out on pp. xx-xl). That 2.34b.61-2 could be an allusion to both *Aen.* 8.675f. and *Aen.* 3.280 was entertained by Horsfall (1999) 75 *ad Aen.* 7.45, though Horsfall (2006) xxv-xxvi doubts the likelihood of an allusion to *Aen.* 8 (see n. 84 below).

reference to the battle of Actium and Caesar's ships as an allusion to another poem entirely;[82] similar accuracy is expected by Tränkle, who contends that Propertius made an educated but erroneous guess as to Vergil's intentions based on the direction taken by previous Latin epic, the indications given in the proem to *Georgics* 3, and what little of the *Aeneid* had been written by the time of 2.34b (the proem and Jupiter's prophecy in *Aeneid* 1, according to Tränkle).[83] Horsfall similarly argues that Propertius was unlikely to have written 2.34b with a knowledge of *Aeneid* 8, but more positively credits him with "a (correct and eloquent) sense that the *Aen.* would reach forward from myth to Actium."[84]

This conjunction of past and present is brought out in the next couplet with the switch from Caesar Augustus at Actium to his legendary analogue, Aeneas:

> qui nunc *Aeneae* **Troia**ni suscitat **arma**
> **iacta**que **Lauinis moenia litoribus**. 2.34b.63-4

Its lack of such contemporary reference is thought by Alfonsi to be what earned Homeric epic Propertius' condemnation, while its "compenetrazione di antico e recente" what conversely recommended the *Aeneid* to his neoteric tastes:[85] though Alfonsi here misunderstands Propertius' construction of the *Iliad* as the thematic and stylistic antipode of elegy[86] by taking an over-literal reading of 2.1.17-34, where Propertius renounces the conventional topics of mythological epic but declares himself favourably disposed (though ill-suited) to *bellaque resque tui…Caesaris* (v. 25), there is validity in his observation that the juxtaposition of Augustus and Aeneas brings out a fundamental aspect of the *Aeneid*, perhaps most prevalent in *Aeneid* 8, on which Propertius' so-called Roman *Aetia* in Book 4 would later capitalise. Rothstein adjudged

---

[82] Richardson *ad loc.*: the allusion is "clearly to a separate poem Vergil is to write celebrating the victory of Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra [...] not to a description of the shield of Aeneas".
[83] Tränkle (1971), critiqued by Stahl (1985) 350-353 n.19.
[84] Horsfall (2006) xxvi (though see n. 81 above for a more pluralistic position by the same scholar).
[85] Alfonsi (1954) 206-209: "L'eroe moderne – *Cesare* – e l'eroe antico – *Enea* –, ecco i poli tra cui si muove per Properzio l'*Eneide*" (208). See also Alfonsi (1943-4) 263-4 for an earlier formulation of this idea. It is on this point that Alfonsi is most severely lambasted by Paratore (1957) 76-78.
[86] See e.g. the subversion of the *Iliad* in the *militia amoris* of 2.1.14 (*tum vero longas condimus* ***Iliadas***, cf. v. 16: *maxima de nihilo* ***nascitur*** *historia*), perhaps recalled at 2.34b.66 (*nescio quid maius* ***nascitur Iliade***). Cf. 1.9.11, 2.1.21, 2.1.50, 2.34b.45, 3.9.39-40.

this couplet to be a positive evaluation of the opening of the *Aeneid*,[87] which most later commentators agree must have been known to Propertius, such is the closeness of the two passages:[88]

> **Arma** *uirum*que cano, **Troia**e qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus **Lavinia**que uenit
> **litora**, multum ille et terris **iacta**tus et alto
> ui superum, saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
> multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
> inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae **moenia** Romae. *Aen.* 1.1-7

The degree of lexical duplication makes a cogent case for the compression of the epic proem into a single distich, and has even been taken to support the alternative reading *Lauinaque* at *Aen.* 1.2.[89] The eponymous hero of Vergil's epic is now named, while its opening word, *Arma*, doubling as it can for the title of the epic,[90] is postponed to the end of the line as the object of Vergil's latest (*nunc*) poetic endeavours. As with the previous couplet, however, the impression of studied intertextuality has not won universal consensus, and has been challenged with arguments based on chronology[91] and on the conventionality of subject matter and diction.[92] Yet argument can be made to see more purposeful allusion at work here. It might be noted, for example, that, as with the *Eclogues*, so too with the *Aeneid* has Propertius eschewed Vergil's concentration

---

[87] Rothstein *ad loc.*: "Deutlich hier der Anklang an die ersten Worte der Aeneis".

[88] Butler and Barber *ad loc.* detect "[a] clear reference" in vv. 63-4 to *Aen.* 1.1f.; Camps (1967) finds that the couplet recalls the opening of the *Aeneid* "distinctly enough for us to be sure that Propertius had heard or heard of these opening lines when he wrote this couplet"; Stahl (1985) 180; Horsfall (2006) xxv-xxvi; Fedeli (2005) *ad loc.*; Richmond (1917).

[89] Tränkle (1960) 53 with n.2.

[90] As noted by Fedeli (2005) 989. On *arma virum* as both an epic tag and the *incipit*/title of the *Aeneid*, see Barchiesi (1997a) 16-17.

[91] Tränkle (1960) 53.

[92] Boucher (1980) 41 sees in 2.34b.65-6 "une connaissance générale du sujet, mais nullement de tout son détail". This position is more fully worked out at Boucher (1965) 291-7, where the similarities are "frappant" but ascribed to Propertius and Vergil drawing independently on the traditional material of the Aeneas legend (e.g. the founding of Lavinium, not actually described in the *Aeneid*, contrary to the impression given here by Propertius (also the objection of Tränkle (1971)) and on their use respectively of conventional literary terms referring to epic poetry (e.g. *arma*, *Iliade*). The latter argument is perhaps used to better effect against the attempt, such as that made by Alfonsi (1944-5), to construe an allusion in this passage to the apocryphal *Ille ego qui quondam* preface of the *Aeneid*.

on the theme of human suffering:[93] that Aeneas was ***iactatus*** is eclipsed by the more triumphant theme of Rome's ***iacta***...*moenia*, for which commentators have preferred to compare *muros iacere* at *Aen.* 5.631[94] (where, in any case, *ktisis* is precisely what the restive Trojan women lament to have been denied them).

Rothstein took the comparison with the *Iliad* in the following couplet to refer to the second, 'Iliadic' hexad of the *Aeneid*, and concluded that the corresponding 'Odyssean' hexad of *Aen.* 1-6 did not at this point exist; Paratore similarly took *nunc...suscitat arma* (v. 63) rather literally to mean that Vergil is now writing about Aeneas' war, and inferred that Propertius knew only the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*, which he accordingly deduced to have been the point whereat Vergil commenced the composition of the *Aeneid*.[95] Neither scholar, however, noted the precision with which these lines echo Vergil's formal announcement of the Iliadic hexad of his epic:[96]

> cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!
> nescio quid **maius nascitur** *Iliade.* 2.34b.65-66

> tu uatem, tu, diua, mone. dicam horrida bella,
> dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
> Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
> Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi **nascitur** ordo,
> **maius** opus moueo. *Aen.* 7.41-45

The excited anaphora of *cedite...cedite* conveys something of the agitation in Vergil's invocation (*tu...tu...dicam...dicam*) as he embarks upon his *maius opus*. As Philip Hardie

---

[93] It may have been this selectiveness that led Stahl (1985) 180 to the somewhat limited observation that the comparison with the *Iliad* in v. 66 refers to the Iliadic content of the proem (on the wider relevance of which, see further below).

[94] La Penna (1950) 216 (more for philological interest); Fedeli (2005) 990 *ad loc.*

[95] Rothstein *ad loc.*; Paratore (1957) 71-2. Richmond (1917) detected the allusions to *Aeneid* 1 and 8, and felt v. 66 would gain point if *Aeneid* 7 was also known to Propertius at this time; he also transposed the passage to the start of Book 3.

[96] For the allusion, see Hardie (1998) 54. Opposed to the theory that Vergil began the *Aeneid* with Book 7, Horsfall (2006) xxv considers Propertius' reference to the *Iliad* as a synecdoche for "Homer as a whole"; Horsfall (1999) *ad loc.* allows that *Aen.* 7.45 is "possibly [...] but not demonstrably, a verse echoed by Propertius", but is more confident of allusion in the foregoing Propertian lines to *Aen.* 1.1f., 3.274f., and 8.675f. Laird (1999) 32 explores the intertextuality of *maius nascitur* with both *Ecl.* 4.1.8 and *Aen.* 7.44-5.

has noted, Vergil here points not to his relative ranking with Homer, but to his "epic pretensions" in making the transition in *Aeneid* 7 to what ancient criticism regarded as the 'greater' of the Homeric epics (cf. [Longinus] *De Sublimitate* 9.11-15).[97] Propertius duly specifies the Iliadic intertext, but also hints at Vergil's ambition to surpass it (*maius...Iliade*).

A great number of allusions has been proposed for these six lines, then, but there has been no consensus as to what they might suggest collectively about Propertius' familiarity with the *Aeneid*. What might evidence not insignificant knowledge on Propertius' part of the epic as a whole is the fact that he can be seen to have juxtaposed in two adjacent couplets (vv. 63-4, 65-6) allusions to the first and second proems in *Aeneid* 1 and 7 respectively. To this can be added Thomas' observation that Propertius' six lines represent a deliberate halving of the number of books in the epic. This combination of evidence would tend to suggest that at least the overall structure of the epic had been decided by the mid-twenties BC, and that key passages had been aired at least to the *sodalicium* of poets of which Horace speaks at *Ep.* 2.2.[98] Affirmative assessments of Propertius' knowledge of the *Aeneid* commonly draw attention to the evidence provided at Suetonius-Donatus 23-24 that Vergil planned out the entire epic *ab initio*.[99]

Moreover, just as the allusion in vv. 63-4 to the proem of *Aeneid* 1 can be seen to turn a blind eye to Aeneas' sufferings, so too do vv. 64-5 overlook an aspect of the proem of *Aeneid* 7 even more congenial to elegy, namely that the *diua* to whom Vergil appeals in these lines is Erato, the muse of love poetry invoked also at the midpoint of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the epic romance that serves as Vergil's model here. This aspect of the Vergilian proem is entirely absent in Propertius' reworking, but perhaps not because he was ignorant of it: as noted above, the Latin translation of the *Argonautica* by Varro of Atax, a version presumably as familiar to Vergil as Apollonius' original, is

---

[97] Hardie (1998) 54-55.

[98] The evidence for professional and personal relations between Propertius and Vergil is assembled by Boucher (1980). Camps (1967) *ad* 2.34b.63-4 is doubtful that anything in this regard can be inferred from this passage.

[99] See, however, Horsfall (2006) xxiii for the view that the chapters in Suetonius-Donatus about Vergil's writing methods "do not relate information preserved miraculously about what really and truly went on in Virgil's study."

singled out for special mention a few lines later at the head of Propertius' catalogue of love poets (*haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro,* | *Varro Leucadiae maxima flamma suae*, 2.34b.85-6).[100] The inclusion of the *Argonautica* in Propertius' survey of love poetry rather than in the allusion to the midpoint proem of the *Aeneid* effectively denies the erotic dimension that Vergil's invocation of Erato there signals as catalytic even in his Iliadic hexad:[101] this occlusion serves to sunder further Vergilian epic from both Vergilian bucolic and Propertian elegy. What is most misrepresentative of Propertius' synopsis, indeed, is its complete omission of the erotic themes that dominate several books of the *Aeneid.*[102] Elsewhere, however, Propertius freely capitalises on the erotic catalyst of the *Iliad*, such as at 2.8.29-40; in the *recusatio* of 2.1, Propertius' reception/subversion of the *Iliad* as an erotic work pointedly contrasts with the martial agenda ascribed to Vergil at the other extremity of the book (again *pace* Lachman's division), perhaps trumping with a superlative his prophecy that *nescio* ***quid*** *maius* ***nascitur Iliade***.

> tum uero longas condimus **Iliadas**;
> seu **quidquid** fecit siue quodcumque locuta,
> maxima de nihilo **nascitur** historia. 2.1.14-16

If Ovid can be taken to have reworked the announcement of the *Aeneid* in 2.34b at *Tristia* 2.533ff., as Alessandro Barchiesi has suggested,[103] then it is noteworthy that it is precisely the erotic content of Vergilian epic that he for his purposes conversely reintroduces and chooses to accentuate.

Quite paradoxically, then, Vergil emerges from 2.34b as both a foil and model for Propertius. On the one hand, the elegist's praise of Vergil constructs the *Aeneid* as the

---

[100] As Hunter (1993) 170 n.2 notes, Varro's version was "presumably" read by Vergil in conjunction with the Greek original, and artfully integrated therewith. On this question, see Nelis (2001) 3 with n.15 and index s.v. Varro Atacinus. The surviving fragments of Varro's *Argonatica* (see Courtney (1993) 238-43) offer no apparent similarities with Propertius 2.34b.

[101] On the significance of Vergil's appeal to Erato and on the erotic content of *Aen.* 7-12, see Nelis (2001) 267-9 (with extensive bibliography at nn. 5-6).

[102] See Cairns (1989) ch. 6 on the elegiac credentials of Dido (spanning *Aen.* 1-4) and ch. 7 on the lyric credentials of Lavinia (spanning *Aen.* 7-12); on the *amor* of Nisus and Euryalus (spanning *Aen.* 5-9), see Hardie (1994) 31-4; on the erotic charge to Aeneas' relations with Pallas (spanning *Aen.* 8-11), see Olensis (1997) 309 and Putnam (1995) 27-49.

[103] Barchiesi (1997a) 27-28.

generic polar opposite of elegy more than it actually was (or was to be), and the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as works which collectively show how far Vergil departed from their course in writing the *Aeneid*, and which yet present *amor* more naively than does elegy, and indeed than they do themselves. On the other hand, it could be said that such a construction of Vergilian poetry entails a distortion that necessarily presupposes Propertius' recognition of his own affinities with the *Eclogues*, which despite themselves depict the omnipotence of elegiac love, with the *Georgics*, in which the destructiveness of *amor* is no small theme, and with the *Aeneid*, an epic with marked erotic themes, like Apollonius'/Varro's *Argonautica*. Moreover, in constructing the Vergilian career as he does, Propertius colludes with a tendentiousness also identifiable in Vergil, in that he too had rounded off the *Georgics* with a wistful echo of his pastoral beginnings, thus putting more distance than there actually was between his agropastoral poetry and his *Arma uirumque*.[104] Vergil thus sets a precedent in the epic genre for the apparently abrupt turnabout which Propertius himself would effect in the elegiac genre in his fourth book: to view the situation retrospectively, both poets progressed from erotic poetry to themes ostensibly far removed from *amor*, but which in practice retained erotic sympathies.[105] Significance, therefore, attaches to the fact that, on most reckonings of the Propertian corpus, 2.34b stands at its centre: viewed retrospectively, it is a midpoint proem in which Vergil looms large. Like the midpoint proems of *Eclogue* 6 and *Georgics* 3, 2.34b defers epic poetry, but like the midpoint proem of *Aeneid* 7 it is equally aware that the poles of *amor* and *Roma* need not be mutually exclusive.[106] Read against the backdrop of what precedes it, 2.34b presents Vergil as Propertius' foil; read in the knowledge of what was to come, Vergil emerges as a model for Propertian elegy.

---

[104] See Theodorakopoulos (1997) 162-4; this disjunction was maintained by the author of the *Aeneid* preface, which unites the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in contradistinction to the *Aeneid* (...*at nunc horrentia Martis* | *Arma uirumque cano*...).

[105] See Hutchinson 6-7 for the observation that Vergil's evolution as a writer is illustrated in 2.34b and then illustrative of Propertian elegy in Book 4.

[106] For this aspect of Vergilian evolution, see Thomas (1985) [=(1999) 101-113] and Nelis (2004).

From the foregoing argument, Vergil can be said to occupy a central position in the Propertian oeuvre. His influence on the elegist, however, has until quite recently remained of relatively peripheral interest to Propertian scholarship. It is surprising that this should be true also for Book 4, for which a *terminus post quem* of 16 BC allows for the possibility of a reception by Propertius of the entire Vergilian corpus, a fixed entity after Vergil's death in 19 BC, for upwards of three years. In fact, though it is not so called, intertextuality, "bewußt oder unbewußt", served as the principal investigative technique in Reisch's attempt of 1887 to establish a date for each of the Propertian books, with the "Sprachschatz" of the *Aeneid* adduced as the only admissible evidence in the case of Book 4.[107] Limiting himself to the so-called 'Roman Elegies', and only those which he found to exhibit interest in the *Aeneid* (i.e. 4.1a, 4.4, 4.6, 4.9, and 4.10), Reisch found that most of the epic received coverage, and established a *terminus post quem* for Propertius 4 on the basis of its familiarity even with the latter books of the *Aeneid.* In an article published just over a decade later, however, Rothstein rejected Reisch's conclusions on the grounds that the non-sequential composition of the *Aeneid*[108] invalidates any chronological deductions made on the basis of allusions to individual books. Rothstein also had misgivings about the admissibility of the *loci similes* collected by Reisch ("scheinen mir durchaus nicht zwingend zu sein, sondern lassen eine Benutzung Virgils durch Properz als möglich erscheinen"),[109] but conceded that what little is known about the composition of the *Aeneid* does not preclude seeing instances of lexical sharing as more than fortuitous, particularly given the presence in Propertius 1-3 of diction common to both authors, and of allusion in Propertius 4 to Vergil's earlier works. Though rejected as a yardstick for anything more than relative chronology, therefore, the *loci similes* could be admitted to Rothstein's commentary (1898) as potential purveyors of individual (but not collective) significance.

---

[107] Reisch (1887) 139-142 (quotations from p. 140).

[108] So, at any rate, Suetonius-Donatus 23 records: *"Aenidos" prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripiens.*

[109] Rothstein (1889) 30.

Thus, even excluding the implication of 2.34b that the *Aeneid* was available to contemporary poets well before its publication, it seems unnecessary to doubt that Propertius had sufficient time to formulate a considered response to the Vergilian achievement *in toto*.[110] Rather, that he did so is signalled already in the first pentameter of Book 4, which alludes to the subject of Vergil's epic,[111] and by two further elegies (4.6 and 4.9) which patently revisit themes treated in *Aeneid* 8. These intertexts are firmly established, and discussions of Vergilian influence on Propertius 4 have naturally gravitated towards them. In the most recent commentary on the book, Hutchinson observes that, amid frequent attention to Vergilian poetry, the *Aeneid* in particular is "diverged from, played with, and constantly present", but with a concentration on *Aeneid* 8 that "eschews the appearance of reworking or miniaturizing the whole epic": the isolation from *Aeneid* 8 of Actium in elegy 4.6 and the insertion of an extra episode into Vergil's Hercules epyllion in elegy 4.9 serve to disrupt the continuity of Vergilian narrative by excision and expansion respectively, and in general the discontinuous, episodic nature of Propertian elegy is seen to offer an image of Rome wider than that of Vergilian epic.[112] DeBrohun's recent book-length study of Book 4 maintains that "Propertius uses the backdrop of Virgil's *Aeneid* to suggest the engagement of his new poetry with epic possibilities, while at the same time he alludes especially to the most overtly aetiological book of his contemporary's poem".[113] In a recent survey of the *status quaestionis* vis-à-vis Propertius' response to his fellow Augustan poets, Dimundo concludes that *Aeneid* 8 found "un posto privilegiato nell'ambito delle fonti d'ispirazione del IV libro di Properzio" for its exhibition of a congenially aetiological, Callimachean Vergil.[114] Less recently, Alfonsi adjudged Propertius 4 to be "il libro che ben possiamo dire virgiliano dell'opera properziana" less for its many verbal borrowings from *Aeneid* 8 than for its similar focus on both present and past:[115] though

---

[110] *pace* White (1993) 185-6.

[111] Perhaps, as Becker (1971) 453 suggests, a 'Quellenangabe'; DeBrohun (2003) 39 n.14 suggests a reference in *collis et herba* also to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

[112] Hutchinson 6; the citation and discussion in the commentary proper of (fifteen) *loci similes* from throughout the *corpus Vergilianum* illustrates well the range of Propertius' interest in Vergil despite his concentration on *Aeneid* 8.

[113] DeBrohun (2003) 38 with n.11: "There can be little doubt [...] that Propertius has selected the great Roman achievement of his near contemporary as the particular foil against which to represent his own Roman poetry."

[114] Dimundo (2002) 308, following Fedeli.

[115] Alfonsi (1943-4) 469.

basing this reading on an over-literal interpretation of 2.1 and 2.34b (see above), Alfonsi cannot have been wrong in attaching significance to what is essentially the poets' shared interest in aetiology. While Paratore's critique of Alfonsi justly points out that Propertius 4 is written in Callimachean style, his contention that "nihil Propertius ex Ennio prompsit, pauca e Vergilio"[116] was itself open to criticism, given the paucity of evidence available to support the former claim, and the ready availability of *loci similes* refuting the latter. By then, La Penna had disseminated in Italian scholarship (and beyond) the view that "le allusioni a Virgilio sono le più abbondanti":[117] though in certain respects less sensitive than his later *L'Integrazione Difficile* (1977), this study casts considerable light on the extent of Propertius' literary interaction with the poets of his generation, especially Tibullus. Nevertheless, the confinement of La Penna's investigation to 4.1, 4.6, and 4.9 (despite having availed of the wider sweep of Reisch's *Quellenforschung*) had the effect of delimiting the impression of Vergil's impact on Propertius 4 to where it was never in dispute; moreover, although a rudimentary distinction between "la semplice reminiscenza e la dotta allusione" is attempted, and three modes of allusion ('conservando', 'ampiando', 'aggiungendo') are discerned in 4.6, Propertius effectively emerges as a 'weak' poet working under the 'anxiety of influence': "Anche qui [i.e. 4.6], purtroppo, benchè Properzio sia molto più libero e spieghi arte più vigorosa che nel caso precedente [i.e. 4.9], si direbbe che il modello lo perseguiti".[118] La Penna's later study relates Propertius' anxiety to the wider issue of his hesitant integration with régime culture, a process which required his conception of Callimacheanism to evolve in such in a way that, while remaining an elegist, he could also parallel Vergil, who for his part was the closest Latin poet to Callimachus.[119]

---

[116] Paratore (1957) 77, who goes on to deny any Vergilian influence until elegy 4.6 (p. 78).

[117] La Penna (1950) 212; the ensuing quotations may be found respectively at (1950) 214 and (1951) 50 and 51.

[118] La Penna (1950) 214 and (1951) 51. Similarly, La Penna's assessment of the use in 3.22 of the *laudes Italiae* from *Geo.* 2 and a smattering of the *Aeneid* sees Propertius as "dominato dal suo modello" ((1951) 50).

[119] La Penna (1977) passim, and esp. pp. 51, 86, and 120 for observations on Propertian and Vergilian Callimacheanism, and pp. 121-4 on Propertius' handling of the new cultural situation after the advent of the *Aeneid*, here resolved into four phases, from the *recusatio* of 2.1, in which elegy is the inverse of epic, to 2.34b, where elegy is parallel to Vergilian epic, to Book 3, in which Propertius presents himself as a singer of peace rather than war, and finally to the celebratory poetry of Book 4, with its examples of "integrazione plena" (p. 133) in elegies 4.6 and 4.10 (La Penna's evaluation of which remained unchanged, however: see e.g. pp. 110-111 for a negative judgement of 4.6 and 4.11).

Vergil's prior espousal of Callimacheanism is taken by these scholars to be of significance in Propertius' evocation specifically of *Aeneid* 8 in (at least) three separate elegies. However, that the *Aeneid* as a whole is essentially an aetiological tale seems to have been understood in Propertius 2.1 (*Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen auos*, v. 42: see above) and 2.34b. The concentration in Propertius 4 on the *Aeneid*'s most aetiological book might thus indicate that in antiquity, as today, the epic's Callimacheanism, outside of its eighth book, was more easily sensed than proved.[120] In other words, when he (finally) declared himself as the Roman Callimachus, Propertius found that *Aeneid* 8 offered material especially congenial to his reorientation of love elegy to Callimachean aetiology. Within a traditional generic hierarchy and a canon that excludes Propertius, this is a point which easily finds more polemical articulation: in his survey of Vergil's *Nachleben*, Jenkyns argues not only that Callimachean aetiology had been Vergilian before it was ever Propertian, but that it was Vergil who spurred the elegists to address the theme of Rome's antiquity.[121] To the extent that such a view is valid, Propertius' self-proclamation as the Roman Callimachus in the (Vergilian) 4.1 will be an indirect gesture of rivalry with his unnamed and displaced predecessor, Vergil.[122] Jenkyns is a critic most anxious to defend Vergil from such usurpation, to judge from his consistent appraisal of Vergil over Propertius in their more obvious points of similarity: comparing Propertius' description of bygone cities at 4.1.33-6 (a clear evocation of *Aen.* 6.773ff.), he writes, "[o]nce more these are pleasant lines; we should admire them more if we did not have the *Aeneid* to put beside them [...] there is a density and compression that were beyond Propertius' power."[123] To the extent that the poetic relationship is viewed with Vergiliocentric partiality, the effect of Propertius' Vergilianism and Callimacheanism risks being obfuscated, for the assertion that "Propertius does not match Virgil"[124] fails to ask how, why, and indeed whether Propertius has sought to match Vergil.

---

[120] The difficulty of locating the Callimacheanism of *Aeneid* 8 is evident in George (1974).

[121] Jenkyns (1998) 606-7.

[122] Miller (1982) 382-3 argues that Propertius challenged Vergilian aetiology by confining it to a smaller scale.

[123] Jenkyns (1998) 611.

[124] Jenkyns (1998) 617 (comparing 4.2.43-6 with *Ecl.* 2.45ff.); see also p. 610 (comparing 4.1.11-4 with *Aen.* 8.554, 105): "agreeable enough, but in comparison with the *Aeneid* the idea looks a little obvious, the writing a little less slack; Virgil's brilliance and concision have gone".

Conversely, but no more usefully to a Propertiocentric agenda, it was once customary to sentimentalise about the rehabilitation of the Propertian spirit under the influence of the *Aeneid*, and even still might the epic poet find himself congratulated for having awoken in the elegist a grander impulse to transcend the limits of his genre:[125] though overtly disposed to a positive evaluation of Propertius 4, generic conservatism remains implicit here, with the result that "la costante presenza di Virgilio" is recognised, but assessed only through the familiar trio of 4.1, 4.6, and 4.9, and with the disappointing conclusion that there is little more than a "gioco letterario" at play.

Stylistic comparison and analysis becomes a more constructive exercise when devoid of bias towards genre or author. A more positive appraisal of the (then available) *loci similes* emerges from Tränkle's study of the Propertian *Sprachkunst*: whereas in Propertius 1-3 the identity of precursor and successor is often in doubt, in Book 4 the primacy of Vergil is clear, with Propertius showing a predilection for the most original and daring of Vergilian diction; far from slavishly reproducing these effects, however, "Properz übernimmt nicht nur als Nachahmer ohne eigene Schöpferkraft sprachliche Formen, sondern er bildet selbst daran mit Bedacht weiter."[126] It is important to note that Tränkle's assessment of Vergilian diction in Propertius 4 is not confined to the three recognisably Vergilian elegies, and is not derived exclusively from *Aeneid* 8, thus implying the permeation of Vergilian influence into the wider collection. It did not fall within Tränkle's compass to consider whether or not these linguistic similarities betoken a more involved interaction with Vergilian poetics *in toto*, but there has been little interest since then in following this line of investigation.[127]

---

[125] Gigante Lanzara (1990), with the ensuing quotations drawn from pp. 116 and 147. Expatiation on the positive effect on Propertian poetics of the *Aeneid* is more a commonplace of older scholarship: see e.g. Celentano (1956) 36: Propertius underwent an "approfondimento spirituale" since reading the *Aeneid* (and the death of Cynthia); Alfonsi (1943-4) 459-461 more usefully traces Vergil's and Propertius' spiritual affinity through their shared literary heritage (accessed in each case via Gallus) and experience of contemporary history ("nelle communi sofferenze della giovanezza", p. 460).

[126] Tränkle (1960) 57.

[127] Partial exceptions are Allison (1980) and Solmsen (1975) who will be referenced as appropriate in the following chapters.

Insofar as the question of Vergil's impact on Book 4 has been addressed, then, Propertian scholarship has in the main duly followed the signals given by Propertius himself, but to an extent that might be seen to have left in some doubt whether his interest in Vergil goes beyond the preferential treatment in three elegies of a single book of the *Aeneid.* Even a study which concludes that Propertius' fascination with the *Aeneid* inspired him to create "noch einmal große Dichtung", and indeed takes the response to Vergil so much as the *raison d'être* of the book as a whole that it inadvertently denies its originality ("Dagegen ist ungewiß, ob ohne die Aeneis die späten Elegien des Properz überhaupt zustande gekommen wären"), ultimately fails to convince due to its lack of reference to any book of the *Aeneid* beyond the eighth: thus Becker raises interesting possibilities when he suggests that Vergil's epic offered the elegist "ungeahnte Möglichkeiten" for aetiological and erotic themes,[128] but it is unsurprising that his claims have gone unremarked, and not unreasonably does Hutchinson point to the book's Homeric models to justify the counterclaim that "to view book 4 as above all a response to the *Aeneid* [...] takes too Virgilian an angle".[129] Similarly, DeBrohun observes that "[t]he relationship between the poems of Propertius' fourth book and the *Aeneid* is not easily delineated, as the poets treat a number of the same subjects, but with remarkably little overlap in language or handling".[130] Yet the most recent discussion of Augustan responses to the *Aeneid* claims Propertius 4 is "a direct response to the *Aeneid*", and seems to revive the view (primarily of La Penna, Sullivan, and Stahl) of a jaundiced reading of Vergil by a regime-resistant Propertius: "from the moment of its inception, Propertius seems to have viewed the *Aeneid* as a poem written to satisfy imperial desires for laudatory epic, a task which to Propertius was at best distasteful, at worst, offensive."[131]

This plethora of conflicting views as to the extent and import of the reception of one of Western literature's most influential and controversial poets by one of his contemporaries amply demonstrates the need for a systematic collation and appraisal of the evidence. With regard to the extent of Propertius' confrontation with Vergil, the

---

[128] Becker (1971) with quotations from pp. 480, 477, and 479.
[129] Hutchinson 7 n.10.
[130] DeBrohun (2003) 11 n.22.
[131] Robinson (2006) 208.

inclusiveness of nineteenth-century *Quellenforschung* has been replaced by an approach that is more sensitive to the dynamics of intertextual interaction, but is often more restrictive as to the extent to which such interaction may be deemed operative, or of the terms in which it can be said to be operative. This shift can be ascribed to a number of factors. Not without influence will have been the intervening commentary tradition, which in the main has adopted a conservative stance with regard to Propertius' borrowings from Vergil: among the Anglophone commentators, Paley, Postgate, Richmond, Butler and Barber, and Richardson are all silent when it comes to Vergil's impact on Propertius 4, while Camps, well-positioned to pronounce on the matter by virtue of his interest in both authors, implies so studied an avoidance of Vergilian reminiscence that the interplay of *oppositio in imitando* seems precluded:[132]

> It is important to note that these affinities with Tibullus and Virgil consist only in the adoption of certain general motives; in the application of these to their contexts, and in the detailed development of them, Propertius is completely and no doubt deliberately independent. Likewise, when in Elegy ix he touches on the story of Hercules and Cacus, he seems deliberately to avoid any coincidence with *Aeneid* VIII, 185 ff.; and when in Elegy vi he describes the battle of Actium he succeeds, despite the coincidence of subject, in avoiding repetition of any feature of the Virgilian treatment in *Aeneid* VIII, 675ff. except a couple of purely aural echoes in lines 23 and 29.

That the evanescence of the Vergilian 'cf.' (whatever it suggests) did not translate to Fedeli's (Italian) commentary of 1965, and was otherwise resisted only by the reprinting of Rothstein's (German) commentary in 1966, may be instructive for one seeking to explain the apparently more restrictive policy of much (Anglophone) scholarship, though it may be fairer to observe that no branch of the scholarly tradition was especially sensitive to Propertius' interest in Vergil: if the intervening commentary tradition is guilty of having stifled later scholars' openness to the kind of Propertio-Vergilian interaction implicit in the findings of nineteenth-century *Quellenforschung* (confined though it was to the so-called 'Roman *Aetia*'), the seeds of that neglect were scattered in the first sowing, when comparative material was marshalled only as a means

---

[132] Camps 5.

of addressing the *Prioritätsfrage*. A further factor that has impacted on the evaluation of *Quellenforschung* is intertextuality, to which we must now turn.

Allusion or Intertext?

The extent to which attitudes to the 'cf.' have shifted can be witnessed by comparing Fedeli's 1965 commentary on Propertius 4, which is as generous in *loci similes* as it is spare in their exegesis, with the amplitude of the same author's 'mega-commentary' on Propertius 2, published in 2005. The earlier commentary was prepared at a time when the possibilities of 'arte allusiva' foregrounded by Giorgio Pasquali had yet to filter through to Propertian studies,[133] and well before the all-inclusive, pan-textual embrace of intertextuality. While the 'traditions' of allusion and intertextuality have since revivified the 'cf.' of older scholarship, there has been such confusion as to what distinction is to be drawn between these terms,[134] and such acrimony, where clear positions are taken up, as to the implications of textual similarities,[135] that it has become *de rigeur* for any who wish to explicate the relationship between texts to issue a policy statement before getting down to business. The existence in antiquity of intensive theoretical discourse *de imitatione* should alone be sufficient reminder to modern scholars of the need to scrutinise the intertextual practice of a poetry as scholarly as that of the Alexandrians and their Roman successors.[136]

The fundamental point of contention for modern theorists is whether or not a textual parallel (and indeed any observation made about a literary text) should or should not be taken to presuppose authorial intention. Before the scholarly community began to accept with Barthes the 'Death of the Author', there was (provided one was not a New Critic) no essential difficulty in linking a given 'cf.' with an imitative or emulative intention beyond making a discretionary evaluation as to whether or not the similarity admits of interpretation. It was in this "state of disengagement with specific theoretical

---

[133] For an overview (from a Vergilian perspective) of the schools that grew up in response to Pasquali, see Farrell (1991) 3-25.
[134] See the remarks of Allen (2000) 2.
[135] On the two extremes of 'fundamentalism', see Hinds (1998) 17-51.
[136] On ancient discussions of imitation, see Russell (1979).

approaches"[137] that Richard Thomas, when formulating a hermeneutical vocabulary to describe a complex array of allusive techniques, supplanted the word 'allusion' with 'reference' in order to emphasise the directive intention with which an interpretable 'cf.' is loaded.[138] Since ancient texts are not accompanied by extra-literary authorial directives ('paratext'), in an intentionalist universe any similarities between two texts, such as those between Propertius 2.34b and Vergil, could, given satisfactory argument, be taken to have been deliberately put there by the alluding author for a potentially knowable reason.

That all of this is ultimately *unknowable* had already been protested by the New Criticism, though for no reason so overwhelming that it could not be ignored; rather, the death-knell for authorial intention was sounded by the inescapable logic of Barthes' assertion that meaning is realised at the point of reception: as Stephen Hinds has put it, "[n]o two readers will ever construct a set of cues in quite the same way; no one reader, even the author, will ever construct a set of cues in quite the same way twice."[139] With this development, it is ultimately of little consequence whether or not there is a paratextual directive since, as text which is no less received, paratext is ultimately co-opted to the same 'unknowability', and susceptible to the same interrogation, as text proper (as, for example, has been the experience of T.S. Eliot's notes to his own poem *The Waste Land*, the *locus classicus* for this debate). As will be seen in Chapter 5, this question is especially pertinent to Propertius 4, where the author has been thought to have been literally dead long before he faced the added complication of being *literarily* dead.

This reader-centred view of textual interpretability found theoretical back-up with the advent of intertextuality, which Conte championed in Latin studies for the purpose – so he later confirmed (at least paratextually) – of purging classical philology of the excessive, especially biographical, intentionalism with which it was still rife in the early

---

[137] Thomas (1999) 1, introducing a collected volume of his earlier articles.
[138] Thomas (1986) [= Thomas (1999) 114-141].
[139] Hinds (1998) 47.

1980s.[140] Conte's structuralist relation of the tradition within which a poet works (Conte's 'model as code') to 'langue', and the text which engages with that tradition (Conte's 'exemplary model') to 'parole', establishes parity between the poet and the reader vis-à-vis allusion, for an allusion can only come into existence if the poem triggers a "sympathetic vibration" in both the poet's and the reader's 'poetic memories' of the tradition; for Conte, therefore, intertextuality "defines the conditions of literary readability", and an allusion, rather than an imitative activity, is best seen as an event, "a passive moment, [...] a cog in the general mechanism of textual composition";[141] as Don Fowler puts it, intertextuality is a "property of the literary system", whereas the implications of homage, indebtedness, lustre, etc., conferred on that language by a reader experiencing an intertextual event are extras, and belong to the discourse of allusion.[142] Intertextuality thus offers a more (some would say frustratingly) inclusive approach to the 'cf.', such that *Quellenforschung* of the order undertaken in bygone eras can be taken up with renewed aplomb and a new agenda by hungry scholars in fourth- and fifth-level education. Solipsistic though it will sound, in an intertextual universe, it is inconsequential (at least *in vacuo*) whether or not you believe my Vergilian readings of Propertius bear the poet's imprimatur, since they are readings that I have created through the confrontation of the 'parole' of Propertius with the 'langue' of the literary tradition as I have inherited it.

Though the language is stark, this view of textuality has numerous advantages, not least in making the reader aware of his or her own 'situatedness' when interpreting a text. Given that the author is constructed from the text by the reader in the knowledge that this cannot be the same for two different people, or even for the same person twice, each reader must take responsibility for the author he or she constructs from a text, as Fowler insists. For the present purposes, the 'Propertius' under construction is one whose text is hospitable to textual events when confronted with the texts of Vergil; this agenda recognises, but necessarily occludes (insofar as it can) most other intertextual

---

[140] Conte (1999) 219 underlines the "campaign" announced at Conte (1986) 27-8; a noteworthy exception in the biographical-intentionalist tradition is Allen (1962), an expanded version of the same author's celebrated article, "Sincerity' and the Roman Elegists', *CP* 45 (1950) 145-160.
[141] Conte (1986) 35, 28, and 29 respectively.
[142] Fowler (2000) 118 in an important discussion (esp. 116-118) of the differences between allusion and intertextuality.

engagements, including those of non-literary provenance (which, according to Derrida's concept of pan-text, cannot but become textualised). Fowler's view that a reading such as that presented here, based as it is on 'traces' of Vergil perceived in the text of Propertius 4, is so alienable from the notion of authorial intention that it is equally valid, irrespective of the anachronism, to perceive at the same intertextual nodes 'traces' of Propertius 4 in Vergil: even anachronistic 'flips' of this kind are heuristically useful insofar as they can show how a later text might offer a surprise re-reading of an earlier text, as Fowler appreciated. In the pre-intertextual era, such an operation was unlikely to have been perceived in the historically-oriented concentration on the alluding text;[143] only in the post-intertextual era was Ovid apt to be read as having constructed Vergil as his "hesitant precursor", rather than himself as Vergil's "epigonal reader".[144]

However, a scholar following the letter rather than the spirit of intertextual law will reject this 'back-door intentionalism' and reassert the reader's absolute autocracy:

> allusions are really *not* there materially or linguistically. Again, common sense is a witness. Everyone would agree that there are dozens of possible allusions in Vergil that are unknown because the texts to which they allude are lost. If from the Villa dei Papiri emerge rolls of Ennius, new allusions in Vergil will also emerge. Until then, they do not exist, and, further, their nonexistence has never troubled anyone, never made Vergil a lesser poet.[145]

Though theoretically unassailable, the denial of an allusion's existence until it is detected poses its own problems: as every schoolboy knows, Newton did not 'invent' gravity, even if the *genus infelix humanum* managed perfectly well in its ignorance; to claim otherwise suggests that we might as well stand on our heads. The ultimate *reductio ad absurdum* is reached when intertextuality subsumes all poets to the literary 'langue' to the point that their very names serve only to designate arbitrary textual subsets created for the purpose of what in Foucaultian terms is an 'authorial function', which might just as

---

[143] So, for example, Thomas (1986) 177 [=(1999) 119]: "Virgil's chief purpose in referring to a single locus is simply stated: he intends that the reader recall the context of the model and apply that context to the new situation"; Thomas sees that the model can be 'corrected' (*ibid.* 185 [=127]) but allows for mutually informing connections only in the case of what he terms "internal" self-reference (*ibid.* 184 [= 126]).

[144] Hinds (1998) 106.

[145] Edmunds (2001) xviii.

easily be a compendium of prose and poetic extracts compiled as a 'First Latin Reader', or a set of epic and elegiac texts brought together for the purposes of writing a doctoral thesis: espousing this idea, Edmunds explains that "[t]he author is never linked spontaneously or naturally to a text but only by some construct or other that has emerged in scholarly and critical discourse."[146] If author-centred literary histories can be taken as symptomatic of a crisis of authority in the face of literary theory,[147] the unapologetic erasure of the historical author is symptomatic of the nihilistic *aporia* to which uncompromising intertextuality inevitably leads.

It is difficult to be so indifferent to the designation of the author as traditionally understood. Even the *protos heuretes* of Latin intertextual studies has himself been accused of capitulating to intentionalist discourse by those who faithfully embrace intentionality[148] as well as by those who reject it,[149] and even by his own admission.[150] It is an indicator of the prevailing contentions that it should not seem vacuous or facetious to assert here, as a bottom line, that Propertius intended to write the poems we have in his name. It is when we turn to what is to be read into that intention that a pluralistic approach *is* useful. A step in this direction was made by Lyne, whose oxymoronic "designed intertextuality"[151] is an acceptable formulation insofar as all allusions (for their proponents) are intertextual, but it should be remembered that not all intertexts will be allusive for all readers, and that for some readers no intertexts will be allusive at all. Thus, of the parallel passages catalogued in the appendices under the pluralistic label of intertexts (in both Propertio-Vergilian and Vergilio-Propertian directions), some will seem more pronounced, clustered, or otherwise marked than

---

[146] Edmunds (2001) 35.
[147] Edmunds (2001) 36 following the view of Martindale in his review (*LCM* 19 (1994) 153-8) of Conte's *Latin Literature: A History* (Baltimore, 1994). It is paradoxical that such a reflex could be ascribed to the scholar who has done most to free classicists from the intentionalist trap.
[148] Farrell (1991) 22-23.
[149] Edmunds (2001) 40-41, who goes on to criticise Hinds on much the same grounds: "As with Conte a generation earlier, his reading is ahead of his theory" (169).
[150] Conte (1999) 219: "It was however not my wish to rule out intentionality altogether, nor to deny that there were (and are) cases in which a poet's intention is unambiguously active in the text. To deny this would indeed by a preposterous idea." Indeed, intentionality was never wholly denied in the *Rhetoric of Imitation*: "Even when the resemblances do not appear gratuitous – that is, when some form of intentionality seems undeniable – my concern is with describing how such resemblances *function* within the text" (Conte (1986) 28, his emphasis).
[151] Lyne (1987) 103.

others. In their confrontation with this material, readers are invited to sketch a spectrum from allusion to intertext according to their individual theoretical convictions. All readers should be able to agree that the appendices list, by and large, instances of heightened intertextuality. To the strictly intertextualist reader can be offered Monica Gale's formulation that "all texts are intertextual, but [...] some texts are more intertextual than others".[152]

Some intertextual phenomena operate quite independently of lexical sharing, however, and in ways that cannot be recorded in tables:[153] another text may be evoked by a metrical or syntactical echo, or by structural and even numerical reduplication, as suggested above for Propertius 2.34b.78 (= 2.35.54) and *Georgics* 1.54. These latter phenomena will be at issue in Chapter 5 in particular, where the case will be made that a strict theoretical adherence to 'zero-allusivity' is no longer realistic or helpful. When structural and numerical similarities exhibit thematic relevance to the same extent as verbal parallels, it is difficult to find merit in the argument that these represent no more than a reader's imaginings. The interpretations offered here, then, are made on the basis that Propertius intended *something*. What that 'something' is, however, is another matter, and indeed in a Barthesian sense is a false question. Interpretation of all parallels on the allusion-intertext spectrum, therefore, will be offered in terms of the formulation advanced by Hinds: as (re)constructions of what the (re)constructed author intended to be (re)constructed.[154] It cannot be denied that the hermeneutic circle is such that an imported interpretation of Propertius' 'allusions' to Vergil cannot ultimately be escaped, but this can at least be a less arbitrary, and perhaps bilateral, interpretation if the selections from Vergil can be seen to share any consistency either among themselves or in how they are deemed to effect the perceived meaning(s) of the text in which they are imbedded. While evaluation of consistency and effect is itself a matter of interpretation, to analyse allusion is at least to appeal to a reading (i.e. of Vergil) within a reading (i.e. of Propertius) for interpretive guidance. Intertextuality arguably offers a degree of

---

[152] Gale (2000) 5 n.10.

[153] See Wills (1996) who, in "escaping the confines of diction" (18 n.10) identifies nine categories of allusive marking (18-24); some of these are anticipated by Thomas (1986) 179 [= (1999) 122] under the rubric of 'technical reference'. The substantial 'Index Verborum et Locutionum' in the Teubner edition by Schuster (1954) 182-212 offers parallels of potential use in this regard.

[154] Hinds (1998) 49; see also Conte (1994) 133-138 on how the empirical reader learns to become the ideal reader that it is the strategy of the text to create.

control, therefore, but the discretionary factor has its part to play, as Thomas once advised in the comfort of theoretical *ataraxia*. Interpretation of poetry is not an exact science, however intertextual it is.

Quellenforschung on the Site of Rome

As a case-study of the 'inexact science' of intertextuality, it may be instructive to subject to the theoretical framework set out above a Propertian text which exhibits what can be acceptably described as heightened intertextuality with Vergil. The texts in question are the Hercules-Cacus epyllion of *Aeneid* 8 and Propertius 4.9, chronologically the second and third of four Augustan accounts of Hercules' defeat of Cacus (see also Livy 1.7.4-7 and Ovid, *Fasti* 1.543-586), a theme which attracted the interaction also of the political intertext of Augustus' typological self-styling, and thus fairly constitutes a locus of heightened intertextual activity.[155] Questions to bear in mind, then, are how allusive (i.e. intentionally intertextual) this recognisably intertextual poem is, and what kind of readings its allusivity/intertextuality admits. On a basic level, what may be seen to privilege the Vergilian intertext over these others, apart from the Vergilian settings of the surrounding poems (most notably 4.1 and 4.6), is the fact that Propertius and Vergil (and later Ovid) constitute a poetic subset within this intertextual superset. That is not to say that the political and historiographical intertexts can be entirely tuned out: 4.9 has also been read with an eye on what might be called its 'Augustan intertext',[156] and it presents several lexical similarities with Livy's prose account.[157] The opening word,[158] however, is a grandiloquent polysyllable that cannot but advertise its Vergilian provenance: *Amphitryoniades* is used twice by Vergil, and only in the Hercules-Cacus epyllion (*Aen.* 8.103, 204). Such a patronymic would be out of place in Livy, where it is

---

[155] See in general Galinsky (1972).

[156] see Harrison (2004).

[157] *et ipsum fessum ~ fessus et ipse* (4.9.4); *accola ~ incola* (4.9.9); *auersos boues ~ auersos…boues* (4.9.12); *caudis in speluncam traxit ~ cauda traxit in antra* (4.9.12); *claua ~ clauae* (4.9.17); *Ioue nate, Hercules, salue ~ sancta pater, salue* (4.9.71); *dextra ~ dexter* (4.9.72).

[158] What follows can be taken as an argument for the effectiveness of this *incipit* and a counter-argument against Goold (1967) 92-3, whose transposition of 4.9.71-2 to precede v. 1 is proposed not without cogent argument (or valiant rhetoric: "Most men are concerned to be slightly wrong, if they are to be wrong, than to be audaciously right, if they are to be right: there are perils in being right with a Galileo, whereas one risks nothing by being wrong in a conformist world of Ptolemaic error").

avoided, and its epic resonance makes it seem out of place in elegy too (at least as elegy was traditionally conceived); the absence of major thematic relevance rules its only other occurrence in Latin (Catullus 68[b].112) out of primary consideration.[159]

The opening word, then, is freighted with allusivity, and functions as a marker of the Vergilian account of Hercules' duel with Cacus, thereby rendering the reader predisposed or sensitised to further similarities with that source. Warden cites *Amphitryoniades*...|... *stabulis* (4.9.1-2) ~ *stabulis*...|...*Amphitryoniades* (*Aen.* 8.213-4) to support a view that "[t]he direct verbal cross-references in Propertius' poem are limited, but they are unmistakable and carefully placed".[160] This is already a world away from Camps' speculation (quoted above) that Propertius deliberately avoided coincidence with Vergil, which even if correct would in any case testify to the strength of the intertext on the basis of Harold Bloom's argument that verbal coincidence is irrelevant in the anxiety of poetic succession:[161] Camps' assertion shows, despite itself, that Vergil is present under erasure. Reader-centrism does not negate the validity of a reading that occludes the Vergilian intertext, but it is necessary first to evaluate how feasible such an occlusion can be. Taking a lexically sensitive position on the allusion-intertext spectrum, numerous verbal similarities between the two accounts can be observed. Among a generous scattering of parallels,[162] Propertius can be seen to have striven to condense into a single distich Vergil's account of Cacus' elaborate subterfuge:

---

[159] Secondary consideration, nevertheless, should not be dismissed: Catullus 68 and Propertius 4.9 are both unusually long poems in elegiacs with a shared interest in the erotic; lexical connection might be considered between *Amphitryoniades qua tempestate* (4.9.1) and *Amphitryoniades* | *tempore quo* (Cat. 68.112-3). The channel is Vergilian epic, then, but the distant frequency of Catullan elegy cannot be tuned out. Similarly, Hutchinson *ad loc.* hears Propertius "gesturing to Virgil, but also emphasising the connection with Greek poetry" (see *ad loc.* for references): the latter can be discriminated against, given their weaker linguistic as well as thematic proximity, but they are still 'out there' in the poetic *langue*, available pour ceux qui veulent. The hymnic structure and other "remote analogues" of 4.9 discussed in Cairns (1992) and Pillinger (1969) 182-189 may be treated in the same way.

[160] Warden (1982) 230.

[161] See e.g. Bloom (1975) 19-20.

[162] The lexical similarities are as follows: **iuuencos* (4.9.1) ~ **iuuencas* (*Aen.* 8.208); *egerat*...|...*inuictos* (4.9.2-3) ~ *uictor agebat* (*Aen.* 8.203) and/or *inuicte* (*Aen.* 8.293); *fessos fessus* (4.9.4) ~ *ter fessus* (*Aen.* 8.232, the nominatives each referring to Hercules, with Propertius' polyptoton perhaps constructing itself as the precursor of Vergil's *ter fessus*?); *raptor* (4.9.9 ~ *Aen.* 8.211, accepting Wakefield's emendation: see Gransden (1976) *ad loc.*); *furem*...|...*furis* (4.9.13-14) ~ *furis* (*Aen.* 8.205); *fores* (4.9.13) ~ *foribus* (*Aen.* 8.196); *ramo*...|...*Alcides* (4.9.15-16) ~ *Alcides*...|...*ramis* (*Aen.* 8.249-50, cf. 203, 219); *Cacus, et Alcides*...*boves* ||... *mugitu* (4.9.16, 19) ~ *boum*...| *mugiit et Caci*...|...*Alcidae* (*Aen.* 8.117-119).

hic, **ne** certa ***forent** manifestae ***signa** rapinae,
***auersos cauda traxit in** *antra* boues 4.9.11-12

at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset,
quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros
***auertit**, totidem forma superante iuuencas.
atque hos, **ne** qua ***forent** pedibus *uestigia* rectis,
cauda in *speluncam* **tractos** uersisque uiarum
indiciis raptor saxo occultabat opaco;
quaerenti nulla ad speluncam ***signa** ferebant. *Aen.* 8.205-212

This feat of compression leaves to Livy and Vergil the precise explanation of how Hercules was duped. In a close reworking such as this, differences are conspicuous: Propertius points out how Cacus' ruse left not *no* evidence, as in Vergil (*ne* ***qua** *forent...uestigia*), but no *sure* evidence (*ne* ***certa** *forent...signa*), which is certainly more accurate, if a little pedantic. These parallels consolidate, and are consolidated by, the opening marker. Indeed, however scattered and unremarkable they might seem individually, all possible parallels – some of them perhaps inevitable, given the identical theme, some of them perhaps stemming from the authority of the legend as received from Livy – are mutually reinforcing.

The two accounts invite comparison, therefore, despite the different emphases and greater economy of the Propertian version. As related by Vergil, the duel unfolds over 83 lines (*Aen.* 8.190-272), whereas Propertius creates for elegy a diminutive epyllion of just 10 distichs (4.1.1-20). Warden has observed how Propertius achieves some remarkable compressions of Vergilian epic: 4.9.13 condenses into seven words the seven lines of *Aen.* 8.212-8, while 4.9.14 represents twenty-one lines of Vergilian narrative;[163] Pillinger has noted that the description of Cacus' doors as *implacidas* (4.9.14) rather understates the gruesome details of *Aen.* 8.196-7 and their robustness at *Aen.* 8.225-46.[164] The protagonists, too, undergo certain alterations: Hercules' will occur in

[163] Warden (1982) 233.
[164] Pillinger (1969) 185.

the poem's second movement, while Cacus takes on the attributes of former foes, his affinity with Geryon perhaps pointing to the irony that Hercules had himself played the part of the cattle-rustler before coming to Rome:

> incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab *antro*,
> per *tria* partitos qui *dabat ora sonos*. 4.9.9-10

Though no longer breathing fire (cf. *Aen.* 8.209: *ore uomens ignis*), Cacus is emphatically endowed with the three heads of a Geryon (cf. *Aen.* 8.202: *tergemini…Geryonae*) or a Cerberus (cf. *Aen.* 6.418, 421: *in antro* ||*…tria guttura*), thus enabling a trebling of Hercules' violence despite the reduction of narrative space: *Maenalio iacuit pulsus tria* ****tempora ramo*** (v. 15). When in *Aeneid* 8 the Salii arrive to sing the *laudes Herculeae*, it is striking that they do so *euincti* ****tempora ramis*** (*Aen.* 8.286): *tempora* and *ramus* are collocated just twice elsewhere in the *Aeneid* (*Aen.* 5.71 & 7.135, also celebrative contexts), which invites the consideration that the phrase *tria tempora ramo* might signal not (or not only) Cacus' putative 'three headed' affinity with Geryon, but the 'three times' Vergil's employs the same line-ending. Indeed, as has been noted, the reference in v. 17 to Geryon's cattle as the *labor ultimus* of Herculus' club (*claua*) disregards the canonical sequence of Hercules' *labores*.[165] At the level of lexical play, the synonym switch from *ramus* to *claua* is similarly conspicuous: only the former occurs among the *ad hoc* armaments listed by Vergil (*Aen.* 8.250), while *clauus* occurs just once in Vergil, in Aeneas' *aristeia* at *Aen.* 10.318, where it also refers to Hercules' traditional weapon, occurs in the same *sedes*, and is surrounded by identical words (vv. 319-21: *Herculis, Alcidae, labores*). Given the predilection of Alexandrian allusive practice for *hapax legomena*, could Propertius' *labor ultimus clauae* be construed as a metapoetic hint to his poetic exertions (cf. *Ecl.* 10.1: *extremum…laborem*)? A second appeal for the reader's attentiveness could thus be framed in Hercules' subsequent question, *quis facta Herculeae non audit fortia clauae?* (4.9.39), the interrogative constituting a signpost to the same *tour de force*.[166] If so, we may say that Propertius is advertising his own theft of a club from the Roman Homer.

---

[165] See Hutchinson *ad loc.*

[166] Possibly an echo of the paradoxically hackneyed Callimachean/Alexandrian/neoteric themes at *Geo.* 3.4-6 (*quis aut Eurysthea…* | *…nescit…?* | *cui non dictus Hylas…?*).

Theft itself was so familiar a metaphor for covert allusion that the entire passage under analysis could be read as a metanarrative for its own allusive content: given the density of Vergilian diction in this elegy, Cacus' theft of Hercules' cattle on the level of narrative is paralleled in literary terms by Propertius' textual 'raid' of Vergil.[167] The play on *fur* in vv. 13-14 is especially suggestive of this metapoetic drama (*furem sonuere iuuenci, | furis et implacidas diruit ira fores*), where the thief's doors are suspiciously reminiscent of the elegiac paraclausithyron that will be more obviously played out in the poem's ensuing parallel movement.[168] Propertius, therefore, has done to Vergil what Cacus does to Hercules: he has raided and stolen from his text, and cunningly covered his tracks (*signa rapinae*, v. 11) in the process, but not so effectively that he might not be detected, as we have seen (*ne* ***certa*** *forent...signa*); as Russell has demonstrated, it was one of the principles of ancient imitative practice that "[t]he imitation must be tacitly acknowledged, on the understanding that the informed reader will recognise and approve the borrowing."[169]

It is a paradox that the variation and camouflage of a primary intertext does not undermine its primacy. The greatest departure from the Vergilian account comes with the second movement of 4.9, a sequel not related in the *Aeneid* but which nonetheless replays in elegiac mode the drama of the opening sequence with a similar scattering of Vergilian diction:[170] athirst after his exertions against Cacus (the 'evil'), Hercules is attracted to the shrine of the Bona Dea (the 'good goddess')[171] by the sound of splashing water and girls' laughter; pleading to the priestess for admission, he recasts himself, despite his hairy chest, as a less intimidating *apta puella*, complete with brassière

---

[167] For the analogy of the poet as herdsman and/or thief, see Gutzwiller (1991) 29-35 and (for a more conservative view) Rosenmeyer (1969) 268-71.

[168] As Hutchinson *ad loc* notes, comparing 1.16.17, 2.5.22, and 4.8.51.

[169] Russell (1979) 16.

[170] Warden (1982) 236-7 observes a number of parallels between Cacus' cave in Vergil and the Bona Dea's shrine in Propertius (**antro*, 4.9.33 and 9, cf. *Aen.* 8.217 and 254; *summota*, 4.9.56, cf. *Aen.* 8.193; **opacos*, 4.9.61, only here in Propertius, cf. *Aen.* 8.211) and between Hercules' assaults against each (*fessus*, 4.9.4, 42, 66, cf. *Aen.* 8.232; *pandite*, 4.9.34, cf. *Aen.* 8.262), to which may be added *umbroso* (4.9.24, cf. *Aen.* 8.242) and *postis* (4.9.61, cf. *Aen.* 8.227) for the cave and **concussit* (4.9.61, cf. *Aen.* 8.237) for Hercules' assault.

[171] That Hercules first fights 'evil' and then 'good' is pointed out by Anderson (1992) 102. The reccurrence in an ostensibly different duel of further lexical borrowing from Vergil's epyllion serves to elide the two assaults.

(vv. 49-50); finding himself debarred, however, he reverts to epic form and smashes in another set of doors (4.9.61-2, cf. v. 14). As Anderson has shown, the second episode recasts Hercules, in his conquest of yet another enclosed foe (***inclusas***...*puellas*, 4.9.23, cf. *sese* ***inclusit***, *Aen.* 8.225; cf. Livy 1.7.7), as an elegiac *exclusus amator*, as signposted by his position *ante fores* (v. 32) and supported by a cast of giggling *puellae* and a stern *anus*, by Hercules' prayer for admission, and by the erotic implications of his raging thirst.[172] In a twenty-first century reformulation of Kroll's theory of generic *Kreuzung*, DeBrohun views Hercules and Propertius as "literary transvestites" representative of the incongruous combination of amatory elegy and patriotic poetry; the indecorous Hercules invades elegy but cannot ultimately reduce his epic stature to conform to his new generic environs.[173] Warden notes the contrast of the *paraclausithyron* scenario with the simultaneous appropriation of Vergilian language, and finds that 4.9 creates "an epic ambience which is denied and subverted by the narrative itself", making a rapist of a Hercules who in Vergil purges the world of barbarity and fosters civilisation in its place.[174]

In Propertian aetiology, then, it is the cattle-mart in which the Ara Maxima stood that commemorates Hercules' victory over Cacus (4.9.19-20), while the altar itself is subverted as a monument to Hercules' lusty thirst (4.9.67-70). While Hercules' thirst is clearly associable with his erotic desire, it may also be significant for the foregoing metapoetic reading of the poem's second episode that his immediate need, after avenging the thefts of the poem's first episode, is a *fons*. Hercules may have detected Cacus' cattle-rustling (and Propertius' textual raid of Vergil), but having won back and fulfilled his Vergilian role, his traditional theme is exhausted, and he now requires a new source (of inspiration): *fontis egens erro* (v. 35). Hercules, in other words, needs to do some *Quellenforschung* of his own. Given the association, though at times difficult to pin down, between water and poetic inspiration in Propertius,[175] the inverse imagery of aridity could easily be co-opted to the same discourse; *siccus* was already the technical

---

[172] Anderson (1964); Hutchinson 33-50n. observes other dimensions to Hercules' speech.
[173] DeBrohun (2003) 135-40, 157-165, 178-84.
[174] Warden (1982) 239 and 241; for Pillinger (1969) 189, 4.9 consists of a solemn hymnic frame around the "satire and burlesque" of the inner narrative.
[175] On the Callimachean associations of the water imagery in 4.9, see especially DeBrohun (2003) 201-209; more generally, see Ross (1975) 118-123; Cairns (2006) 329-32 on 2.10; See now Hunter (2006) 7-16 and 31-2 on the scenes of poetic investiture in Propertius 3.1 and 3.3.

term in Latin for an 'unadorned' or 'dry' style of speech (*OLD* s.v. 9). The references to both irrigation and desiccation in 4.9, therefore, merit scrutiny each in turn.

Firstly, it is a notable addition to the Vergilian account that Propertius' narrative is explicitly set in the Velabrum (where the Forum Boarium was located), an area of the Tiber flood-plain thought to have been permanently submerged during Rome's prehistory.[176] The Tiber is implicitly an 'epic' river in the *Aeneid*: in the Sibyl's visions, it is blood-red from the wars of the epic's 'Iliadic' hexad (*Aen.* 6.87), at the outset of which it is *multa flauus harena* (*Aen.* 7.31) in the manner of Callimachus' Euphrates (*Hymn* 2.108-9: πολλὰ|λύματα γῆς); at the beginning of *Aeneid* 8, having been portentously in full spate all night (*nocte tumentem*, *Aen.* 8.86), it subsides to facilitate the fulfilment of Aeneas' destiny and of the epic's teleology (*ergo iter inceptum*, *Aen.* 8.90), and perhaps metapoetically to prepare for the 'Callimachean' visit to the future site of Rome. Camps took the passage to allude to the flooding of the Tiber on January 16-17, 27 BC, which was thought to portend the future greatness of Octavian, upon whom the title of "Augustus" and the symbolic Civic Crown and Clipeus Virtutis had lately been conferred (cf. Dio Cassius, 53.20).[177] Propertius backs up the subaquatic prehistory of the Velabrum with a latent etymological gloss of its name from the sailboats that used to traverse it (*Velabra*... *uelificabat*):

> **qua** Velabra s**uo** ***stagnabant** ***flumine** quoque
> nauta per urbanas uelificabat aquas. 4.9.5-6

Imagining the past from the temporal perspective of the present, Propertius here indulges in a curious Venetian palimpsest, but not without correcting the alternative Varronian etymology, also endorsed by Tibullus, from *uehi*.[178] Present here too is the

---

[176] Butler and Barber *ad loc.* comment poignantly on the survival of the local nomenclature in the Chiesa di S. Giorgio in Velabro, and point out that the area is still prone to occasional inundation (cf. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 24-5 on Horace, *Od.* 1.2.13ff.).

[177] Camps (1969) 139; on this passage, see further Gransden (1976) 86-9n. According to the calculations of Eden (1975) 49, the Tiber flooded five times during Vergil's lifetime; superstition seems to have dissuaded the Romans from diverting the Tiber's tributaries to alleviate the inconvenience (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1. 79, cited by Eden (1975) 53), further indicating that the phenomenon was thought to be portentous.

[178] Tibullus 2.5.33-4 (*at* ***qua Velabri** regio patet, ire solebat* | *exiguus* ***pulsa per uada** linter aqua*; v. 36: *uecta*), which endorses Varro *LL* 5.156 (*quod ibi uehebantur lintribus Velabrum*), is echoed without

picture Vergil paints of the Nile in *Georgics* 4 when identifying the Egyptian provenance of the miraculous *bougonia*:

> nam **qua** Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
> accolit effuso **stagnantem flumine** Nilum
> et circum pictis uehitur sua rura phaselis *Geo.* 4.287-9

Propertius rereads these lines through the lens of contemporary Rome, substituting the Nile with the Tiber, superimposing onto Vergil's more rural scene a proleptic glimpse of their contemporary city (*urbanas...aquas*), and apparently replacing Vergil's *uehitur* with *uelificabat* as part of his 'correction' of the Varronian/Tibullan etymology. In the first episode of 4.9, therefore, Propertius' Hercules finds himself in a setting soaked with Vergilian associations. Given the Callimachean implications of swollen rivers, both the Nile and the Tiber admit of metapoetic interpretation here:[179] embarking on his diminutive version of Vergil's epyllion, Propertius appropriately presents the Tiber in spate, while Vergil, working up to the Aristaeus epyllion from which the means of begetting a new beehive is to be learnt, locates the reader in the fertile floodplains of the Nile, rich in Alexandrian aesthetics (*et uiridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena,* |...| *omnis in hac certam regio iacit arte salutem*, *Geo.* 4.291, 294),[180] but appropriate too to the Homeric content of the fourth *Georgic* that assists the transition to the *Aeneid.*

Both rivers, then, are symbolic of the ampler poetics under consideration. However, the poems also feature contrasting images of aridity, which might conversely suggest a drying up of the poets' creative flow; in each case, too, there is an insistent association between thirst and erotic desire. In *Georgics* 3, the symptoms of heat, dryness, and thirst are witnessed first in the figurative disease of *amor* and then in the real-life plague, which is symbolic of (among other forces of nature) *amor*: thus the description of Hercules' parched palate (****sicco torquet sitis*** *ora palato*, 4.9.21) fittingly recalls the Calabrian water-snake whose appearance in the summer drought heralds the advent of

---

correction at Propertius 4.2.6-7 (*et aiunt* | *remorum auditos* ***per uada pulsa*** *sonos*) and with correction here at 4.9.5-6 (***qua Velabra*** etc.): see Maltby (2002) *ad loc.*

[179] For a metapoetic reading of an allusion at 3.3.45-6 (the Rhine) to *Aen.* 8.711-713 (the Nile), see Powell Frost (1991).

[180] For an association between the Nile and Ocean [and thereby with Homer?], see Morgan (1999) 138-9.

the georgic plague (*exsilit in* ****siccum***, *et flammantia lumina* ***torquens*** | *saeuit agris asperque* ***siti***, *Geo.* 3.433-4).[181] Hercules' thirsty search for *fontes*, intertextually linked to Vergil's parched water-snake, might thus be taken to relate not only to the plague of *amor* which the snake foreshadows, but also to the random and inexplicable devastation by which the poet's creativity can be assailed.[182]

Thus, with Cacus defeated by v. 16, Vergilian waters are no longer available,[183] and Hercules seeks a draught of Propertian *lympha* (vv. 35, 44, 59-60), a full river of which is required to satisfy his gargantuan thirst (vv. 63-4). Standing outside the Bona Dea's grove, Hercules requests admittance (*pandite*, v. 34) and a mere cupful of water in the palms of his hands (*et* ***caua succepto flumine palma*** *sat est*, v. 36), here echoing the words of his typological successor, Aeneas, who with striking similarity 'repeats' the

---

[181] It is possibly worth noting that *palatum* (**palato*, 4.9.21) has its only Vergilian occurrence not far away from the same intertext, at *Geo.* 3.388 (in the same *sedes*).

[182] On this reading, therefore, the ominous Calabrian water-snake which threatens at *Geo.* 3.425-34 (and again at *Aen.* 2.471-5) can be associated with the hazards confronted by both poet and farmer; given the symbolic value suggested here for the images of water and heat/dryness, it might be of relevance that Vergil's model is Nicander's *chersydrus* (*Ther.* 359-71: see Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.413-434, esp. 425-34), an amphibious snake (as its name suggests), which is described just after Nicander's famous acrostic; in the *Georgics*, the snake's own demise is accompanied by a failure of the (medical) arts (*quaesitaeque nocent artes*, *Geo.* 3.549), which paves the way for man's own implication in the plague in the final lines of the book. Conversely, the description of the fertile Nile in *Geo.* 4 is accompanied by metapoetic signals of positive implication (cf. esp. 4.294: *omnis in hac certam regio iacit arte salutem*). For parallels between poetic and agricultural *labor* in the *Georgics*, see Gale (2000) 185-195.

[183] There is a textual difficulty in 4.9.22 (*terraque non [n]ullas feta ministrat aquas*, 'and the fertile ground served no [shortage of] water'): the *codicum consensus* (*nullas*: *NFL*) will require the thirsty Hercules to depart notwithstanding the waterlogged terrain (demonstrating an uncharacteristic "fussiness" in ignoring the local abundance of floodwater and trekking half a mile south instead (*procul*, v. 23) to the *fontes piandi* on the Aventine: so Anderson (1992) 102), while the *codices deteriores* (*ullas*: ς) suggest that "the poet has perhaps forgotten about the Velabrum being then under water" (Camps *ad loc.*) unless "in P.'s version the building of the massive altar has diverted the river and created the bend of Tiber bank that includes the Forum Boarium" (as Richardson *ad loc.* ?quips). Janan (2001) 132 defends the latter reading by arguing that Propertius deliberately contradicts his foregoing etymology to create an anomaly of temporal ordering and thereby undermine contemporary attempts to make time an instrument of (progressive) history. In defence of the former, that the *terra* which Hercules quits is in the same line described as *feta* suggests that it was indeed amply irrigated (as Goold translates, "the earth, *though teeming with water*, gives him none", my emphasis). Both readings, *mutatis mutandis*, are compatible with the metapoetic reading offered here (viz. Hercules, worn out, seeks new Propertian/Callimachean *fontes* (*NFL*), or Hercules' Vergilian source has been used up (ς)); the majority reading is perhaps more suitable, given the sustained employment of Vergilian diction in the poem's second episode (i.e. the Vergilian source has not been exhausted, but the poet is exhausted with it).

same action in *Aeneid* 8 (***cauis*** *undam de* ***flumine palmis*** | ***sus****tinet*, *Aen.* 8.69-70)[184] when praying to the Tiber and the river nymphs for admittance (*accipite Aenean*, v. 73) to the fulfilment both of his destiny and implicitly of his epic's teleology. Propertius goes on to take full advantage of the connections between Hercules and Aeneas, perhaps to suggest that Hercules is too 'epic' to escape his Vergilian model and enter the world of elegiac *lympha*. Just as Aeneas mentions the trials he has endured (*Aen.* 8.76), so Hercules details his labours (vv. 37-41) and his wanderings (*erro*, v. 35), seemingly alluding in the vexed v. 42 to Aeneas' own account of his *errores* in *Aeneid* 3:

> ***accipit**: ***haec fesso** uix mihi terra patet* 4.9.42

> huc feror, ***haec fessos** tuto placidissima portu
> ***accipit**; egressi ueneramur Apollinis urbem.* *Aen.* 3.78-9

Vergil's typological affinity between Hercules and Aeneas is extended by Propertius also to their relations with Juno: the elegiac Hercules objects that she would not have debarred him from the water (vv. *quodsi* ***Iunoni sacrum*** *faceretis amarae,* | *non clausisset* ***aquas***...43-4), while Vergil's Aeneas is required to sacrifice a sow to assuage her wrath before he can sail upstream on Tiber's propitious spate (*tibi, maxima* ***Iuno***, | *mactat* ***sacra*** *ferens* [...] | *sterneret aequor* ***aquis***, vv. 84-9). Unlike Aeneas' easy navigation of the epic flood, however, Hercules has to make a forced entry to the elegiac *fontes*, though by the poem's end he too is apparently reconciled with his stepmother (*iam* ***fauet*** ****aspera Iuno***, v. 71, cf. *Aen.* 1.279-81: ****aspera Iuno*** |...***fouebit***). Hercules' retributive veto on female worship at his Ara Maxima exemplifies the dichotomy of epic and elegy, and reflects the corresponding tendency of the *Aeneid* to exclude female interests.

The Vergilian allusions in both episodes of 4.9 maintain the *Aeneid* as the poem's principal intertext, but whereas in the first movement the overt framework is Vergil's Hercules-Cacus epyllion, in the second the frame of reference is that of Propertian elegy, Hercules summoning as he does the deep-drawn *paraclausithyron* of the feminised

---

[184] Noted also by Pillinger (1969) 187 who takes the expression to be reminiscent of the formulae of ritual purification; however, it should be noted that the words are part of the narrative, not Aeneas' prayer, and that this is the only abuttal of *cauus* and *palma* in Vergil; Hercules' ensuing *ego sum* (4.9.38) is also found just once in Vergil, again in Tiber's speech to Aeneas (*Aen.* 8.62).

exclusus amator. In a sense, then, although the language of the second episode is still markedly Vergilian, Hercules' new guise as a Propertian lover has the effect of making Propertius, in reality the target text (i.e. the alluding poet), appear to be the source text (i.e. the poet alluded to), as 'staged' in the narrative: exhausted from epic, Hercules goes source-hunting in an elegiac grove. Moreover, Propertius' insertion of an extra episode into the narrative of *Aeneid* 8 not only expands Vergilian legend, but also makes the *Aeneid* look like an excerpted version of Propertius 4.9. By a remarkable inversion, therefore, Propertius can be constructed not as Vergil's successor, but as his precursor. This deft navigation of Vergilian intertextuality is perhaps implicit in the trans-historical palimpsest in vv. 5-6: following the suggestion above that the *nauta* in Propertius 1.9 is identifiable with Sextus Propertius [Nauta], the pentameter (*nauta per urbanas uelificabat aquas*) could be seen to 'stage' the poet's voyage into Vergilian waters with elegiac *urbanitas* in mind.[185]

****

It is one of the remarkable qualities of the poetry of this period that a theoretical discussion of intertextuality can not only be illustrated by a poem, but itself be thematised within that poem. This reading has of course occluded other intertexts and other interpretations, at least partially. As the following pages will show, this poem is also available to other readings. The predominant epic poetics of the first episode are distorted by audible pastoral signals, including the herdsman's cry of the *Eclogues* (4.9.16-17), which expose Hercules' labour as the glorified pastoral tale it essentially is. Though 2.34b highlighted pastoral as the branch of Vergilian poetry most congenial to elegy, Propertius 4 has apparently reoriented itself towards Vergilian epic. Elegy's negotiations with these poles of Vergilian epos will be the subject of Chapter 2. Chapter 3 will examine what happens to the chief obsession of elegy, the *puella*, when she finds herself transported to a post-Vergilian world: whereas in 2.34b elegy (and pastoral) were in her thrall, Hercules' desecration and exclusion of female interests in 4.9 would suggest a very new state of affairs. The typological strategy of Vergilian history, implicitly recognised in the alignment in 2.34b of Aeneas' *arma* with Actium and in 4.9

[185] On the different aspects of *urbanitas*, see Austin (1960) 6.25n.

of Hercules with Aeneas, will be the subject of Chapter 4. Chapter 5, as adumbrated, will consider the implications (for meaning as well as for the issue of authorial intention) of non-negotiable structural alignments between Propertius 4 and the work of Vergil. The conclusion will address, *inter alia*, Propertius' evaluation of Vergil, the close of the Propertian corpus thus posing the same question as it raised in 2.34b, *in medio*.

CHAPTER 2

Rus in Urbe: Vergilian Pastoral in Propertius 4

Beginning with Pastoral

Hoc quodcumque uides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit 4.1.1-2

SO BEGINS Propertius 4: a grandiloquent invitation to contemplate the panorama of Augustan Rome in the hexameter, attenuated by the pentameter's retrospection to the city's rustic prehistory.[1] The grand opening line is only mildly surprising in elegy, for it has assumed what is the conventional seat of the elegiac genre, the city of Rome; similarly, for example, Ovid sets about converting elegy into the didactic mode by addressing the urban populace in the opening line of the *Ars Amatoria*. More surprising, therefore, is the pentameter, which redirects the focus of Propertian elegy to the far less conventional environment of *collis et herba*, and introduces the entirely unconventional (even if not wholly unprecedented) subject of Vergilian epic. By the end of the second distich, the essentials of *Aeneid* 8, dubbed the "Augustan heart" of the *Aeneid*,[2] have been adduced, and a major intertext for Propertius 4 secured. As in elegy 2.34b (see pp. 5-25 above), only now with the certainty of hindsight, Propertius is interested in the pastoral and epic extremities of Vergilian epos. As anticipated at the centre of the Propertian corpus, Vergil has set a precedent in the epic genre for the expansion now being undertaken by Propertius in what was to be his final contribution to elegy. To what extent this Vergilian precedent of generic ascent mitigated the traditional tension between epic and elegy will be the subject of this chapter.

---

[1] On the alternation of 'grand' hexameters with 'small' pentameters in 4.1.1ff., see DeBrohun (2003) 35 and 93. Cf. Ovid's definition of the elegiac couplet at *Am.* 1.1.27: *sex mihi surgat opus numeris, in quinque residat* (a line which might owe something to Propertius 4.1.67), approximated (in quasi-pastoral terms) by Coleridge: "In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery stream; | In the pentameter aye falling in melody back".

[2] Gransden (1976) 24.

That pastoral might in some way mediate between Vergilian epic and Propertian elegy raises the secondary question, also relevant to 2.34b, of the compatibility of elegy and pastoral. The erotic interests of each suggest an 'intergeneric' affinity that is certainly entertained in Propertius 2.34b, which admits at least the possibility that Vergil's *Eclogues* can be classed with Propertian elegy in the category of love poetry; to this extent, Veyne's formulation of elegy as "pastoral in city clothes" does not seem unfounded.[3] A class of pastoral elegy had already been written in Latin by Tibullus,[4] and very possibly by Gallus,[5] a figure who looms large in this context, despite the paucity of his extant work. According to Ross' ambitious reconstruction, Gallus wrote in the elegiac metre alone, at first encompassing, within a subjective Gallus-Lycoris framework, diverse poetic traditions such as aetiological and mythological narratives in a pastoral setting (glimpsed perhaps at *Ecl.* 6.64-73 where Vergil has Gallus invested on Helicon with Hesiodic/Orphic reeds on which to sing the *Grynei nemoris...origo*), and only later subordinating the mythological content to the Gallus-Lycoris scenario that became the conventional form of subjective love-elegy espoused by Propertius in the *Monobiblos*.[6] On this view, elegy, as Propertius knew it, "afforded a means to integrate various poetic traditions and purposes", and Propertius 4 represents not a generic anomaly but "a return to the spirit and manner of Gallan elegy."[7] This narrative so neatly parallels Vergil's 'return' in the *Aeneid* to a grander, more encompassing form of hexameter poetry that it is tempting to see in Propertius' corresponding elegiac *nostos* to *maxima Roma* (4.1.1) an allusion to the third line of the so-called Qaşr Ibrīm Gallus fragment:[8]

> fata mihi, Caesar, tum erunt mea dulcia quom tu
> **maxima Roma**nae pars eris historiae — Gallus fr. 2.2-3 Courtney

---

[3] Veyne (1988) 101-115; for an appraisal and critique of Veyne, see Kennedy (1993) 91-100.
[4] See Luck (1959) 68-70 on Tibullus' feeling for the country. Luck regards Tibullus' "blend of the pastoral and elegiac romance" as half-way between Propertian erotic elegy and Vergilian bucolic.
[5] On the question of whether Gallus wrote pastoral elegies, see Ross (1975) 82, 85-6, 89 (*pro*) and Whitaker (1988) (*contra*).
[6] Ross (1975).
[7] Ross (1975) 109 and 130. Hunter (2006) 32 n.76 takes the bucolic-pastoral imagery and the allusion to the *Eclogues* in the sacred groves of Propertius' poetic investiture as evidence that "metre is not the most important criterion for the mode of poetry in which Propertius sites himself".
[8] Here quoted from Courtney (1993) 263.

While "[m]indful of our limited access to the corpus of Gallus", Jeffrey Wills has already suggested that Gallus' use of the form *maximus* is recalled at both Propertius 2.34b.86 (quoted above, p. 24) and *Ecl.* 10.72 (*Pierides: uos haec facietis* ***maxima** Gallo*), which recall each other through 'expanded gemination of nominal forms';[9] the fact that this superlative makes its appearance only here in the *Eclogues*, occurs next to the name of Gallus, and occupies the same *sedes* as in Propertius 4.1.1 raises intriguing possibilities for the even closer verbal fit of Propertius' *maxima Roma*. Our ignorance of what precisely the Qaşr Ibrīm papyrus has preserved precludes in-depth speculation here, though, of the theories that have emerged, it can be observed that those which take the Gallan verses to represent either separate epigrams or a catalogue of the beginnings of several longer poems (they are interspersed at intervals of four lines by a combination of interstichial spaces and marginal markings)[10] are lent some support by the possibility of an echo at a corresponding structural point in Propertius. On the basis of scrappy evidence and a hypothesised Gallus one cannot safely speculate, but it may be that an echo in 4.1.1 of a more expansive form of elegy either accomplished or envisaged (as the papyrus' future tense verbs might suggest) by Gallus signals Propertius' re-engagement with the origins of Roman elegy. The marked pastoral interest of the new project would be in keeping with this hypothetical intertext. Precedent for pastoral elegy has also been hypothesised for pre-Roman elegy: Marco Fantuzzi has argued that the impetus behind the pastoral imaginings of Tibullus and a few isolated elegies of Propertius lies in a post-Theocritean tradition of bucolic-erotic poetry of which traces can be discerned in the Anacreonta and the fragments of Bion.[11]

Be this as it may, the sudden interest in the pastoral environment in Propertius 4 is unusual enough within the Propertian corpus as a whole to elicit surprise,[12] and it should be noted that Propertius' previous 'pastoral elegies' represent not a happily

---

[9] Wills (1996) 147-8 goes on to postulate that *Ecl.* 10.72-3 is recalled also at Propertius 4.9.67-8, and that *maxima* may have been a word 'personalised' by Gallus. Cairns (2006) 84 detects allusion in 2.1.16 (***maxima** de nihilo nascitur **historia***) and several other Propertian passages to the Qaşr Ibrīm fragment.

[10] Courtney (1993) 264 and 8-9n. tends to the latter view, taking the four-line sections as (part of) an anthology of selections; taking the unitarian view, Cairns (2006) 404-440 argues that the fragment is part of a *propemptikon*. The marginal symbols are discussed in Heyworth (1995b).

[11] Fantuzzi (2003).

[12] See e.g. Rothwell (1996) 834. Luck (1959) 116 defines Propertius as a poet of the city in contradistinction to Tibullus, poet of the countryside.

attained fusion of pastoral and elegiac love, but an unattained, and perhaps unattainable, dream which can be articulated only with the uncertainty of the future indicative or hopelessness the desiderative subjunctive,[13] a dream which despite itself shows where elegy and pastoral irreconcilably part company. The broad brushstrokes in which Vergilian pastoral is painted in 2.34b serve to obscure the more elegiac details of the *Eclogues* and so reinforce the very distinction between requited pastoral *amor* and unrequited elegiac *amor* that enables a coherent reading of Vergilian pastoral itself.[14] Whatever precedent there may have been for "a satisfied bucolic love in which erotic pathos is regulated and controlled",[15] it is the generic dissimilarity rather than sameness of elegy and pastoral which orients Augustan love poetry. Perhaps similarly, to the extent that the association of *amor* with the pastoral *locus amoenus* can be traced back to Plato's *Phaedrus*,[16] Socrates' critique of *eros* as a force inimical to intellectual betterment lends authoritative precedent to Vergil's Epicurean portrayal of elegiac love as counterproductive to pastoral *otium*. The *locus amoenus* will be one of the central spaces in Book 4 for the negotiation of Vergilian and Propertian poetics.

Even from the above it clearly emerges that Vergil did not 'invent' pastoral poetry; yet his *Eclogues* were so successful (or, in Bloom's terminology, 'strong') that, as A.A. Day saw, "later poets, whenever they turned to pastoral motives, seem to have been haunted by Vergilian reminiscences and to have reproduced, more or less consciously, Vergilian phrases and epithets which were accepted apparently as a common heritage of new poetic adornment."[17] Vergil 'owned' pastoral in this way because he 'codified' it by

---

[13] Future: e.g. 2.19.7: *sola* ***eris*** *et solos* ***spectabis****, Cynthia, montes*, and note how this elegy closes with the poet's mistrust of the pastoral landscape to safeguard his elegiac interests (vv. 27-32); Subjunctive: e.g. 2.30b.25-6: ***libeat*** *tibi, Cynthia, mecum | rorida muscosis antra tenere iugis*. See also 3.13, where the Epicurean-style *amor* of rustics (cf. v. 25: *felix agrestum quondam pacata iuuentus*) is seen as a lost (*quondam*) ideal, as the past tense verbs emphasise (vv. 33-38). 1.18 is the inverse of 2.19 in that here it is the poet who is in the countryside, but the fundamental elegiac condition of unattained love remains the same, in that Cynthia is absent: Hardie (2002) 128 analyses how "[i]n this elegiac version of a pastoral world echo is an empty consolation".

[14] Conte (1986) 100-129.

[15] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 179 (here in reference specifically to Tibullus 1.1 and 1.5.19-36, but the formulation also describes the reconstructed post-Theocritean precedent for this kind of poetry).

[16] See Hunter (1999) 14ff.; Rosenmeyer (1969) 201-2. Isidore 14.8.33 records Varro's etymological connection of the *locus amoenus* with *amor*. See Maltby (1991) s.v. *amoenus*.

[17] Day (1938) 80, following (pp. 80-84) with a still useful demonstration of Vergil's monopolisation of pastoral language in Propertius and especially Tibullus. Less helpful, however, is the view that "it

presenting in the *Eclogues* a selective reading of Theocritean bucolic, just as Theocritus' *Idylls* had offered a selective reading of Homeric epos.[18] In fact, insofar as 'grand narratives' are valid, Vergilian pastoral can be seen as a first stage in a progressive distillation of the genre into a vintage of distinctively pastoral character which, after nigh on two millennia in the still, has been so purified of its original ingredients that these now seem extrinsic to any palate but that of the literary historian. For this reason, Vergil and Propertius' understanding of the genre and its boundaries is more likely to be accessed via an approach such as Halperin's, which seeks the definition of bucolic (as distinct from pastoral) *ab initio*, rather than by one such as Rosenmeyer's, which seeks what in Theocritean pastoral (as *in*distinct from bucolic) is "characteristic of the whole genre" from antiquity to the Renaissance.[19] Without qualification, therefore, even the generic label 'pastoral' is potentially unhelpful in a discussion of ancient poetry.[20] While the concept of pastoral in its anachronistic sense is identifiable in contemporary reductions of Theocritean bucolic to a more conventionally rustic repertory,[21] and in Vergil's imitation of certain *Idylls* more than others,[22] it is important to remember that

---

would not have occurred to the mind of either poet that a pastoral theme or setting lay outside the limits of the elegiac genre" (p. 76).

[18] Thus Hunter (2006) 119 speaks of the " 'second order' nature of Virgilian pastoral"; see *ibid.* 115-140 on the origins of and succession in the pastoral genre. For a brief discussion and list of pastoral passages in Homer, see Hunter (1999) 12: "Greek literature did not suddenly discover the countryside in the Hellenistic period." See also Halperin (1983) 17: "Virgil's subsequent "pastoralization" of bucolic poetry may be seen not as a rupture but rather as a continuation (highly original, to be sure) of a previously established interpretative tendency"; *ibid.* chapters 9 and 11 discuss Theocritus' derivation of bucolic from Homer; p. 83 n.28 provides substantial bibliography on the recognition of pastoral in Greece before Theocritus; *ibid.* chapter 6 discusses Near Eastern analogues.

[19] Rosenmeyer (1969) vii. The full titles of these works encapsulate their divergent interests: Rosenmeyer's *The Green Cabinet. Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* is prospective, whereas Halperin's *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* is retrospective. For example, when Rosenmeyer says he sees "nothing bucolic" in the surviving fragments of Philetas (40), what he means is that he sees nothing identifiably 'pastoral' as understood by the post-Vergilian tradition. With this proviso, Rosenmeyer's discussion remains useful to the Classicist, his Ch. 1 in particular representing a sensible investigation of the origin of the genre.

[20] Halperin (1983) 13-14 (and see Introduction *passim*) shows that the earliest use of 'pastoral' as a technical term cannot be securely dated to earlier than 1544.

[21] e.g. the ps.-Theocritean *Id.* 8 and 9, and the *Lament for Bion* ascribed to Moschus. See Halperin (1983) 15-17.

[22] This general formulation reflects a scholarship which differs as to which particular *Idylls* Vergil concentrated on. The usual view sees *Id.* 1-11, omitting *Id.* 2, as the quantitative and qualitative model for the *Eclogues*, though, as Rudd (1976) 120 notes, Vergil also alludes to other *Idylls* as "part of his technique for extending the genre to incorporate non-pastoral elements from Theocritus into his own eclogues"; see also Hardie (1998) 6-7. Van Sickle (1978) 106-8, 116 argues that *Id.* 1-7 comprise a discrete group which influences the structure of the *Eclogues*.

the Theocritean corpus ranges for the most part well beyond the confines of the 'green cabinet', and that Vergil's *Eclogues* make more than one sally in the same direction. With our generic glasses thus readjusted, Vergilian pastoral becomes a subset of bucolic (a view also encouraged by the fact that what we call the *Eclogues*, Vergil called the *Bucolics*). Further, bucolic, the superset of pastoral, can itself be described as a subset of epos according to the Alexandrian and Augustan Roman tendency not to classify bucolic, didactic and heroic hexameter verse as separate literary genres. It is perhaps natural, therefore, that the humble pastoral should easily ascend the generic scale:[23] in the *Eclogues*, it cedes ground to the generically ambitious 'Messianic' eclogue (*paulo maiora canamus*, *Ecl.* 4.1), and features prominently in both the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*.[24] Accordingly, the pastoral atmosphere with which Propertius 4.1 opens, instead of precluding loftier strains from our expectations, should actually alert us to the prospect of generically 'problematic' elegies such as 4.6 and 4.10.

Accordingly, given the expansion of elegy in Propertius 4, bucolic, as inherited from Vergil, would seem to have provided fertile ground from which to embark. The genre's generative properties are suggested in the statement of poetic intent (4.1.57-70) which follows Propertius' description of Rome's ascent from pastoral beginnings to second Troy (4.1.1-56). DeBrohun has shown how Propertius 4.1 constructs a trinity of the poet's native Umbria, elegy, and Rome, and charts the rise of all three from humble origins to interdependent international fame (cf. 4.1.67: *Roma, faue, tibi surgit opus*).[25] The conflation of Propertius' two *patriae*, Rome and Umbria, recalls the juxtaposition of urban present with rural past which 4.1 introduces in its opening couplet and sustains throughout the elegy. The generic associations of the burgeoning Roman metropolis

---

[23] Halperin's analysis of bucolic as a derivative specifically of Homeric epic could also be used to explain why pastoral, in addition to its upward mobility, is also capable of migrating *across* generic boundaries, for in antiquity Homer was regarded as the font of all literary genres. This would provides a genetic explanation for Toliver's observation of the capacity of post-antique pastoral "to devour elegies, lyrics, plays, fairy tales, masques, odes, and [...] to gnaw ambitiously at romances, epics, and novels" (Toliver (1971) *Pastoral Forms and Attitudes* (Berkeley) vii, quoted by Halperin (1983) 28). However, as argued above, the generic tension between elegy and pastoral is an important dynamic in Roman poetry.

[24] See Rosenberg (1981) 20-43 and 53: pastoral "consistently implies the heroic"; Anderson (1968) 1-17.

[25] DeBrohun (2003) Ch. 2 *passim*. See also Edwards (1996) 6-8 for the same theme in Livy, Horace, Propertius and beyond.

are transferred to rural Umbria in an image of appropriately georgic fertility,[26] all but contravening the principles of Callimachean aesthetics espoused in the ensuing pentameter:

> ut nostris *tumefacta* superbiat Vmbria libris,
> Vmbria Romani patria Callimachi! 4.1.63-4

The region's lofty hill-towns become emblematic of the new heights to which Propertian elegy now aspires (4.1.65-6);[27] Rome, and by implication the Propertian elegy which celebrates it, is treated as a living and growing entity, nursed on the milk of its feral foster mother (4.1.55-7). In this context, even the conventional metapoetic imagery of rivers and foliage might assume pastoral connotations:

> sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore *riui*
> fluxerit, hoc patriae seruiet omne meae.
> Ennius *hirsuta* cingat sua dicta *corona*:
> mi *folia* ex *hedera* porrige, Bacche, tua 4.1.59-62

The apparently self-deprecatory *quodcumque* (4.1.59) which flows from the Umbrian poet's breast echoes the grandiloquence with which the panorama of Augustan Rome in the opening line is described (*hoc quodcumque uides*, 4.1.1), and so bespeaks the poet's intention to engage with the themes of high poetry without abandoning the stylistic tenets of elegy.[28] Thus in vv. 63-4 Umbria can swell with pride in the hexameter and yet remain the *Romani patria Callimachi* in the pentameter.

The final couplet before Horos' reprimand restates these ideas with a more concrete gesture towards Vergilian poetics: just as the generic ambition of Propertian elegy to

---

[26] With v. 63, DeBrohun (2003) 101 n. 31 compares *Geo.* 2.324: *uere* ***tument*** *terrae et genitalia semina poscunt.*

[27] Cf. Fedeli *ad loc.*: "l'immagine properziana esprime efficacemente la caratteristica di molti paesi umbri, disposti a gradinate sulle colline".

[28] This connection also works in reverse: the exiguous *quodcumque* of 4.1.59 correspondingly reduces the *hoc quodcumque vides* of 4.1.1, which as DeBrohun (2003) 36 points out might initially have been (mis)taken as a reference to the slender papyrus roll held by the ancient reader (cf. Catullus 1.1-2). v. 59 also recalls the Callimachean *recusatio* of 2.1.39-42 (*sed neque... | intonet angusto pectore Callimachus*) where it is precisely the project of Vergil's *Aeneid* (*Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen auos*) that is refused.

sing *sacra diesque* (4.1.69: arguably, though not demonstrably, a challenge to the *Aeneid incipit*)[29] is the goal towards which his horses 'sweat' (***has** meus **ad metas sudet** oportet equus*, 4.1.70), Vergil, upon reaching the mid-point of the *Georgics*, allows his steaming horses to rest (*Geo.* 2.541-2) before resuming in Book 3, after a proem in which a future epic project is envisaged, with advice on how to run a stud-farm (*Geo.* 3.49ff.). Propertius' sweating horse recalls in particular the training of Vergil's warhorse (***hic** uel **ad** Elei **metas** et maxima campi | **sudabit** spatia*, *Geo.* 3.202-3), a passage in which the horse's habituation to praise (*blandis...laudibus*, vv. 185-6) and patting/applause (*plausae sonitum*, v. 186) and progression from soft halters (*inque uicem det mollibus ora capistris*, v. 188) to cantering (*gradibusque sonare | compositis, sinuetque alterna uolumina crurum*, vv. 191-2) and then to galloping on the strand (*aequora uix summa uestigia ponat harena*, v. 195) like the wind scattering dry clouds (*arrida differt | nubila*, vv. 197-8) or whistling through the woods (*summaeque sonorem | dant siluae*, vv. 199-200) can perhaps be read metapoetically (as underlined) as an analogy for the development of the poetic career from the 'lower' genres of elegy and pastoral to the heights of epic. Propertius' ambitious programmatic statement here avails itself of a particularly fitting stage of the Vergilian career for allusion, for the *Georgics* can be viewed as a transitional and upwardly mobile work between Vergil's pastoral beginnings and epic destination.[30] In the quasi-pastoral conclusion to 4.1a, then, Propertius appropriates the georgic imagery of Vergil's transitional work to chart the upward progress of his own poetic career.[31]

Just as Vergil rose from bucolic to heroic epos, the generic ambition articulated at 4.1.69 proposes a sublimation of erotic elegy into a form of aetiological elegy inspired by Callimachus but oriented towards a Roman audience. As observed, Gallus' 'Origin

---

[29] A good case is made by DeBrohun (2003) 69 with nn.61-2, who argues that the echo leaves the "imprint of *arma*" on the ostensibly non-militant 4.1. See also Weeber (1978) 503 n.45. Noteworthy also is *Aen.* 12.192 (*sacra deosque dabo*), where the previous line (*inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant*) brings to mind Propertius 2.7.6 (*deuictae gentes nil in amore ualent*).

[30] C. Hardie (1971) argues that "[t]he *Georgics* [...] from their inception were thought of as a means to epic, a preparatory stage, a transitional poem, an exploration of possibilities" (8), and that Vergil metaphorically equates georgic and poetic *labor* (14). See also Theodorakopoulos (1997). For pre-Vergilian theorisations of a tripartite poetic hierarchy and their influence on the *Eclogues*, see Van Sickle (1978) 102-112.

[31] While there is merit in the argument of Van Sickle (1974-1975) 116-23 that Propertius shifts from an interest in Vergilian bucolic in Book 2 through to the *Georgics* in Book 3 and then on to the *Aeneid* in Book 4, it should be remembered that Propertius 4 looks to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* as well as to the *Aeneid* (in doing which it follows the practice of the *Aeneid* itself).

of the Grynean Grove' (if it ever existed)[32] may well have anticipated Propertius in such a move (if it was indeed an elegiac rather than hexameter poem), but on the basis of the available evidence it is more certain that *Aeneid* 8 provided an especially suitable parallel for Propertius' agenda, perhaps because of (rather than despite) its epic provenance: first, although it is epic, it is also an intensively pastoral interlude: the Arcadian setting of *Aeneid* 8 may be seen as a generic migration of Vergilian pastoral into Vergilian epic, which Philip Hardie notes is "the inverse of the introduction of epic themes into the bucolic world in *Eclogue* 4";[33] secondly, *Aeneid* 8 is one of the most intensively aetiological sections of the epic: E.V. George identifies fourteen separate *aitia* in *Aeneid* 8, and points to the similarity of Aeneas' dream-encounter with Tiber (*Aen.* 8.26-67) and ensuing interview with Evander to Callimachus' encounter and interview with the Muses in the *Aetia*.[34] That Callimachus' poetic initiation on Helicon replays Hesiod's experience firmly locates aetiological poetry in a pastoral context. As Hunter has recently described, this (pastoral) scene of poetic investiture is replayed over and again in the Roman poets: it is no coincidence that Vergil depicts Gallus' vocation to sing his *Origo* as an inheritance of the reeds of the *Ascraeus senex* on Helicon; in elegies 2.10, 2.13.1-8, and 3.3 Propertius explicitly situates himself on Helicon, and the grove of Philetas and Callimachus to which he seeks entry in 3.1 is informed by the same symbolism.[35] The pastoral landscape is thus particularly congenial to Propertius' aetiological manifesto, as it was for the aetiology of *Aeneid* 8, Tibullus 2.5, Gallus' hypothesised *Origo*, Callimachus' *Aetia*, and Hediod's *Theogony*.[36] Pastoral thus goes back to origins in several senses: its association with literal origins is dramatised in the aetiological lore picked up along the itinerary of *Aeneid* 8 and is implied in the urban-rural contrast of Propertius 4.1; in a literary sense, pastoral was the point of departure not just for Vergilian epos (and possibly Gallan elegy), but for Greco-Roman literature in general: after all, the first audience of Hesiod's Ascraean precursor, Orpheus, was nature herself. It is thematically and generically appropriate, therefore, that the Callimachus Romanus should look to the pastoral *Aeneid* 8 when commencing his

---

[32] Servius *ad Ecl.* 6.72 does not doubt this, though some modern scholars do: see Hunter (2006) 24.
[33] Hardie (1998) 60-61.
[34] George (1974) esp. 3-5, 16-17; see also Tueller (2000) 364-71 and Hardie (1998) 60. See Hinds (2002) 128 on the aetiological potential of Arcadia.
[35] Hunter (2006) 7-41.
[36] See also Hinds (2002) 128 on the aetiological potential of Ovid's Arcadian landscapes.

'Roman *Aetia*'.[37] In doing so, Propertius recognises and appropriates Vergil's Callimacheanism, as did his 'praise' of Vergil in 2.34b, which was not ignorant of the nascent *Aeneid*'s aetiological potential (cf. also 2.1.42), refers to the *doctrina* of his transitional poem about the *Ascraei ueteris praecepta poetae* (2.34b.77), and deftly manipulates the allusiveness of the *Eclogues*.

Following the poet's lead, this investigation of the so-called 'Roman Elegies' will begin with their concentration on what in Augustan Rome's urban and literary origins may (after some qualification) be designated 'pastoral'. A study of Vergilian intertextuality can also conveniently embark from the same point, for it was with pastoral that Vergil initiated his poetic career, and it was Vergil who formally introduced pastoral to Rome.

Propertius on the Site of Rome (4.1a)

Peter White identifies the juxtaposition of pastoral past with urban present in the topographical framework of Rome as "one of the most well-defined commonplaces in Augustan literature."[38] A recurrent concern of scholarship on this point has been to find the *aition* of the topos itself. White's own view is that the relative chronology of Vergil, Tibullus and Propertius is so tight as to preclude the possibility of any significant flow of influence from Vergil, and he proposes instead, within a "genetic background" of ecphrastic, pastoral, Lucretian and Varronian influence, the catalyst ("at least proximately") of Augustus' aggressive building projects and revival of ancient rites.[39] It is clear from Edwards' study of the impact of Roman topography upon Roman literature that Rome's physical transformation under Augustus into an "irretrievably urban" space is inextricably linked to the contemporary penchant for rural/urban, past/present contrasts;[40] it is also clear that Varro and Livy are significant

---

[37] So Weeber (1978) 503-5.
[38] White (1993) 182-90; quotation from p. 184.
[39] White (1993) 186: "there is little sign that the elegists borrowed anything from Vergil's picture of early Rome."
[40] Edwards (1996) 3, 19 (for the quotation), Ch. 1 (esp. pp. 31-2, 41-3); see also Weeber (1978) 492-3, Rothwell (1996) 829, and Fantham (1997) 122.

figures in this background.[41] Similarly, Galinsky insists that the Augustan Golden Age was not invented in *Eclogue* 4, but that the poem "contains many themes that were worked out in a more precise fashion over the next three decades, including by Vergil himself."[42] However this may be, the substantial verbal correspondences and thematic associations between Propertius 4.1 and *Aeneid* 8 documented by La Penna and discussed by Weeber suggest that this topos, however kindred of the Augustan zeitgeist, also exercised a certain independence in literature.[43]

The question of the priority of the literary manifestations of this topos is equally vexed: Weeber believes the numerous similarities between Propertius and Vergil undermine the view propounded by Wimmel that the "eigenartigen Pendelschwung des Gedankens vom Jetzt zum Einst" originated with Tibullus ("es gebührt vielmehr Vergil").[44] Ovid's later renderings of the topos are studiedly intertextual, but achieve considerable novelty, and perhaps a touch of flippancy,[45] suggesting that the later poet was required to work quite hard to rescue a well-worn theme from fatigue. A preoccupation of those studies which do admit of a degree of intertextuality in Propertius' handling of the topos has been to establish whether *Aeneid* 8 or Tibullus 2.5 has the monopoly on influence.[46] Van Sickle and Ciaffi, who sees 4.1 "dominata dalle influenze congiunte di Virgilio e di Tibullo", advance the idea that Tibullus 2.5 suggested to Propertius a means whereby the *Aeneid* could be translated into elegiac verse.[47] While the more important question is arguably the use to which Propertius puts his model(s), nothing clear can be established without some initial impression of the valency of Tibullus, whatever his priority, in this textual nexus.

---

[41] Edwards (1996) 82-5 finds that Livy uses Rome's primitive landscape "to establish similarity and continuity rather than difference or rupture" (82); see also Fantham (1997) 129-32; on Varro, see also Fantham (1997) 124, 129; Edwards (1996) 4-6; White (1993) 319 n. 77.

[42] Galinsky (1996) 93. Zanker (1988) points more to the emergent political order as the active cohesive agent.

[43] Similarly, Hunter (2006) 16-17 relates the *locus amoenus* of Augustan poetry (discussed further below) to contemporary urban fashions, deep-seated religiosity, and literature.

[44] Weeber (1978) 493, first quoting and then contesting W. Wimmel, "Tibull II 5 und das elegische Rombild", in *Gedenkschrift G. Rhode* (Tübingen, 1961) p. 239. Vergilian priority is undoubtedly more plausible than the reverse, but the question must remain insoluble: see Cairns (1979) 68.

[45] Cf. Fasti 1.499-543; 3.71-2; 5.93-4; 5.639-40; 6.401-14. See Barchiesi (1997) 186-9 (on Ovid's Vertumnus); Edwards (1996) 59-60.

[46] Weeber (1978); Rothwell (1996); Van Sickle (1974-5); Ciaffi (1978).

[47] Van Sickle (1974-1975) 126; Ciaffi (1978) 153 (whence the quotation) -154.

The most significant point to be made here is that Propertius 4.1 alludes with verbal precision to several books of the *Aeneid* (not just the eighth), while Tibullus 2.5 is now generally (though not universally) felt to evidence little or no coherent awareness of any book of the *Aeneid*, even in its description of the pastoral site of Rome;[48] moreover, while several poems in Propertius 4 are manifestly Vergil-conscious, 2.5 is the only Tibullan elegy for which the same claim can be made. This suggests that even if an accurate impression of the *Aeneid* were available to Tibullus, its systematic reception was not his concern in a poem composed to celebrate the election of his patron's son as one of the *quindecimuiri sacris faciundis*.[49] To the extent that Tibullus 2.5 is less 'interested' in the *Aeneid*, therefore, it will be a proportionately less influential mediator of Vergil's epic for Propertius. This is not to say, however, that Propertius does not in some way respond to Tibullus 2.5, a possibility to which we should be alerted by some manifest allusions to the poem elsewhere in Propertius 4.[50] While the Tibullan Sibyl's prophecy to Aeneas of the resurrection of Troy in Rome (vv. 39-64) is thematically far more hit and miss with respect to the *Aeneid* than the equivalent passage in Propertius 4.1 (4.1.39-54), both sequences begin emphatically, and at precisely the same line number in their respective poems (v. 39), with near-identical language and a reference to Aeneas' conveyance of Troy's protecting gods to Rome:

huc melius **profugos** misisti, **Troia**, *Penatis*;
heu quali **uecta est** Dardana *puppis* aue!
iam bene spondebant tunc omina [...] 4.1.39-41

'Impiger Aenea, uolitantis frater Amoris,
Troica qui **profugis** sacra **uehis** *ratibus*
iam tibi Laurentes adsignat Iuppiter agros,
iam uocat errantes hospita terra *Lares*. Tibullus 2.5.39-42

---

[48] For a survey of critical opinion, see Maltby (2002) 431. The comparisons gathered by Buchheit (1965) are for the most part thematic rather textual, and have not won approval: "It seems necessary to conclude that Buchheit has brought forward no evidence to prove that in II,5 Tibullus drew on the *Aeneid* in its published form" (J. M. McGann, 'The date of Tibullus' death', *Latomus* 29 (1970) 778, quoted by Cairns (1979) 68 n. 17).

[49] For a cogent contextualisation of Tibllus 2.5, see La Penna (1950) esp. 227.

[50] Cf. e.g. the consciously competing etymologies in Propertius and Tibullus (above pp. 44-5 with n.178) and with 4.1.2-4 cf. Tib. 2.5.25-6.

However, in contrast to Propertius 4.1, which is anchored in the present and ratifies the implications of the *Aeneid*'s story retrospectively, Tibullus 2.5 is anchored in the past, with its Sibylline prophecy of Rome's destiny delivered prospectively. While Tibullus, therefore, is like Vergil in positioning Aeneas in legendary time, Propertius, by reviewing the story of Aeneas from the certainty of the present, and with greater precision with respect to the version related in the *Aeneid*, is more visibly a *reader* of Vergil.

These differences of temporal and textual orientation have implications for the relationship between the poets' descriptions of early Rome. On the basis of the foregoing analysis, it should be expected that Vergil and Tibullus will be united in presenting Aeneas' perspective, but that Propertius, though remaining outside Vergil's 'fiction', will be more likely to acknowledge the *Aeneid*'s thematic concerns. According to Van Sickle, however, Propertius' Tibullus-dependent description of early Rome sets up a "countervailing literary allusion" to dissimulate and defer his interest in the *Aeneid* until later in the poem.[51] Yet this would seem to deny the fact that in its emphatic juxtapositions of past and present, Propertius 4.1 is far closer to *Aeneid* 8, which features numerous overt and implicit anticipations of Augustan Rome.[52] Propertius' vision of early Rome is interspersed with six contrasting primary tense verbs relating to the urban present,[53] with successive adverbs and demonstratives emphasising the temporal juxtapositions.[54] By contrast, a single emphatic *tunc* (v. 5) plunges Tibullus 2.5 into an unbroken sequence of imperfect tense verbs describing a pre-Roman pastoral idyll, the only secure allusions in which are derived from Vergil's *Eclogues*.[55] Only the previous section's concluding *nec fore credebat Romam* (2.5.21) and the new section's prefatory *Romulus aeternae nondum formauerat urbis | moenia* (2.5.23-4) are suggestive of any contrast with urban Rome, and there is only one present tense juxtaposition, towards the end of the sequence, of the Vergilian variety (*at qua Velabri regio patet*..., 2.5.33), but without detectable Vergilian allusion *per se*. Closer scrutiny will also bear out the fact

---

[51] Van Sickle (1974-1975) 125-6.

[52] Overt: *Aen.* 8.98-100, 330-2, 338-9, 347-8, 361; implicit: see e.g. Fowler (1918) 71-8; Drew (1927); Camps (1969) 98-99, 138-41.

[53] *est* (1), *stant* (3), *sustulit*, perfect not aorist (9), *nitet* (11), *nouantur* (20), *habet* (26).

[54] *hoc* (1), *qua* (1), *ubi* (3), *haec* (5), *qua* (9), *ista* (9), *olim* (9), *nunc* (11), *nunc* (20), *unde* (26), *hinc* (31), *hinc* (32), *nunc* (34). The negatives in vv. 15-18 also invite comparison with the present.

[55] Cf. Maltby (2002) *ad* 2.5.26, 29-32.

that throughout this section, textually as well as ideologically, Propertius is engaged with Vergil's pre- and early Trojan Italy.

Adducing in the opening lines the essentials of Aeneas' tour of proto-Rome in *Aeneid* 8 (guest-friendship: *hospes*, v. 1, cf. *Aen.* 8.188, 364, 436, 532; the rusticity of the site as Aeneas found it: vv. 1-2, cf. e.g. *Aen.* 8. 176, 348; Evander, resident on the Palatine, vv. 2-3, cf. *Aen.* 9.9, and an exile like Aeneas, v. 4, cf. *Aen.* 8.51-4, 118-9),[56] Propertius initiates a series of past-present juxtapositions which reverse and chronologically normalise Vergil's most palpable anachronistic 'voiceovers' in *Aeneid* 8:

> 'Hoc quodcumque uides, hospes, qua maxima Roma est,
> **ante** Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit;
> atque ubi Nauali stant sacra Palatia Phoebo,
> **Euandri** profugae concubuere[57] boues.
> fictilibus creuere deis haec **aurea** templa,
> nec fuit opprobrio *facta sine arte casa*;
> **Tarpeius**que pater nuda de rupe tonabat,
> et Tiberis nostris aduena bubus erat.
> qua gradibus domus ista Remi se sustulit, **olim**
> unus erat fratrum maxima regna focus.
> Curia, praetexto **quae nunc** nitet alta **senatu**,
> pellitos habuit, rustica corda, Patres. 4.1.5-12

Propertius is apparently describing Italy prior to the Trojan race (*ante Phrygem Aenean*, v. 2), the arrival of which is emphatically withheld until v. 39 (*huc melius profugos misisti, Troia, Penatis*) after an extended description of man's early estate. As the Trojans sail into Pallanteum for the first time, Vergil interrupts the narrative to contrast the scattered huts they see with the splendid city destined to replace them:

> sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem
> cum muros arcemque procul ac *rara domorum*

---

[56] Weeber (1978) gives identical references: "Properz macht gleich zu Beginn der Elegie die Situation deutlich" (490).

[57] Butler's OCT reads *procubuere*: see below p. 90 n. 129 and p. 227 n.138.

tecta **uident, quae nunc Roma**na potentia caelo
aequauit, *tum* res inopes **Euandrus** habebat. *Aen.* 8.97-100

Propertius similarly imagines the artless cabins (4.1.6), and his remark that there was no shame in their simplicity recalls Evander's request to Aeneas not to scorn the frugality of his home (*Aen.* 8. 364-5).[58] Punning on the physical and temporal location of the local festival (*ante urbem*, v. 104, cf. 4.1.2), Vergil proceeds to describe the early, though recognisable, civic institutions of the Arcadian settlers as they commemorate Hercules' defeat of Cacus and founding of the Ara Maxima:

Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem
Amphitryoniadae magno diuisque ferebat
ante *urbem* in luco. Pallas huic filius una,
una omnes iuuenum primi *pauper*que **senatus** 105
tura dabant, tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras. *Aen.* 8.102-106

Propertius also includes an early senate in 4.1 (v. 11), and his description of both senators (v.12) and farmers (v. 25) as *pelliti* is seen by Weeber to recall the ceremonial garb of the celebrants in *Aeneid* 8 (v. 282) and the lion-skin offered to Aeneas by Evander, evidencing thereby "einen starken sprachlichen Einfluß des 8. *Aeneis*buches auf unsere Elegie."[59] When Aeneas visits the overgrown site later to be endowed with the magnificent temple of Capitoline Jupiter, Vergil emphasises the urban future so inconceivable to the proto-Roman imagination:

hinc ad **Tarpeiam** sedem et Capitolia ducit
aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis. *Aen.* 8.347-8

Propertius' *aurea templa* (4.1.5) recalls Vergil's more overt reference to the famous golden roof of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, while his oblique reference to the adjacent temple of Jupiter Tonans (*Tarpeiusque pater...tonabat*, 4.1.7) would appear to gloss Evander's ensuing speculation as to the identity of the local storm-gathering deity

[58] Ciaffi (1978) 151 compares *Aen.* 8.455 (*ex humili tecto*) and 543 (*paruosque penates*) as "luoghi paralleli di corrispondenza abbastanza stretta". Cf. also *Ecl.* 2.28-9.
[59] Weeber (1978) 492.

whose numinous presence the locals sense (*Aen.* 8.351-4).[60] Both texts challenge the reader with the anachronistic use of *Tarpeius*, eliciting recognition of the fact that the relevant aetion of Tarpeia's eponymous rock postdates the events of the *Aeneid* by several generations. This anomaly is corrected in Propertius 4.4 with the story of Tarpeia herself. Thus, if *Tarpeius* at 4.1.7 has its eye on *Aen.* 8.347 (note also that a reference to Romulus occurs at 4.1.9 and *Aen.* 8.342, and that the adjective *Tarpeius* occurs just once elsewhere in the *Aeneid*), it may be observed that Propertius has redistributed Vergil's extra-narrative juxtaposition, *nunc olim*, throughout 4.1 in his amplification of the same technique.[61]

Rothwell's comparison of the three texts finds Tibullus' the most straightforwardly pastoral, and Propertius' the least, focussing as it does on *labor*, ritual and germinal civic institutions, all anathema to a life of pastoral *otium*. Propertius has derived these elements from the *Aeneid*, but has abandoned the epic's temporal perspective, whereas Tibullus has more closely adhered to *Aeneid*-time and so left implicit Vergil's proleptic glimpses of the Augustan age: "In its vegetation, population, settlement, livelihood, and religion Tibullus' landscape is a pastoral, timeless retreat with little connection to Rome's past or future."[62] At the same time, however, it cannot be denied that urban Rome is present in Tibullus 2.5 'under erasure'. Propertius, therefore, has followed Tibullus' structural combination of a description of prehistoric Rome followed by a prophecy of Roman history beginning at v. 39, but has reviewed and '(re)Vergilized'[63]

---

[60] Gransden (1976) *ad loc.* cites P. Grimal, *REA* 50 (1948) 348-51, who suspects an allusion in the Vergilian passage to the temple of Jupiter Tonans; the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was restored by Augustus, and that of Jupiter Tonans built by him in 22 BC (cf. *RG* 19-20). See DeBrohun (2003) 42-3 on Propertius' concentration in 4.1 on structures and festivals associated with Augustus. See also Eden (1975) 113.

[61] Visiting the same site, Gibbon wrote "This Tarpeian rock was then a savage and solitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple: the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accomplished her revolution and the sacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles" (quoted by Edwards (1996) 74). Here too Vergil may be seen to have engendered a European literary tradition whereby the Grand Tour of later aristocrats became a 'nostalgia trip' not unlike those in *Aeneid* 8 and Propertius 4, only with a further stratum of historical irony.

[62] Rothwell (1996) 834. See also DeBrohun (2003) 41, who not dissimilarly observes that Propertius' "Now versus Then" palimpsest of Rome is more "systematic" than those of Vergil and Tibullus.

[63] The formulation '(re)Virgilized' is offered in order not to deny that a general similarity, incidental or otherwise, to *Aeneid* 8 might be perceived in Tibullus 2.5 by a reader (e.g. Propertius) interested to find it.

the two components, abandoning the straightforward simplicity of pre-Rome as described by Rome's pastoral elegist.

The lack of consensus in scholarship as to Propertius' relative similarity or dissimilarity to *Aeneid* 8 and Tibullus 2.5 is not surprisingly accompanied by a lack of consensus in the interpretation of Propertius' past-present juxtapositions. Elaine Fantham suggests that Propertius 4.1 "invites us to deduce his response to the *new* city from his imaginative devotion to the *old*", and concludes that "the lost – and irretrievable – natural innocence of the pre-urban community emerges as the world privileged by both the former dissident and the ostensibly reconciled composer of patriotic elegy."[64] Similarly, while admitting a degree of continuity in the present with the "dual tradition" of native Italian stock and Trojan settlers, Jeri DeBrohun finds that the poem's emphatic juxtapositions ultimately do no more than delay the arrival of a martial influence which, through the catalyst of *maxima Roma*, also threatens Propertius' interdependent poetic and personal origins.[65] Readings of difference and discontinuity, however, have not always been taken to evidence an ambivalent attitude: for John Van Sickle, the opening of 4.1 recalls Vergil's use of the Palatine "as a topographical mediator between the poles of ideological myth (Aeneas~Augustus)", but in Propertius the triumphant theme of Julio-Claudian continuity with the past is more dramatically postponed by the "Tibullan façade" of past-present disjunction in vv. 1-36.[66] White argues that the topos of past-present juxtaposition "dangled the flattering suggestion that Rome in the age of Augustus had somehow managed to unite old-fashioned values with unprecedented dominion."[67]

No less contentious has been the interpretation of Vergil's presentation of the arrival of the Trojans on the site of Rome: some have seen Italy's Arcadian innocence contaminated by the Trojan arrival, while others have argued that Italian innocence was already compromised; reconciling these opposing interpretations, O'Hara argues that Vergil's presentation of pre-Roman Italy is intentionally (or 'functionally', if

---

[64] Fantham (1997) 135.
[65] DeBrohun (2003) 33-117.
[66] Van Sickle (1974-1975) 125 and 130 respectively.
[67] White (1993) 189.

intentionalist discourse is to be avoided) indeterminate "in a way that is not surprising, given the strong likelihood that Romans of Vergil's day may have been deeply ambivalent about the many changes of their own recent past".[68]

The lack of scholarly consensus on 4.1 need not necessarily suggest that some readings are flawed, therefore, but rather that the text is capable of sustaining multiple interpretations depending on the lens through which it is read. Numerous and competing interpretations are indicative of inherent polysemy. Don Fowler has used Propertius' 'guidebook' style elegies (4.1 and 4.2) to illustrate the instability of the meaning of monuments (be they textual or physical *monumenta*): "Reading the stones is always multiple, but it cannot be so controlled: and it will do no good to argue that those who read the monuments differently must have been misreading them. What people are seen as using the monuments for is what matters, not some mystic notion of inherent meaning."[69] That divergent ideologies can be imputed to the same topographical features is consistent also with the approach of Edwards, who shows that Propertius' renaming of the *casa Romuli* as the *domus Remi* (4.1.9) disconcertingly denies the monument its intended link with pristine Roman virtue.[70]

What remains to be seen, then, is whether Vergilian intertextuality in 4.1 endorses any particular reading of the Trojan arrival on the site of Rome and its consequences for later history. Charles Martindale has shown that Lucan's reception of the Vergilian *periegesis* of *Aeneid* 8 recognises that the fissures opened up by the transhistorical contrasts are simultaneously bridged by continuities inherent in the same details, thus offering the potential for a Vergilian endorsement of Augustan ideology no different to that advocated by White.[71] A degree of circularity here cannot be avoided, as evidenced by the divergence of opinion in the few existing assessments of Propertius 4.1 which do take its Vergilian counterpart into consideration: while Weeber concentrates on elements in both which show continuity with the Augustan present ("Anfang und

---

[68] O'Hara (1994) 226, with a survey of the debate at pp. 206-7. See also Thomas (1982) 93-107. A text's inconsistency can fulfil functions other than the one quoted above: see *ibid.* n.53 for further possibilities, and, for a full discussion of inconsistency in Latin epic, O'Hara (2006).
[69] Fowler (2000) 206-208 (for discussion of Propertius 4.1 and 4.2) and 209-210 (for the quotation).
[70] Edwards (1996) 41-2.
[71] Martindale (1993) 50-51.

Endpunkt der langen Kette sind bei beiden Dichtern identisch: Evander und Augustus"),[72] Rothwell argues that Propertius diminishes the already dubious pastoral qualities of Vergil's proto-Rome in order to tarnish the Golden Age of the Augustan renewal. However, isolating Propertius' selections from Vergil offers the possibility of a securer approach to a 'Propertian' reading than a reliance on such extrinsic assumptions as, for example, the "moral disparity" between an animal hide and senatorial toga, or the supposed "violence" of animal sacrifice, or a perceived emotiveness in Propertius' vocabulary.[73]

Propertius' inclusion in proto-Rome of an embryonic senate and religious ritual was shown above to correspond to Pallanteum's civic structures in *Aeneid* 8. Similarly primitive institutions are also operational in Latium when the Trojans arrive in *Aeneid* 7 and meet their future partners in empire for the first time: there, in a place bristling with woods and religion (*Aen.* 7.172, cf. 4.1.18), were the first kings (vv. 173-4), for whom a temple, adorned with cedar effigies (vv. 177-181, cf. 4.1.5), doubled as a curia

> [...] hoc illis **curia** templum,
> hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso
> perpetuis soliti **patres** considere mensis. *Aen.* 7.174-6

A similarly rustic curia is found in Propertius 4.1:

> **Curia**, praetexto quae nunc nitet alta senatu,
> pellitos habuit, rustica corda, **Patres**.
> bucina cogebat priscos ad uerba Quiritis: 4.1.11-13

So lavishly bedecked with war-spoils is the Latin curia-temple (*Aen.* 7.183-6) that it is no surprise to learn in *Aeneid* 8 that Pallanteum wages *bellum adsidue* (*Aen.* 8.55) with its Latin neighbours. Conflict is not entirely absent from Propertius' picture of the rustic

---

[72] Weeber (1978) 498.

[73] For "moral disparity" and "violence", see Rothwell (1996) 837-8; for emotive vocabulary, see Fantham (1997) 134-5. This is not to suggest that personal (or conditioned) responses will necessarily lead to misinterpretation, but an analysis of allusion appeals to the guidance of a reading (i.e. of Vergil) within a reading (i.e. of Propertius): see above, pp. 38-9.

past either, but the subject is broached as unobtrusively as possible with a shift in thought from the riotous Lupercalia to the unsophisticated warfare of early times:

> uerbera pellitus saetosa mouebat arator,
> unde licens Fabius sacra Lupercus habet.
> *nec rudis infestis miles radiabat in armis*:
> miscebant **usta** proelia nuda **sude**.
> prima galeritus posuit praetoria Lycmon
> magnaque pars Tatio rerum erat inter ouis. 4.1.25-30

It would appear, therefore, that in both Vergil and Propertius pre-Trojan Italy was clearly not immune to conflict. Yet in the *Aeneid* a significant transformation occurs when Ascanius sparks the Trojan-Latin war by shooting Silvia's stag: the rustic Latins, whipped into a frenzy by Allecto's *pastorale...signum* (*Aen.* 7. 513), make a sudden innovation in military technology:

> tum uero **ad** *uocem* celeres, qua **bucina** signum
> dira dedit, raptis concurrunt undique telis 520
> indomiti agricolae, nec non et Troia pubes
> Ascanio auxilium castris effundit apertis.
> derexere acies. *non iam* certamine agresti
> stipitibus duris agitur **sudibus**ue prae**ustis**,
> *sed ferro ancipiti decernunt atraque late* 525
> *horrescit strictis seges ensibus* [...] *Aen.* 7.519-26

Improvised weaponry (*Aen.* 7.506-10) and 'fire-hardened stakes' are abandoned for 'double-headed iron', for this is no rustic squabble; in a perversion of agricultural imagery (*non...agresti*), the harvest now bristles with drawn swords. In Propertius 4.1, however, this Vergilian development is reversed: the primitive soldier did not shine in *arma*, but instead went into battle with a fired stake. The Vergilian innovation has not yet taken place. Also recalled in Propertius is the *bucina* on which Allecto sounds, appropriately enough, a *pastorale signum* (*Aen.* 7.513), except she perversely employs it to summon the farmers to arms; in Propertius, it more properly summons the early senators into the meadow to engage in civically constructive *uerba* (***bucina*** *cogebat priscos* ***ad*** *uerba Quiritis*, 4.1.13, cf. *Aen.* 7.519). Interestingly, Isidore misquotes this line of

Propertius, tellingly substituting *arma* for *uerba*, to endorse the definition according to which *bucina est qua signum datur in hostem* (*Orig.* 18.4.1);[74] the only other Vergilian use of *bucina* (*Aen.* 11.475) would support this martial connotation, which is duly recorded in the *OLD* (s.v. (b)) together with the most likely etymology of *bucina*, from *bos+cano*, which indicates that the word was not martial in origin (cf. Propertius 4.10.29-30: *pastoris bucina lenti | cantat*): correcting the Vergilian passage, therefore, Propertius pointedly restores a bucolic symbol to the pastoral domain.[75] The *prisci Quirites* Propertius calls to parley are also found in *Aeneid* 7, where they are listed in the catalogue of Latins summoned to war (*Aen.* 7.710). Once again, Propertius 4.1 suggests the *decolor aetas* has yet to set in, and reads *Aeneid* 7 in a way that points to the fact that it was *after* the Trojan arrival that pastoral Italy was corrupted.

That Propertius reads in the *Aeneid* an insinuation that the arrival of Aeneas triggered or exacerbated a decline (or, generically speaking, incline) from pastoral to epic might also be seen in an echo of the description of Aeneas' armour in what the primitive soldier precisely did *not* wear:

nec rudis infestis miles **radiabat** in **armis**	4.1.27
arma sub aduersa posuit **radiantia** quercu	*Aen.* 8.616

Propertius' allusion to Aeneas' divinely fabricated armour is strengthened by the more obvious reference to Venus' provision of *arma* a few lines later (4.1.46). On this reading, Aeneas' arrival in Italy is linked with the technological innovation that occasions the loss of the Golden Age: pointedly, the weapons of this later era are described with the pejorative *infestus*. Although these allusions contradict Rothwell's view that Propertius presents a "darker view of the site of Rome" than Vergil, they endorse his suggestion that "Propertius has magnified the unhappy consequences of Aeneas' visit in ways that

---

[74] Maltby (1991) s.v., and noted by Fedeli *ad loc.* Isidore derives *bucina* from *uox* (*dicta a uoce, quasi uocina*), an etymology glossed by Vergil's *ad uocem* (*Aen.* 7.519).

[75] It was the military connotation which won out, however: Respighi's *Pini di Roma* scores no less than six 'buccine', in addition the full brass in the orchestra, for the last movement, *I Pini della Via Appia*, which depicts the march of a Roman legion along the Appian Way. Van Sickle (1974-1975) 128-9 n.52 notes that the use of the pastoral *bucina* to summon the curia predates the later distinction between the *comitia centuriata* (called by trumpet) and *comitia curiata* (called by lictors): see Varro *LL* 6.92.

Virgil only hinted at in *Aeneid* 8, for pastoral Rome was lost as soon as the Trojans arrived".[76]

A further allusion, which seems to straddle those already observed, maintains the same idea. Propertius notes that Lycmon, the occupant of the first *praetorium*, wore a skin cap (*galerus*), and his Sabine ally Tatius, "a primitive and pastoral figure",[77] is more shepherd than soldier:

> uerbera **pell**itus saetosa mouebat arator,
> unde licens Fabius sacra **Lup**ercus habet.
> nec rudis infestis miles radiabat in armis:
> miscebant usta proelia **nuda** sude.
> prima **galer**itus posuit praetoria Lycmon
> magnaque pars Tatio rerum erat inter ouis. 4.1.25-30

Only once in the *Aeneid*, again in Book 7, do we read of warriors wearing the *galerus*:[78] it is the headgear of the rustic legion (*legio...agrestis*, v. 681) which accompanies Caeculus, 'a king among his flocks' (*pecora* ***inter*** *agrestia regem*, *Aen.* 7.679) not unlike Propertius' Tatius is celebrated ***inter*** *ouis* (4.1.30):

> [...] non illis omnibus arma
> nec clipei currusue sonant; pars maxima glandes
> liuentis plumbi spargit, pars spicula gestat
> bina manu, fuluosque **lupi** de **pell**e **galer**os
> tegmen habent capiti; uestigia **nuda** sinistri
> instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero. *Aen.* 7.685-90

Here Vergil reminds us of the agrarian provenance of the Latin warriors in his catalogue (cf. vv. 632-3, 635-6, 651, 712ff., 742, 748, 817). Like the 'naked battles' (***nuda*** *proelia*) of Propertius' *rudis miles*, these Latins are not all equipped with *arma*, but

---

[76] Rothwell (1996) 829 and 839.
[77] Camps *ad loc.*
[78] For the *galerus*, see Camps *ad loc.*, who compares a Latin warrior at *Aen.* 7.668 (a misprint, nonetheless felicitous, for *Aen.* 7.688?).

march 'barefoot' (*uestigia* ***nuda***),[79] sporting skin caps instead of metal helmets. While in an earlier era of Propertian elegy *nuda proelia* might have signified the erotic tussles of *militia amoris* (cf. e.g. 2.1.13 and (possibly) 4.7.20), its literal meaning here indicates the generic shift since then effected; on the other hand, that the wolf-skin headgear of Vergil's Latins is recycled in the Propertian passage by the original Luperci, decked out in lupine garb for a more innocuous fertility rite, might be taken to indicate a more peaceable attitude on the elegist's part, and perhaps a sympathy for the aboriginal defenders of pre-Trojan Italy, who in Vergil are forced to abandon peacetime occupations for the business of war.

The once peaceful (*immobilis ante*, *Aen.* 7.623), now mobilising Latin countryside in *Aeneid* 7 thus seems to be one remove away from the more pastoral view of the Romans' Latin stock found in Propertius 4.1 where, as in Vergil's pre-Trojan Latium, embryonic political institutions are up and running, but where, though there are *nuda proelia*, necessity has yet to invent *arma* designed to kill. The implication, seen above in the absence of armour like that of Aeneas, is that the catalyst of these changes was the infusion of the Trojan element into the Latin stock. Though hailed with Julio-Claudian triumphalism (*huc melius profugos misisti, Troia, Penatis*, 4.1.39), this abrupt development is perhaps belied by the foregoing amplification of the loss of pastoral innocence in *Aeneid* 7. A similarly abrupt transition occurs at the corresponding juncture in Tibullus 2.5 (i.e. v. 39), on which it has been similarly commented that "[t]he effect may be to suggest the disturbance of the pastoral idyll caused by Aeneas' arrival".[80]

When read from the perspective of the present, Propertius' description of bucolic proto-Rome could encourage a supercilious view of pristine simplicity, but it also encourages a reading of the *Aeneid* that sees this simplicity as contaminated by Aeneas' colonisation. This insinuation is encouraged by the construction in 4.1 of a native Italy

---

[79] Vergil's 'naked prints of the left foot' is no less curious a locution than Propertius' *proelia nuda*, which has attracted the attention of commentators (cf. e.g. Camps *ad loc.*); the Vergilian passage to which Propertius here alludes indicates that the primary meaning is literal (so Butler and Barber *ad loc.*: "they wore no defensive armour") rather than figurative. However, the suggestion by DeBrohun (2003) 59-60 that *proelia nuda* might recall the erotic tiffs of the elegiac *amator* remains attractive, and might perhaps be taken as a felicitous accident of Propertius' condensed reworking of the Vergilian phrase.

[80] Maltby (2002) *ad loc.*; see also O'Hara (1994) 223 n.48.

that is more pristine than its counterpart in *Aeneid* 7 and 8. When Vergil's Latins prepare for war, they do lose their agropastoral simplicity (*huc omnis aratri | cessit amor*, *Aen.* 7. 635-6) like the combatants of the civil war at the end of *Georgics* 1 (*non ullus aratro | dignus honos*, *Geo.* 1.505-6) who refashion pruning-hooks into swords (v. 507); but the situation is less straightforward in the *Aeneid*, since the Latins retemper *patrios enses* in their furnaces: these martial heirlooms suggest that war is not a new phenomenon in Latium; similarly, Numanus Remulus darkly inverts the 'agricultural tools become weapons' motif in *Georgics* 1 with his boast that indigenous herdsmen drive their cattle with spear-butts (*uersa...hasta*, *Aen.* 9.609-10). Thus the situation in Propertius 4.1 is closer to the Saturnian age described at the end of *Geo.* 2: the clarion had not yet been heard, nor the ringing of sword-blades on anvils (*Geo.* 2.538-9, with anaphora of *necdum*); such was the life *Remus et frater* lived (v. 533, cf. 4.1.9-10); hence has arisen *pulcherrima Roma* (v. 534, cf. 4.1.1). What the Trojan arrival provokes in the *Aeneid*, therefore, is a *re*opening of the already existing Gates of War, an Augustan institution (as the Vergilian voiceover observes) which is to be traced not to the immigrant Trojans but to the Latin natives, among whom the martial impulse was already latent (as the lurking acrostic hints):[81]

> **M**os erat Hesperio in Latio, quem protinus urbes
> **A**lbanae coluere sacrum, nunc **maxima** rerum
> **Roma** colit, cum prima mouent in proelia Martem,
> **s**iue Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum
> Hyrcanisue Arabisue parant, seu tendere ad Indos
> Auroramque sequi Parthosque reposcere signa:
> sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)
> religione sacrae et saeui formidine Martis; *Aen.* 7.601-8

In Propertius 4.1.1-2, however, the visitor to ***maxima Roma*** is told that no martial institutions existed amid the *collis et herba* prior to the arrival of Phrygian Aeneas. It seems appropriate, given the grander ambition of Propertius 4 and the concentration on *Aeneid* 7 and 8 in its first poem, that the book should open with an allusion to the opening of the Gates of War in *Aeneid* 7, which Augustus ceremonially closed after his

[81] On the acrostic see Fowler (1983); on the gates as an opening device, see Fowler (2000) 173-192.

victory at Actium, the battle alluded to in the following line (*Navali...Phoebo*, 4.1.3). As Hardie remarks on the use of the Gates of War in the *Aeneid*, "literary openings and closings here enter the world of history".[82] There is perhaps a risk here of overloading the opening of Propertius 4 with allusive possibilities, given the Gallan resonance with which the phrase *maxima Roma* has already been charged in this discussion. Not all readers, however, will deem it necessary to choose between intertexts; those who do will need first to dismiss the possibility of Gallan interference in the Vergilian passage: both the Gallus fragment and *Aen.* 7.601ff. concern temples of war and allude to the involvement of a Caesar in Roman history; a Parthian expedition mentioned by Vergil (v. 606) is though to be the subject of the Gallus fragment, and the Propertian elegy (3.4) by which this hypothesis is all but confirmed exhibits lexical similarities not only to Gallus but also to the opening of the Gates of War in Vergil[83] (as well as to the opening of *Aeneid* 1: *Arma deus Caesar*, 3.4.1),[84] indicating that Gallus was a model for both *Aeneid* 7.601ff. and Propertius 3.4; the likelihood that the relevant lines of the Gallus fragment represent the opening of a poem (see above) make it a conspicuous target for allusion in Vergil's symbolic opening of the Latin war and Propertius' opening of a new, somewhat more martial poetry collection. None of the arguments presented above are contingent on the 'existence' of such a Vergilio-Gallan 'window allusion' in the opening of Propertius 4, but it is well to remember, even when the selected channel is Vergilian, that other intertextual frequencies are available.

The pejorative implications in the Trojan introduction of *arma* to native Italy could incriminate the simultaneous arrival of their Penates (4.1.39) as an importation of eastern religion; just as Numanus Remulus berates the newly arrived Trojans as *Phrygiae* for their ecstatic worship of the Magna Mater (*Aen.* 9.617-620), Propertius notes that *ante Phrygem Aenean* the Italian aboriginals did not seek *externos...diuos* (4.1.17), but contented themselves with the frugal rituals of rustic worship:

---

[82] Hardie (1998) 73.

[83] See now Cairns (2006) 86 and 406-412 on the several similarities in Propertius 3.4 (which refers explicitly to Augustus' projected Parthian expedition) to the Gallus fragment; for a brief overview of the parallels, see Courtney (1993) 265. Hence, if Propertius 3.4 and *Aen.* 7.601ff. both allude to Gallus, they should be similar to one another as well: thus *meditatur* ****ad Indos*** (3.4.1) ~ *parant...*ad Indos* (*Aen.* 7.605); ***Ausoniis*** (3.4.5) ~ ***Ausonia*** (*Aen.* 7.623); ***Latio*** (3.4.6) ~ ***Latio*** (*Aen.* 7.601); ***Partha*** (3.4.6) ~ ***Parthos*** (*Aen.* 7.606); ***Mars*** (3.4.11) ~ ***Martis*** (*Aen.* 7.608).

[84] See Cairns (2003).

nulli cura fuit externos quaerere diuos,
cum tremeret patrio pendula turba sacro,
annuaque accenso **celebrata** Parilia faeno,
qualia nunc curto lustra nouantur equo.
Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat **asellis**,
ducebant macrae **uilia** sacra boues.
parua saginati **lustra**bant compita porci,
pastor et ad calamos **exta** litabat **ouis**. 4.1.17-24

Ciaffi finds in these lines "un senso dell'antico e sacrosanto terrore" comparable to that expressed by Evander at *Aen.* 8.349-50.[85] The description of the rustic Parilia echoes the ritual to which Evander invites the Trojans (*interea sacra haec…* | ***annua quae*** *differre nefas,* ***celebrate*** *faventes* | *nobiscum*, *Aen.* 8.172-4),[86] and the Compitalia described here by Propertius (vv. 23-4) perhaps recalls the Homeric-style banquet at which Aeneas is the guest of honour (*perpetui tergo* ***bovis*** *et* ***lustra****libus* ***extis***, *Aen.* 8.183), except that Aeneas' bovine repast now becomes the ultra-pastoral ovine offering of a musical shepherd. A passage in *Georgics* 1 also gives a clue to the preferability of restrained religious practice: even holy days do not oblige the farmer to suspend his *labor* (*Geo.* 268-72), and often he travels to town to barter his wares:

saepe oleo tardi costas agitator **aselli**
uilibus aut onerat pomis, lapidemque reuertens
incusum aut atrae massam picis urbe reportat. *Geo.* 1.273-5

Propertius' primitive Vestalia (4.1.21-2) appropriates the same language, incorporating georgic common sense into the vision of early Rome. The essential idea is that olden religion was in some way superior, with the additional insinuation, perhaps, that it was the Trojans who instigated the influx of foreign gods that led to the progressive deterioration of Latin moral fibre. Associable with the orientalisation of no-nonsense religion is a general emasculation of the Roman, implicit here in the immediately

---

[85] Ciaffi (1978) 151; Weeber (1978) 496 posits a reminiscence of *Aen.* 8.350 (*iam tum silvam saxumque* ***tremebant***) in 4.1.18 (*cum* ***tremeret*** *patrio pendula turba sacro*).
[86] Cited by Weeber (1978) 496. The "Wörtliche und inhaltliche Übereinstimmungen" here observed by Weeber denies priority to Tibullus' reference to the Parilia (2.5.87), cited by Ciaffi (1978) 151.

preceding couplet's reference to the absence in proto-Rome of the saffron-reeking, billowing theatre (4.1.15-6). Richard Thomas demonstrates that, from the Latin point of view as championed in the *Aeneid* by Numanus Remulus (*Aen.* 9.598-620), a significant aspect of the moral decline that attends the arrival of the Trojan element (and perhaps implicit in Propertius' application of the epithet *Phryx* to Aeneas, 4.1.2) concerns "the effeminacy, *luxuria* and lack of moral hardiness which is imputed as a part of the Trojan character".[87]

The inner voice of Propertius 4.1 seems to advocate a reading of the *Aeneid* whereby the simpler values and institutions of primitive Italy are replaced, perhaps even contaminated, by a later infusion of Trojan bellicosity (with a dash, perhaps, of Phrygian softness). Stripped of attendant implications, this can also be read poetically as the invasion of pastoral by epic, or as the conversion of the pastoral and the georgic into the higher register of epic. The development of Propertius 4.1.1-70 thus charts the ascent in both the Vergilian and Propertian oeuvres from lower to higher genres, a notion which in itself can be construed in 4.1.2, if *ante Phrygem Aenean collis et herba fuit* is read 'before the *Aeneid* were the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*'.[88]

Propertius and his Critic (4.1b)

In generic terms, the Arcadian interlude in *Aeneid* 8 represents an upward migration of pastoral into epic. Theodorakopoulos sees the *Eclogues* as representative of "the 'private voice' of the *Aeneid*, which in the midst of empire and ideology may take us back to an Italian landscape which is not yet part of the public world of epic"; developing Quint's analysis of the *Aeneid*'s anti-teleological drive, she sees Vergil's recreation of bucolic in the closing stages of the *Aeneid* as a circular rather than linear "paradigm of closure" for Vergil's tripartite oeuvre as a whole.[89] In the *Aeneid*, therefore, pastoral resists epic closure, for it hails from the beginning of the poetic career and the opposite end of the

---

[87] Thomas (1982) 99. The pejorative connotation of *Phryx* at 4.1.2 is sensed by Robinson (2006) 203 with n.11.

[88] So DeBrohun (2003) 39 n. 14. For "bucolic markers" such as *herba* (an "unsurprisingly staple ingredient"), see Martindale (1997a) 109. Cf. also the reduction of Vergil's tripartite career in his epitaph's *pascua, rura, duces*.

[89] Theodorokapoulos (1997) 154 and 157.

generic scale. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Horos, the chief *detractor* of Propertius' epic ambitions, reminds the elegiac poet of his humble, and distinctly agropastoral origins. At the conclusion of the first part of the poem, Propertius had exploited the transitional dynamic of the *Georgics* to suggest the upward mobility of his own Umbrian provenance. To convince the poet of his unsuitability for these grand designs, Horos must therefore construct an inverse reading of the same intertext. The abrupt transition (*hactenus...nunc*) to this section of his speech recalls the didactic opening of *Georgics* 2, but it is a rather different lesson that Horos has in mind for his addressee:

> **hactenus** historiae: **nunc** ad *tua* deuehar *astra*;
> incipe tu lacrimis aequus adesse nouis. 4.1.119-20

> **Hactenus** aruorum cultus et *sidera* caeli;
> **nunc** *te*, Bacche, canam. [...] *Geo.* 2.1-2

Having dealt with agriculture and *sidera* in *Georgics* 1, Vergil turns now to Bacchus; Horos has concluded his treatment of *historia* (which perhaps gives the lie to the fact that *Georgics* 1 is about civil war as much as *aruorum cultus*) and now turns to Propertius' *astra*. In effect, Horos is in generic reverse, moving down from the historical-epic gear to which Propertius had stepped up, and descending back to the *lacrimae* from which Propertius had risen. This signal is confirmed in Horos' ensuing description of Propertius' Umbrian homeland of misty towns, dewy fields and lakes warmed by the summer sun (4.1.121-6). A reference to the rising walls of Assisi recalls Propertius' earlier identification of his *patria* with his poetry, but Horos now removes Rome from the trinity, and, echoing Apollo's injunction to Callimachus in the *Aitia* prologue, reminds the self-professed 'Callimachus Romanus' that his humble (pastoral) origins preclude him from having anything to do with thunderous (epic) verse:

> tum tibi pauca suo de carmine dictat Apollo
> et uetat **insano** uerba tonare **Foro**.
> at tu finge elegos, fallax opus: haec tua castra! -
> scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo. 4.1.133-6

The Callimachean allusion here has been well recognised; embedded within it is an echo of the extended sequence at the end of *Georgics* 2 in which the farmer's life is contrasted with the soldier's, notably one of the most pastoral passages in the *Georgics* (with a miniature *locus amoenus* at vv. 468-71): happy is he, Vergil tells us, who knows the rural gods, and is not motivated by honours, riches or war; he picks the fruits of the land, and shuns the *insanum forum*:

> quos rami fructus, quos ipsa uolentia rura 500
> sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
> **insanum**que **forum** aut populi tabularia uidit.
> sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
> in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum; *Geo.* 2.500-504

By equating Propertius with Vergil's *agricola* within an allusion to the *Aitia* prologue, which the Roman poets had construed as a disavowal of epic poetry,[90] Horos posits an aetiological connection of his own: Propertius' rustic background explains his unsuitability for life in the city and army, and therefore for the epic themes with which they are associable; rather, it is the *militiam Veneris* (v. 137) of love elegy to which Propertius is suited.

Horos thus appropriates the same identification of elegy and bucolic constructed by Propertius to legitimise his generic ascent, but employs it, conversely, to argue that Propertius' personal and poetic origins are conducive to elegy alone. A similar impasse, perhaps relevant here, is reached by Vergil's Gallus in *Eclogue* 10. Though a secure interpretation of this eclogue remains elusive in the absence of firm data about Gallus' poetic career, Vergil is clearly exploring the boundaries of the pastoral and elegiac genres through the figure of Gallus, as Conte has shown.[91] Caught between unrequited passion for Lycoris and the *insanus amor* of warfare (*Ecl.* 10.44-5), Gallus seeks a *medicina*

[90] Cameron (1995) 339-61 argues that Callimachus had long and monotonous elegiac catalogue poems in mind; that the central criterion for Callimachus is style rather than genre is emphasised by Hunter in Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 66-76.
[91] Conte (1986) 100-129; see also Fantazzi (1966) 182-184.

furoris through the 'modulation' of his elegiac *Amores* into pastoral verse,[92] but, in the end, is forced to concede that there is no alternative to the unrelenting god of love:

> non illum nostri possunt mutare labores,
> *nec si* frigoribus **mediis** Hebrumque bibamus
> Sithoniasque niues hiemis subeamus *aquosae*,
> *nec si*, cum moriens alta liber aret in ulmo,
> Aethiopum uersemus ouis sub sidere **Cancri**.
> omnia uincit Amor: et nos cedamus Amori.' *Ecl.* 10.64-69

Here Gallus acquiesces to the inescapability of love; the metapoetic potential of the doomed alternatives he contemplates might also lie behind the series of vain alternatives to elegiac poetry with which Horos concludes his warning:[93]

> nec mille excubiae nec te signata iuuabunt
> limina: persuasae fallere rima sat est.
> nunc tua *uel* **mediis** puppis luctetur in *undis*,
> *uel* licet armatis hostis inermis eas,
> *uel* tremefacta cauo tellus diducat hiatum:
> octipedis **Cancri** terga sinistra time! 4.1.145-150

Each passage features a short catalogue (*vel...vel...vel...*; *nec si...nec si...*) of apparently risky pursuits/poetic practices culminating in a reference to Cancer (*octopedis* perhaps signalling metrical feet) that might have generated far less perplexity in modern scholarship were Gallus' verses to have survived with the fortune enjoyed by Vergil's and Propertius'.[94] The essential point in both poems is the non-negotiability of elegy's

---

[92] Interpretation of *Ecl.* 10 is confounded by disagreement as to what kind of poetry is implied by *Chalcidico...uersu* (v. 50): the reading here takes it to mean 'elegy' rather than 'epyllion' (Calchis was home to both Theocles, credited with the invention of elegy, and Euphorion, in whose manner Gallus' *Origo* was said (by Servius *ad Ecl.* 6.72) to have been composed); if Ross (1975) is correct that Gallus' *Origo* was written in elegy, then there is less difficulty.

[93] For the metapoetic possibilities of these lines, see Hutchinson 147-50n.; Nethercut (1968a); Kaufhold (1996). There may be a connection to be made here with *Geo.* 2.475-489, where Vergil contemplates his own suitability to sing of such grand themes as earthquakes and sea-storms (*unde tremor terris, qua ui maria alta tumescant*, v. 479).

[94] Cf. Goold (1990) 321 n.23: "the injunction is simply a factitious piece of astrological hocus-pocus, for an explanation of which we shall look in vain." Contrasting approaches are offered by Nethercut (1968), Montanari Caldini (1981), Kaufhold (1996). Ovid offered his own comment at *Fasti* 1.311-14 and 6.727, on which see now Green (2004) 148-9.

generic boundaries, despite its apparent affinities to pastoral. Horos' didactic agenda is to correct Propertius' misconception that his pastoral origins can translate to epic poetry; *Eclogue* 10 shows that pastoral and elegiac *amor* are poles apart, and that the pastoral world is as vulnerable to destruction from elegiac *furor* as it is to that of war: "Sexual frenzy and the passion for war, the *Eclogues*' principal, hitherto discrete paradigms of the contemporary world's spiritual malaise, find in the soul of the poet's personal friend [...] conjoined and parallel illustration."[95] Vergil's *Eclogues* thematise the inherent vulnerability of pastoral peace to the forces of the outside world, especially war and elegiac love, both of which emanate from the city.

Its vulnerability to destruction by internal and especially external forces is an essential characteristic of the pastoral world: Horos provides examples of this in order to expose the fallacy of Propertius' apparently idyllic Umbrian background. In a literary anticipation of Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego*, he reminds Propertius of the death of his father (*ossaque legisti non illa aetate legenda | patris*, 4.1.127-8), and he explodes the pastoral myth by reminding the poet of the *labor* of tillage and the inevitable incursion of the world of Roman history:

> nam tua cum multi **uersarent** rura iuuenci,
> abstulit excultas pertica **tristis** opes. 4.1.129-30

A reference in a bucolic/georgic context to the land-confiscations of 41 BC immediately recalls the world of *Eclogues* 1 and 9,[96] in which the same historical forces disrupt the pastoral idyll. Moeris' summation of the situation is perhaps echoed by Horos:

> O Lycida, uiui peruenimus, aduena nostri
> (quod numquam ueriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
> diceret: 'Haec mea sunt; ueteres migrate coloni.'
> nunc uicti, **tristes**, quoniam fors omnia **uersat**,
> hos illi (quod nec uertat bene) mittimus haedos. *Ecl.* 9.2-6

---

[95] Boyle (1976) 28 and see further 20-23.
[96] And perhaps vice-versa: cf. Clausen (1994) 30 n. 4 for a cross-reference from *Eclogue* 1 to 4.1.129-30.

These *Eclogues* demonstrate what was implicit in Propertius' juxtaposition of pre- and post-Trojan Italy in 4.1.1-70 and explicit in Horos' contraposition of epic and elegy in 4.1.71-150: "*Eclogues* 1 and 9 contain a transparent, severe depiction of havoc, dissolution and suffering generated in the rural world by the violence and will of the city."[97] Without considering its allusiveness and irony, the voice of Propertius in the first half of the poem is ostensibly reconciled to the urban and epic perspective; it is only Horos in the poem's second half who represents an alternative to the prevailing discourse of the first (and justifies its deconstruction by explaining why Propertius, as one of the dispossessed, should be motivated to incorporate a dissenting voice). Horos' biography cannot but send the reader back to Propertius' only other autobiography, the tearful sphragis of the *Monobliblos*, an intratext here signalled for any reader who takes *ossa legisti* (4.1.127) to mean not "the bones (of your father) you (Propertius) gathered", but "the bones (of Gallus) you (the reader) read (at 1.21.9 and 1.22.8)". Propertius 4.1, then, is a dramatic dialogue, in which the voice of a dominant discourse is deconstructed by its displaced opposite. Precisely the same dynamic operates in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, where the confident optimism of Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 and Lycidas in *Eclogue* 9 is undercut by the dispossessed Meliboeus and the world-weary Moeris respectively. And just as the protagonists of *Eclogue* 9 are making their way through the desolate countryside towards the town, and Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 describes Rome "in pastoral terms"[98] to Meliboeus (*Ecl.* 1.19-25), who becomes his temporary guest in the pastoral world he is required to leave, so too in Propertius 4.1 does an interlocutor from one discourse describe Rome to a *hospes* (presumably to be identified with Horos, who after all is a foreigner) from another. The association of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 is corroborated by cohesive structural and numerical patterns within the *Eclogues* book,[99] and it may be significant that their combined length of 150 lines, a key figure in the numerical pattern of the *Eclogues*, is precisely matched by the length of Propertius 4.1.

---

[97] Boyle (1976) 17.

[98] Clausen (1994) 30.

[99] i.e. as one of the four pairs (1+9=150 lines; 2+8=181 lines; 3+7=181 lines; 4+6=149 lines) bracketing *Eclogue* 5. P. Maury's formulation of these pairs in 1944 (germinally anticipated by E. Krause in 1884) was reinforced by Skutsch's emphasis on the numerical correspondences.

The Origin of the Tarpeian Grove (4.4)

As in *Eclogue* 10, the pastoral wilderness becomes the stage for a tragic tale of unrequited love in elegy 4.4: the poem is motivated by the provision of an *aition* for the 'Tarpeian grove' (4.4.1), the pastoral enclave in which Tarpeia first beheld and instantly desired Tatius, the Sabine king styled as a pastoral shepherd in 4.1. The theme provides an opportunity for the first "genuine and complete *locus amoenus*" in Propertius 4:[100]

> **lucus erat** felix hederoso conditus antro,
> multaque natiuis obstrepit arbor aquis,
> *__Siluani__ ramosa domus, quo dulcis ab aestu
> fistula poturas ire iubebat ouis. 4.4.3-6

This short ecphrasis contains the requisite constituents of a *locus amoenus*, while the reference to Silvanus imparts a supernatural charge which typically distinguishes the *locus amoenus* from the quotidian reality of the outside world.[101] The *Tarpeium nemus* also exhibits a metapoetic awareness of its status as a rhetorical set piece comparable to that observed by Stephen Hinds in Ovid: the opening *lucus erat* (v. 2) is a proto-Ovidian "punning invocation of the default" (i.e. *est locus*),[102] with a resumptive demonstrative (*hunc*)[103] marking the transition from this timeless world back to the narrative of a world at war:

> **hunc** Tatius fontem uallo praecingit acerno,
> fidaque suggesta castra coronat humo. 4.4.7-8

---

[100] Rothwell (1996) 839. See also P.A. Miller (2004) 195-203.

[101] On the constituent elements of the *locus amoenus*, see Hinds (2002) 123-124 where E.R. Curtius' definition is quoted ("...a beautiful, shaded natural site. Its minimum ingredients comprise a tree (or several trees), a meadow, and a spring or brook. Birdsong and flowers may be added. The most elaborate examples also add a breeze.") and supplemented with Hinds' addition of a cave (also present in 4.4); see also Rothwell (1996) 839 n.37. On the supernatural atmosphere of the *locus amoenus*, see also Hinds (2002) 125.

[102] Hinds (2002) 127 on *Met.* 5.385 (*lacus est*) and 391 (*quo luco*); see pp. 126-7 for further examples of formular play; see also Hinds (1987) 36-8. On the range of descriptive subjects embraced by the term ekphrasis in ancient criticism, see Barchiesi (1997) 271.

[103] *hinc* (v. 15) is also resumptive, but is suspended by vv. 9-14 (which Shackleton Bailey and Goold transpose to follow v. 2, prior to the *locus amoenus*).

Text and context are here in unison, for the *locus amoenus* has been physically fenced off (*praecingit*) from its environs,[104] and its boundary is literally as well as literarily demarcated by a closural *corona(t)*. Rosenmeyer observes that "[a]s a rule, extended descriptions of landscapes in ancient literature occur in the form of enclaves, sealed capsules set aside from the larger action".[105] The ecphrastic quality of the *locus amoenus* is also emphasised through the ideas of vision and spectacle. It was when fetching water from this grove that Tarpeia saw and became fixated with Tatius (*uidit...obstipuit*, vv. 19-21). Here too Propertius may be seen to have anticipated Ovidian practice: Hinds notes that "Ovid's landscape descriptions characteristically involve invitations to view, whether channelled through the perceptions of characters who enter a setting ('s/he saw...'), or more implicitly prompted by strong visual themes in the plots enacted therein (e.g. permutations of forbidden sight, desiring gaze and deluded vision [...]".[106]

In a number of its features, the *Tarpeium nemus* is not unlike the *locus amoenus* to which the Trojans and Arcadians decamp in *Aeneid* 8 prior to Venus' arrival with Aeneas' armour. As a rhetorical set-piece, some details (e.g. water and trees) will necessarily coincide, but the occurrence of several additional similarities might suggest that the correspondences are not merely generically motivated: the Vergilian *locus amoenus* opens and closes with identical formular play (*lucus erat*, 4.4.3 ~ *est ingens...lucus*, 8.597; *hinc*, 4.4.15 ~ *hinc*, 8.603; *hunc*, 4.4.7 ~ *huc*, 8.606); Tarpeia's grove is girt by Tatius' palisade (*prae**cingit***, 4.7), Aeneas' by fir-trees (***cingunt***, 8.599); the woodland deity Silvanus

---

[104] For this manoeuvre, Camps 88 compares Livy 9.2.14 (*castra propter aquam uallo circumdant*), but objects that "Tatius cannot have set a palisade either partly or wholly around the copse and spring, for that would be incompatible with Tarpeia going (as she will) to the spring to draw water", and so emends (with Goold's subsequent approval) *fontem* (on which the MSS are unanimous) to *contra*, invoking an *apo koinou* construction for *castra* with *praecingit* and *coronat*. The arguments presented here advocate the MSS *fontem* on rhetorical and thematic grounds, but in any case it can be redeemed by a close consideration of the context: the Sabines are camped in the forum (v. 12), where the *fons* is located; it was when drawing water from it (*hinc*, v. 15) that Tarpeia saw Tatius (vv. 17-20) before returning thence to the Capitoline (*rettulit*, v. 28; *residens*, v. 29), where the Romans are encamped (so Camps, p. 86); it would appear, then, that Tarpeia has already reached some understanding with the foe: hence a reference to Tarpeia's treachery as she draws water from the fountain (v. 16, probably alluding to the punishment of the Danaids: see p. 171 below, and vv. 17-18, which need not with Goold be transposed to follow v. 92) and hence the pluperfect, *prodiderat* (v. 87). Furthermore, *hinc* (v. 15), wherever vv. 9-14 are placed, is a clearer resumptive of *fontem*. For the topography of 4.4, see now Welch (2005a) 302ff. (whose interpretation differs to that presented here in one detail: see n. 118 below) and 316 n.27 (on the precise location of Tatius' camp).

[105] Rosenmeyer (1969) 192.

[106] Hinds (2002) 136.

appears in the same *sedes* in each passage (4.5; 8.600); warhorses find refreshment in both (4.4.14; 8.607), and both offer a view of local military activity (4.19; 8.604-5). In both cases, the tranquillity apparently offered by the pastoral world is thwarted by the prevailing circumstances: for Welch, Tatius' camp "is a perversion of the pastoral landscape as he turns a *locus amoenus* into a military locale".[107]

The Vergilian association continues in the ensuing lines of 4.4 with a return to the past-present juxtapositions (4.4.9-14) common to both *Aeneid* 8 and 4.1, which had looked ahead to this elegy with an allusion to Tarpeia at 4.1.7. Primary tenses again jostle with historic; the familiar temporal adverbs recur (*tum* and *cum* with the anaphora of *ubi nunc*); the links are further established by word-repetition (*Tarpeius*: 4.1, 1.7; *Curia*: 4.13, 1.12; *fictilis*: 4.16, 1.5), assonance (*Quiritis*, 4.9 ~ *Curetes* 1.13; *bellicus*, 4.14 ~ *pellitos*, 1.12) and synonyms / synonymous phrasing (*tubicen*, 4.9 ~ *bucina*, 1.13; *saxa*, 4.10 ~ *rupe* 1.7; *Iovis*, 4.10 ~ *Tarpeiusque pater*, 1.7; *curia*, 4.13 ~ *senatus*, 4.11, 14; *curia saepta*, 4.13 ~ *in prati saepe*[108] *senatus*, 1.11, 14). But the more idyllic setting of 4.1 is in 4.4 overshadowed by war.[109] 4.1 depicts pre-Trojan Italy; 4.4, like *Aeneid* 8, shows post-Trojan Italy, where the pastoral world is under strain, enveloped by the forces of epic.

The collision of pastoral and epic is emphasised throughout 4.4: Rome is celebrating one of her first Parilia (v. 74) - at this early stage in her history no sophisticated urban festival, but rather *annua pastorum conuiuia* (v. 75), with banquets of rustic fare (*pagana...fercula*, v. 76), drinking and fire-leaping (vv. 77-8); the Sabine army, however, has assembled outside the city to stage a reprise against the Romans for their rape of the Sabine womenfolk, and is enjoying apparent success (cf. *limina capta*, v. 2; *stabant*

---

[107] Welch (2005a) 307.

[108] On the basis of the consistent echoes between these two passages, it seems preferable to reject the redundant adverb *in prato saepe* (4.1.14) transmitted by the MSS and adopt instead Heinsius' conjecture, the ablative *in prati saepe*, which is etymologically closer to (the unanimously transmitted) *saepta* at 4.4.13. In support of this reading, cf. Cicero, *Sest.* 91, on mankind's evolution from lawless nomads (*nondum neque naturali neque ciuili iure descripto fusi per agros ac dispersi uagarentur*) to a civilised community that enclosed its communal buildings within walls (*moenibus* ***saepserunt***). These lines of Propertius embody in a suppressed form the most salient details of Evander's account of the peaceful *aurea...saecula* (*Aen.* 8.324-5) instituted by Saturn among the lawless race of men, suggesting either that both Vergil and Propertius here have Cicero in mind (cf. *Aen.* 8.321-2: *is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis | composuit legesque dedit* cf. Cicero, *Sest.* 91: *dispersi*) or that all three were influenced by a fourth text.

[109] So Rothwell (1996) 839ff.

Romano pila Sabina Foro, v. 12; *prodiderat*, v. 87). Such are the forces by which the tranquil setting of Tarpeia's *locus amoenus* is beset. Despite its apparently idyllic setting, a *locus amoenus* is usually suffused with a latent potential for violence, often of a sexual kind, as Hinds has observed in Ovid.[110] So too does the Arcadia of the *Eclogues* prove time and again to be an inherently fragile place, as does Propertius' native Umbria in 4.1b. As a particularly concentrated example of the pastoral world's vulnerability, the *locus amoenus* attracts its own anti-pastoral perversion.[111]

Disruption to pastoral can come from within as well as from without. Though Tarpeia is of pastoral provenance, her *amor* is elegiac and destructive both to herself and her compatriots. Her conflict with the pastoral world is apparent in the scratches she incurs from her nightly return ascent of the overgrown Capitoline (*rettulit* ***hirsutis*** *brachia* ***secta*** *rubis*, 4.4.28): the verb *referre* perhaps refers the reader to the animals in Vergil's *Georgics* which contract *morbi* in an identical manner (***hirsuti secuerunt*** *corpora uepres*, *Geo.* 3. 440-444), when their keepers contravene the laws outlined by Vergil for the preservation of the natural world; such a reference would not be without point, for *Georgics* 3 establishes a consistent parallel between *amor* and disease, both of which prove the vulnerability of the pastoral landscape.[112] Tarpeia's desire to defect to Tatius' military camp (v. 37) elides the military and elegiac *furores* that are so antithetical to pastoral *otium*. Like Acontius or Gallus, she resorts to a *Waldeinsamkeit*, though not so much to nurse the *uulnus* (v. 30) of her passion as to devise a way to consummate it. She offers lilies to the Nymphs to safeguard Tatius' fair looks, just as Corydon in *Eclogue* 2 ("a truly elegiac pastoral")[113] believes the Nymphs bring lilies to Alexis in a celebration of his:

---

[110] See Hinds (2002) 131: "arguably the sense of a threat to harmony immanent in a harmonious setting is a constitutive feature of the landscape tradition at large." Rosenmyer (1969) 202 cites Theocritus 13.39 (Hylas) and 22.37 (Pollux) to illustrate that "in a non-pastoral context the *locus amoenus* may become a trap".

[111] See also P.A. Miller (2004) 194 on the loss of the pastoral setting in the moment of its setting; for Platter (1995), pastoral is a politics-free zone that yet must engage with the discourse of the city in order to distance itself from it.

[112] On the equation of *amor* and disease in *Geo.* 3, see Thomas (1986) 176, 184-186 [= (1999) 118-119, 126-127], Gale (2000) 221.

[113] Coleman (1977) 109.

huc ades, o *formose* puer: tibi ***lilia** plenis
ecce ***ferunt*** **Nymphae** calathis[...] *Ecl.* 2.45-6

saepe ***tulit*** blandis argentea ***lilia** **Nymphis**,
Romula ne faciem laederet hasta Tati 4.4.25-6

Like Alexis, Tatius is *formosus* (v. 32, as a transferred epithet; v. 52), an adjective used twice by Tarpeia but nowhere else in Propertius 4. Like Corydon, Tarpeia speaks a soliloquy, addressing her beloved as though he were present (4.4.48, 53, 55-8 cf. *Ecl.* 2.6-7, 17, 19 etc.), imagining herself at his side (4.4.33-4, cf. *Ecl.* 2.28-31), attempting to entice him (4.4.55-8, cf. *Ecl.* 2.40-2), and admonishing herself for neglecting her duty (4.4.43-4, cf. *Ecl.* 2.53-4). Assessments of *Eclogue* 2, then, might be equally applicable to 4.4: "the poem shows real insight into the mind of the rejected lover, into the fantasy world that he creates for himself."[114] However, unlike Corydon, who at the end of *Eclogue* 2 consoles himself with the optional *remedium* of another Alexis (*inuenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexin*, v. 73), Tarpeia is executed by the object of her desire. If *Eclogue* 2, as Kenney finds, is "a complete translation of the elegiac situation to the pastoral mode",[115] Propertius 4.4 is a more lethal concoction of an elegiac lament in a pastoral world besieged by epic. Tarpeia's is no bucolic *amor*, detached and promiscuous, but an insatiable, monogamous elegiac *furor* of the kind discouraged by negative examples throughout the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*.[116]

As a self-consciously pastoral locus, then, the *Tarpieum nemus*, like the Arcadia of the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid* 8, is vulnerable to destruction by forces from both within (i.e. elegiac *furor*) and without (i.e. war) its own confines. Propertius thus dichotomises pastoral and elegiac *amor*, and simultaneously presents these lower genres not as upwardly mobile rivals to epic, but rather as genres imploding under the pressure of the epic 'supergenre' by which they are enveloped. Tarpeia's unsuccessful attempt to defect to the Sabine camp stages the unsuccessful generic ascent of elegy/pastoral to epic:[117]

---

[114] Lee (1984) 37.
[115] Kenney (1983) 73.
[116] On *amor* as inimical to *Georgic* ideals, see Gale (2000) 96-100; on Dido as an example of a 'good king' who is corrupted by *amor*, see Cairns (1989) 29-57.
[117] On the dramatic 'staging' of generic dynamics, see Conte (1994) 118-125; Barchiesi (2001) esp. 155.

having resolved to betray her Ausonian kinswomen (v. 44), she meets the enemy (v. 81), and leads them upwards from her pastoral grove to the Roman encampment on the Capitoline;[118] but the ascent is hazardous (v. 83: *mons erat ascensu dubius*; cf. vv. 48-50)[119] and doomed to failure: Tatius snorts at her ambition with sarcasm and disgust (*regni scande cubili mei*, v. 90) and has her literally and generically crushed with his soldiers' epic *arma* (v. 91). The failure of Tarpeia's generic ascent raises implications for Propertius' elevation of elegy elsewhere in Book 4: at 4.1.65, Umbria's *scandentis arces* symbolise the generic ascent of Propertian elegy, and at 4.10.3 Propertius declares *magnum iter ascendo* when he takes on the epic theme of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.

Stahl has read the *Tarpeium nemus* as a "foreign body" which provides an independent standard by which the competing priorities of Tarpeia and Tatius can be measured.[120] Put differently, the highly artificial and self-conscious setting of the *locus amoenus* might be said to furnish an ideal stage for the generic discourse of 4.4. In this way Propertius extends the inbuilt metapoetic potential of grove descriptions: Richard Hunter has recently shown how poets working in the shadow of Callimachus' Hesiod recreate in their work a pastoral space which they populate with the divinities or poets that inspire or control their work: "the elaborated 'grove' descriptions within the work are thus a microcosmically concentrated image of the whole".[121] Just as Propertius in 3.1 requests entry to a grove of Callimachus and Philetas, the great elegists of the past, and Ovid in (the structurally parallel) *Amores* 3.1 ambles in a grove and is confronted by personifications of Elegy and Tragedy, so in Propertius 4 does the pastoral enclave become the *locus* for the tense negotiations of elegy's competing poetics.

---

[118] Welch (2005a) has Tarpeia make her "last journey *down* the Capitol" (304, my emphasis) at the base of which she is killed (312), an interpretation which contradicts *mons erat ascensu dubius* (4.1.84), which Welch recognises refers to "the difficulty of the *ascent*" (310, my emphasis). See n. 104 above.
[119] The idea of the proverbial "slippery slope" might lie behind *lubrica tota uia est et perfida* (v. 49): cf. Cicero, *Cael.* 41 (with Austin (1960) *ad loc.*): *multas uias adulescentiae lubricas ostendit quibus illa insistere aut ingredi sine casu aliquo ac prolapsione uix posset.*
[120] Stahl (1985) 281-3, 302-3.
[121] Hunter (2006) 32; the entirety of his Chapter 1 ('In the Grove') is relevant here.

On the Field of Battle (4.6)

Propertius' Actium elegy has been especially divisive of scholarly opinion. For some, it is "Propertius' most elaborate and enthusiastic endorsement of the imperial house and mission";[122] others view it as the pragmatic or reluctant bid of an alienated poet to ingratiate himself with official opinion;[123] for others again it is "a thoroughly bad poem" and "fundamentally unserious".[124] One perplexed critic saw it first as "a gesture of sycophancy"[125] and later as an intentional failure, the "climax of Propertius' *recusatio*".[126] Yet the same degree of alarm has not been occasioned by such eclogues as the fourth, with its prophecy of a return to the Golden Age through the agency of heroic action, or the sixth, the opening *recusatio* of which is not entirely honoured by the cosmic content of the inset poem. Like Propertius 4.6, in which Actian Apollo first goes to war (4.6.27ff.) and subsequently returns peaceably to the poets' grove (*molli...luco*, v. 71),[127] *Eclogue* 6 suggests diverse aspects of Apollo's poetic activity, beginning with his rejection of *reges et proelia* in favour of a *deductum carmen*, and concluding with the ascription of Silenus' wide-ranging song to Apollo's authorship (v. 82); that Silenus' song secures an Apolline imprimatur suggests that it in its own way is a *deductum carmen*, despite the scope of its wine-fuelled inspiration. Thus in both 4.6 and *Eclogue* 6 diverse forms of song seem to be compatible with Apolline (ergo Callimachean) aesthetics.[128] Further similarities suggest that Propertius is looking directly to *Eclogue* 6 as a precedent for an ambitious poem within a generically 'slight' collection: both poems begin with a programmatic sequence; Propertius' song is in honour of Caesar (4.6.13-14, ***canitur***), Vergil's of Varro (*Ecl.* 6.10-12, ***canet***); Propertius claims *Caesaris in nomen* ***ducuntur carmina*** (v. 13), Vergil's Apollo requests a ***deductum...carmen*** (v. 6); Propertius commences with a vatic sacrifice (*icta iuuenca*, v.2), Vergil with the promise to *pinguis* | *pascere...ouis* (v. 4-5); Propertius sings through the night until (*donec*, v. 85) dawn, Vergil's song continues until (*donec*, also v. 85) dusk; both poems are 86 lines long, and both occupy the sixth position in their respective

[122] Pillinger (1969) 190; see also Cairns (1984); J.F. Miller (2004).
[123] Hubbard (1974) 116-118; Stahl (1985) 252-3, 259; Sweet (1972).
[124] Williams (1968) 51 and 53.
[125] Sullivan (1964) 59.
[126] Sullivan (1976) 146; similarly Johnson (1973); Connor (1978) 9; Gurval (1995) 250, 267-8, 272-4.
[127] On the two 'faces' of Apollo in Propertius 4.6, see J.F. Miller (1994) and Hutchinson 154.
[128] See Thomas (1985) [= (1999) 101-113]; Nelis (2004).

collections. It would appear, therefore, that in an elegy about *reges et proelia*, Propertius has looked to Vergil's precedent of ascent towards a more ambitious form of bucolic epos.

As in 4.4, a *locus amoenus* can be seen to provide the stage for the generic negotiations. The ekphrastic markers are signalled (***est*** *Phoebi fugiens Athamana ad litora* ****portus***, | *qua* ***sinus*** *Ioniae murmura condit aquae,* |...| ***huc***..., 4.6.15-19), and within their confines a peaceful marine locale is described not unlike that into which Aeneas sails after the storm of *Aeneid* 1 (***est*** *in secessu longo locus: insula* ****portum*** | *efficit... inque* ***sinus*** *scindit sese unda reductos.* | ***hinc***..., *Aen.* 1.159-62). In 4.6, however, the storm has yet to unfold, albeit in a very stylised fashion. In this way, the battle of Actium provides the poet with another opportunity to confront elegy and epic. The tension among critics as to whether the poem works or not is thus one of its successes, for the marine *locus amoenus* fits into a wider scheme of the book which demands of the reader precisely this kind of evaluation.

In Search of Pastures New (4.9)

Loca amoena elsewhere in Propertius 4 serve as focal points for the negotiation of the book's bipolar poetics. A conspicuous example occurs in the second half of the bipartite 4.9, read above (pp. 39-49) as a sustained metanarrative for Propertius' allusive engagement with Vergilian epic. Though it intensively reworks the epic clash of Hercules and Cacus in *Aeneid* 8 (setting Cacus' theft of Hercules' cattle parallel to Propertius' textual 'raid' of the *Aeneid*), the poem's first movement also achieves a bucolic charge that highlights the migration of pastoral themes into the *Aeneid* in Book 8, a movement which will be reversed in the poem's second episode when the epic Hercules seeks entry to a Propertian grove. The opening lines of 4.9 reactivate the concern in *Aeneid* 8 and 4.1 with aetiological past-present, pastoral-urban juxtapositions: latent etymological glosses derive the Palatine from its erstwhile ovine, rather than bovine (4.9.4, cf. *Aen.* 8.360-1), inhabitants,[129] and the Velabrum from the sailboats

[129] *pecorosa Palatia* suggests the derivation of 'Palatine' from the bleating (*balatus*) of sheep (cf. *Geo.* 3.554: *balatu pecorum*): see Günther (1998) 252-3 for this and other instances of word-play in these lines; cf. Maltby (1991) s.v.; 4.1.4, however, places 'Evander's exiled kine' on the Palatine: *Euandri*

which formerly traversed it (4.9.5-6). The setting, then, is as related in *Aeneid* 8, but what in Vergil is essentially a bucolic tale about cattle-rustling elevated to the heroic stage[130] is repatriated by Propertian elegy to the world of pastoral:[131] Hercules' triumph over evil is immortalised not by the Ara Maxima, as in the *Aeneid*, but by the rather more bucolic Forum Bouarium (4.9.19-20),[132] in founding which the hero is appropriately accorded with a locution distinctive to the herdsmen of Vergil's *Eclogues*: ***ite**, boues,* | *Herculis* ***ite** boues*, 4.9.17-8, cf. *Ecl.* 7.44: ***ite** domum pasti, si quis pudor,* ***ite** iuuenci*; *Ecl.* 1.74, 10.77): Vergil's farewell to pastoral is thus ironically echoed in the bucolic Hercules' farewell to his epic role. By alluding simultaneously to both extremes of Vergilian epos, Propertius comically re-amplifies the pastoral content of *Aeneid* 8, and perhaps on a more serious note points out the violence inflicted by epic on the pastoral landscape. The incongruous application of the epithet *Maenalius*, 'Arcadian', to the instrument with which Hercules bludgeons Cacus (***Maenalio** iacuit pulsus tria tempora ramo* | *Cacus*, 4.9.15-16) neatly points out this perversion of pastoral; it also invites an intertext with *Eclogue* 8, where *Maenalius* is reiterated ten times in Damon's refrain, and where Alphesiboeus' counter-refrain, *duc**ite** ab urbe domum, mea carmina, duc**ite** Daphnim*, a version of the same herder's cry upon which Hercules' own call is modelled, demonstrates the ideological and generic split between town, associated with epic and elegiac *furor*, and country, associated with pastoral *otium*, thematised in both the *Eclogues* and Propertius 4.

---

profugae ***concubuere** boues* (see p. 227 with n.138 below for why the reading *profugae procubuere* (so Barber's *OCT*) might be an instance of diplography).

[130] For the occurrence of this theme in Theocritean bucolic, see Gutzwiller (1991) 29-35.

[131] Cf. *Geo.* 404-8 for advice to farmers on how to protect their stables (*stabula*, cf. *Aen.* 8.207, 213 and Prop. 4.9.2) from the *nocturnum…furem*. Propertius' 'repastoralisation' of Vergil's account is also noted by Rothwell (1996) 843 and Warden (1982) 233.

[132] Hence Propertius contradicts the etymology provided by Varro, *LL* 5.146: see Janan (2001) 130. For the view that Propertius debunks the heroic aition of *Aeneid* 8 by associating Hercules' defeat of Cacus with the foundation of a cattle-market rather than the Ara Maxima, see Anderson (1964) 4, 11; Warden (1982) 233, 240. For the objection that the tense of the verb at 4.9.67 (*deuota est*) implies that the Ara Maxima was established together with the Forum Bovarium (in which it was located), see Cairns (1992) 68-9 with n.11, Galinsky (1972) 154. To reconcile these views, *deuota est* might be read as a 'get-out clause' so that the established aition is undermined without being contradicted outright.

Hercules' reduction to a cowherd is matched in the second movement of 4.9 in his debasement to an elegiac *exclusus amator*,[133] a combination perhaps facilitated by the generic proximity of the pastoral and elegiac genres.[134] His double pastoral-elegiac identity is also sustained by the fact that it is a "full-blown *locus amoenus*"[135] to which he begs admittance in the second episode. As before, the requisite natural features are present and correct:

> sed procul inclusas audit ridere puellas,
> lucus ubi **umbroso** fecerat orbe nemus,
> femineae **loca** clausa **de*ae*** fontesque piandos
> impune et nullis sacra retecta uiris.
> deuia puniceae **uelabant** limina uittae,
> putris odorato luxerat igne casa,
> ***popul**us et longis ornabat **frondibus** aedem,
> multaque cantantis **umbra tegebat** auis.
> huc ruit [...] 4.9.23-31

As with the example in 4.4, the grove's confines are textually circumscribed (*lucus ubi fecerat orbe nemus... huc ruit...*), its ecphrastic quality is advertised by the thematisation of vision (the priestess warns of the potential deprivation of the intruder's sight, vv. 53, 57-8), and it becomes the locus for an erotic misadventure, turning out to be anything but a safe-haven for its resident *puellae*. In this case, too, the ecphrasis seems to draw together material from *Aeneid* 8, thus continuing the exploitation of Vergil's typological connection between Hercules and Aeneas, seen above (p. 47-8) in the parallels between Hercules' prayer to the priestess and Aeneas' to Tiber. Having sought refuge from the anxiety of war (*Aen.* 8.29) and fallen asleep on the banks of the Tiber, Aeneas has a Callimachean-style dream-encounter with the river-god, who guarantees his safe passage upstream to Pallanteum:

---

[133] See pp. 43-4 above; as will be shown in Chapter 3 below, Hercules' gender-bending (and quickly renounced) effeminacy mirrors the transgressive (and ultimately failed) masculinity of Vergil's Camilla, a notably pastoral warrior (cf. e.g. *Aen.* 7.817).
[134] Cf. Theoc. *Id.* 3 and 11 for pastoral *komoi* that rely for their effect on a rustic clod and monstrous Cyclops acting like urban lovers.
[135] Rothwell (1996) 844.

huic **de*us*** ipse **loci** fluuio Tiberinus *amoeno*
*__popul__*eas inter senior se attollere **frondes**
uisus (eum tenuis glauco **uelabat** amictu
carbasus, et crinis **umbrosa tegebat** harundo) *Aen.* 8.31-34

amoeno (v. 31) here expressly indicates that Aeneas is in a *locus amoenus*,[136] but it is Propertius who provides the ecphrastic set piece, converting the poplar leaves and shady cover of Tiber's raiment into the physical environs of the Bona Dea's *lucus*. The similarity would perhaps be less remarkable if it did not inaugurate an extended imitation of this section of Aeneas' visit to Pallanteum, continuing in the ensuing lines with echoes of Aeneas' prayer and *labores*, and culminating with an inversion of Evander's reception of Aeneas to his lowly hovel (the pastoral significance of which is underscored by the fact that it itself is a reworking of Eumaeus' reception of Odysseus in *Odyssey* 14)[137] when the priestess refuses Hercules the draught he seeks:

talibus Alcides; at **talibus** alma sacerdos
puniceo canas stamine uincta comas:
'*Parc*e oculis, **hospes**, lucoque *absced*e uerendo;
*ced*e agedum et tuta **limina** *linqu*e fuga. 4.9.51-4

talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta uidebant 360
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
ut uentum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit '**limina** uictor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
*aud*e, **hospes**, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
*fing*e deo, rebusque *ueni* non asper egenis.' *Aen.* 8.359-65

Whereas Evander invites his *hospes* across his *limina* (*ueni*), exhorting him to look generously on his humble estate, the priestess attempts to rout her *hospes* with imperatives and threats of a much less hospitable nature (*parce oculis...limina linque*). The allusion shows that Propertius has recognised the typological significance of Hercules' visit to Pallanteum, but has inverted the episode into the kind of theoxeny whereby

[136] For possible uses of *amoenus* as a technical term in Vergil and Horace, see Hinds (2002) 125 with n.6.
[137] See Clausen (1987) 167-8.

hospitality is refused and punishment accordingly meted out.[138] It can be noted again that whereas Aeneas had sought entry to Pallanteum via the swollen Tiber, a symbolically epic river, Hercules eschews the same floodwaters in the Velabrum (vv. 21-3) in preference for the Bona Dea's spring on the Aventine. Hercules thus displays a discernment for waters more appropriate to his newfound pastoral and elegiac tastes, but his inappropriateness thereto is all too apparent in the consequences of his gargantuan thirst (*at postquam exhausto iam flumine uicerat aestum*, v. 63). Hercules, praying to be admitted to a pastoral *locus amoenus*, thus becomes Aeneas praying to be admitted via Tiber's stream to the Arcadian Pallanteum, but, unlike Aeneas, Hercules is an unwelcome visitor and resorts again to epic force to gatecrash his way in. Based on the differences between pre- and post- Trojan Italy seen in Propertius 4 so far, it might be possible to suggest here too that Hercules' desecration of a sacred *locus amoenus* can be read as a prelude to Aeneas' ultimately devastating irruption into the pastoral world in *Aeneid* 8. This is not so much a case of generic *Kreuzung* as of generic collision. That the *fontes* of the grove are referred to as *piandi* (v. 25), the gerundive of Aeneas' celebrated epithet, perhaps foreshadows the epic workout in store for the pastoral enclave. The collocation here of *cantare* and *umbra* in *multaque* ***cantantis umbra*** *tegebat* ***auis*** (v. 30) perhaps echoes, somewhat ominously for the pastoral grove, the end of the *Eclogues*, where the poet deems shade to be noxious for singers and announces his intention to ascend generically (*surgamus: solet esse* ***grauis cantantibus umbra***, *Ecl.* 10.75)[139] before rounding up his *Bucolics* with a final variation on the herdsman's cry (***ite*** *domum saturae, uenit Hesperus,* ***ite****, capellae*, *Ecl.* 10.77).[140]

---

[138] On 'theoxeny' and 'götteradvent' as remote analogues for 4.9, see Cairns (1992) 77-84.

[139] On the closural significance of *umbra* in Vergil, see Theodorakopoulos (1997) 162-164.

[140] Servius ad *Ecl.* 10.16-17 equates sheep with pastoral poetry; see Rosenmeyer (1969) Ch. 12 on the "figurative potential" (268) of certain words like *calamus*, but with the caution that "there is no fixed grid of analogies" (268); R. ultimately inclines to a sceptical conclusion ("My own feeling is that the matter can be exaggerated", p. 268) and denies the figurative potential of both Theocritus and Vergil.

Getting into the Grove (4.8)

The theme of literal and literary intrusion played out in 4.9 is also identifiable in the similarly farcical 4.8,[141] in which Cynthia returns to Rome from a trip to the countryside and, in a vehement reinstatement of Propertian *militia amoris*, gatecrashes Propertius' private soirée and ousts her rivals. Though set in the metropolis of contemporary Rome, Propertius emphasises the rusticity of his environs: he has installed himself in the *horti Maecenatis* (*nouis...agris*, 4.8.2),[142] a pleasure-garden on the Esquiline (*Esquilias... aquosas*, 4.8.1), whither he has summoned Phyllis and Teia, two local girls, to while away the evening (*noctem lenire*, 4.8.33). The scene is reminiscent of the *loca amoena* encountered in 4.4 and 4.9:

> Phyllis Auentinae quaedam est uicina Dianae,
> sobria grata parum: cum bibit, omne decet.
> altera Tarpeios est inter Teia lucos,
> candida, sed potae non satis unus erit.
> his ego constitui noctem lenire uocatis,
> et Venere ignota furta nouare mea.
> unus erat tribus in secreta lectulus herba.
> quaeris concubitus? inter utramque fui. 4.8.29-36

The description opens with a quasi-ecphrastic *Phyllis...est*, while *in secreta...herba* suggests the seclusion of the 'green cabinet'. Phyllis is a distinctly pastoral name, occurring in four of Vergil's *Eclogues* (*Ecl.* 3, 5, 7, 10);[143] her association with Diana, goddess of hunting and sexual abstinence, also connotes pastoral;[144] her provenance from the Aventine perhaps anticipates the setting of the grove in 4.9, just as Teia's residence *Tarpeios...inter...lucos* recalls the setting of 4.4. If Teia is in some way associable with Anacreon of Teos,[145] then she is the lyric counterpart of the pastoral

---

[141] Fox (1999) 170-1 finds 4.8 only marginally Vergilian, but notes its similarities to 4.6 and 4.9. Cf. Wyke (2002) 107-8 on the reversal of generic attributes by Cynthia and Hercules.
[142] See Butler and Barber *ad loc.*
[143] Servius *ad Ecl.* 10.41 associates the name with the Greek *phulla*, 'leaves', in an erotic aetiology. See Van Sickle (1978) 189 n. 81.
[144] See Conte (1986) 116ff., 126-7 on Gallus' departure from the urban and erotic Venus for the pastoral and chaste Diana (as Propertius imagines he will do at 2.19.17-18).
[145] See Hutchinson *ad loc.*

Phyllis, Propertius thus being wooed like Ovid in *Amores* 3.1 by female personifications of competing poetic genres. There are suggestions of a more sympotic context in the musical entertainment (vv. 39, 42), wine and 'summertime glassware service' (*uitrique aestiua supellex*, v. 37), but the sophistication is undercut by the dwarf's spasmodic dancing (v. 41-2) and the pelting of the participants *sine arte* (v. 40, cf. 4.1.6) with roses; the overall impression is one of an impromptu picnic in a local park. Propertius, however, derives no stimulation from his surroundings, despite some concerted efforts from his invitees:

> ***cantabant*** **surdo**, nudabant pectora caeco 4.8.47

From a Vergilian point of view, *cantare* is a uniquely pastoral word, occurring as it does only in the *Eclogues* (cf. perhaps *Ecl.* 10.41: *serta mihi* ***Phyllis*** *legeret,* ***cantaret*** *Amyntas*); *cantabant surdo* recalls Vergil's introduction to *Eclogue* 10 -

> non ***canimus*** **surdis**, respondent omnia siluae *Ecl.* 10.8

- a metapoetically loaded line which perhaps invites the reader to keep an ear out for allusive material (*siluae*) echoing in the ensuing account of Gallus' *a/Amores*. Propertius, like Gallus in *Eclogue* 10, cannot engage mentally with his pastoral surroundings, but jealously fixates on his effeminate rival (vv. 23-26) and dreams he is in Lanuvium (*Lanuuii ad portas, ei mihi, solus eram*, v. 48). From its recurrence in the later elegists, Charles Fantazzi has speculated that this scenario was a commonplace in Gallan elegy; to be sure, his paraphrase of *Eclogue* 10, *mutatis mutandis*, accurately describes the situation of 4.8: "Gallus is present physically in Virgil's world but his mind, distracted by an *insanus amor*, is with Lycoris on a far-off frontier, where he imagines she is dallying with another soldier."[146] Propertius' innovation, however, may be in Cynthia's return, the violence of which is once again played out in a *locus amoenus*, the appropriate setting for the erotic misadventure and generic collision about to unfold. Further tension steals into the pastoral enclave with a number of ill omens (vv. 43-6). The *peripeteia* is immediate and total: the Esquiline park is suddenly endowed with the screeching doors of an urban and therefore more elegiac setting, but Cynthia's irruption into Propertius'

[146] Fantazzi (1966) 183-184. The situation of 4.8 recalls 1.18 and 2.19 (see p. 54 n.13 above).

pastoral bower is seemingly invested with the epic violence of Pyrrhus' invasion of Troy:

> cum subito rauci sonuer**unt** ***cardine postes** 4.8.49

> instat ui patria Pyrrhus; nec claustra nec ipsi
> custodes sufferre ualent; labat ariete crebro
> ianua, et emoti procumb**unt** ***cardine postes**.
> fit uia ui; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant
> immissi Danai et late loca milite complent. *Aen.* 2.491-5

Like Pyrrhus in *Aeneid* 2 and Hercules in 4.9, Cynthia proceeds by force, wreaking havoc and routing her foe. Her extraction of Lygdamus from behind the couch recalls the clash between Hercules and Cacus (*pedibusque informe cadaver* | ***protrahitur***, *Aen.* 8. 265; note also the attack on the victims' *oculi*: 4.8.66, *Aen.* 8.261), thus elevating her retribution to the status of the cosmic battle of good versus evil to be reworked more explicitly in the next elegy (4.9):

> Lygdamus ad plutei fulcra sinistra latens
> eru**itur**, geniumque meum **protractus** adorat. 4.8.68-9

Cynthia's invasion of the Esquiline, then, is both like and unlike Hercules' clash with the Bona Dea's priestess on the Aventine: both are excluded from a *locus amoenus*, but whereas Hercules' post-*Aeneid* 8 assault is waged with the force of epic *militia*, from which he had first attempted to downsize, Cynthia avails herself of the elegiac conceit of *militia amoris*, thereby upsizing to epic. If 4.9 dramatises the collision of pastoral and epic, 4.8 dramatises that of pastoral and elegy:

> Phyllidos iratos in uultum **conicit *u*nguis** 4.8.57

Cynthia's assault of the pastoral Phyllis echoes, appropriately enough, that on Amata by Allecto, chief agent of pastoral disruption in the *Aeneid* (see also pp. 70-1 above):

> huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus ***a*nguem**
> **conicit**, inque sinum praecordia ad intima subdit,
> quo **furibunda** domum monstro permisceat omnem. *Aen.* 7.346-8

Propertius here exploits the close assonance of *unguis* and *anguis*, reducing to the minimum the difference between Allecto's anguine and Cynthia's unguine weaponry; the adjective *furibunda*, which occurs only twice in the *Aeneid*,[147] is transferred from the frenzied Amata to the infuriated Cynthia (***furibunda*** *decens*, v. 52). There are other hints of Allecto's agency here too: having dealt with Amata, she rounds upon Turnus and fires a torch into his breast (*facem*...***coniecit***, *Aen.* 7.456) which drives him wild (***saeuit***, *Aen.* 7.461) and sends him scrambling for his weapons in his bed and through the house (***arma toro*** *tectisque requirit*, *Aen.* 7. 460); again, Cynthia exhibits the symptoms of Allecto's *furor* (***saeuit***, 4.8.55, cf. *Aen.* 7.461), while the striking conjunction of the opposites *arma* and *torus* is redeployed in the poem's concluding words (*toto soluimus* ***arma toro***, 4.8.88), an armistice that nevertheless recognises the erotic motive that sent Turnus into war;[148] in elegy the situation is inverted, however, for erotic *militia* concludes the lovers' scrap, whereas in the *Aeneid* it is Turnus' *amor* that causes a more literal war. When Allecto's work is done, she reports back victoriously (***uictrix***, *Aen.* 7. 544) and haughtily (*uoce* ***superba***, *Aen.* 7.544) to Juno that the stage is set for 'friendship' and 'alliance', by which she means enmity and bloodshed; like Allecto, Cynthia is the clear winner (***uictrix***, 4.8.63) and no less proud (***superba***, 4.8.82), but the truce she establishes with Propertius is sincerely meant.[149]

Once again, then, the *locus amoenus* has been the stage for a clash of genres. On this occasion, however, the elegiac Cynthia does not so much invade pastoral as put it to flight. Her opposition to the pastoral direction taken by Propertius is apparent in her striking echo of the opening of the *Eclogues*:

> **tu** neque Pompeia spatiabere cult***us in umbra** 4.8.75
>
> nos patriam fugimus; **tu**, Tityre, lent***us in umbra**
> formosam resonare doces Amaryllida siluas. *Ecl.* 1.4-5

Whereas Meliboeus, on the brink of exile, observes Tityrus' opportunity to recline in the shade and compose pastoral song, Cynthia, back from death (i.e. 4.7) and exile (she had

---

[147] The other occurrence of *furibunda* (*Aen.* 4.646, of Dido) is also brought to mind here (see p. 165 below).

[148] On the oxymoronic and obscene juxtaposition of *arma toro* at 4.8.88, see Wyke (2002) 107.

[149] *uictrix* occurs just four times in Vergil. For some other fragments and rare words arguably assembled from the relevant (Allecto) passages of *Aeneid* 7, cf. *in uultum*, 4.8.57~*in uultus*, *Aen.* 7.416; *tergit*, 4.8.84~*tergent*, *Aen.* 7.626 (only here in Vergil); *sulpuris*, 4.8.85~*sulpurea*, *Aen.* 7.517.

been dismissed by the poet at the end of Book 3), vetoes Propertius' dalliance in the shade of Pompey's portico, another oxymoronic urban-pastoral setting, like the Esquiline gardens in which the poem's action unfolds. Despite the change of Vergil's *lentus* to *cultus*, the case for an allusion here is corroborated by Ovid's recognition of Propertius' intention in *Ars Amatoria* 1, where several details of this passage are reworked:

***tu** modo ***Pompeia** lentus **spatiare** *sub* ***umbra**	*Ars. Am.* 1.67
***tu** neque ***Pompeia spatiabere** cultus in ***umbra**	4.8.75

The Ovidian line represents a window allusion through Propertius 4.8.75 back to *Eclogue* 1.4: Ovid derives *Pompeia* and *spatiabere* from Propertius, but reverts to Vergil's *lentus in umbra* to show that he has spotted Propertius' variant *cultus in umbra*;[150] *cultus*, after all, is a particularly appropriate adjective for the *docta puella* to substitute for the pastoral *lentus*. We may say with some confidence, therefore, that Cynthia here pronounces a decree against a genre which is perhaps her closest rival.

* * * * *

Whereas elegies 4.1, 4.4, 4.6 and 4.9 to varying degrees dichotomise pastoral/elegy and epic, 4.8 dichotomises pastoral on the one hand, and elegy (or epic as appropriated by elegy) on the other. It is important to recognise that none of the poems in Propertius 4 represents a pastoral *per se*. Rather, they contain pockets of pastoral as a neutral, but independent, territory for the possession of which the superpowers of elegy and epic compete. The question of whether these personified genres clash rather than merge seems to be raised throughout. The fact that Propertius 4.3 is a love-letter from Arethusa, emblem for Vergil of bucolic poetry (*Ecl.* 10.1),[151] to her beloved Lycotas, suspiciously homophonic of Gallus' beloved Lycoris (*Ecl.* 10.2), seems to raise this generic tension from the outset. The possibility of (Vergilio-) Gallan connection here is all but confirmed by elegy 3.12, which treats an identical scenario in which the deserted but ever-faithful wife is named Galla (i.e. a female counterpart to the elegist Gallus?). The possibility of a pastoral

[150] Martial 11.47.3 combines elements of all three to produce a fourth rendition: *cur* ***nec Pompeia*** *lentus spatiatur* ***in umbra?*** See Hollis (1977) ad *Ars Am.* 1.67.
[151] See Putnam (1970) 345.

connection in the names Arethusa and Lycotas suspected by Margaret Hubbard[152] was corroborated by Maria Wyke's citation of Calpurnius Siculus' seventh *Eclogue*, in which a "Lycotas reappears as a defender of rural values".[153] 4.3 would thus stage the abandonment of the elegiac Arethusa by the pastoral Lycotas, once again dramatising the incompatibility of elegy and pastoral, with Lycotas' absence on military grounds confirming the closer affinity of pastoral to epic. If Putnam is correct in seeing Vergil's Arethusa as a paradigm of the immiscibility of the bitter and sweet love which the presence of Gallus in the pastoral environs of *Eclogue* 10 represents,[154] then her resurfacing in Propertius 4 as a Roman girl who curses the inventor of war (4.3.19-20) yet wishes like Gallus in *Eclogue* 10 (and Propertius in 4.8) to pursue her beloved into the pastoral landscape (4.3.47-9) indicates that she herself has yielded to Love. In Propertius, therefore, Arethusa becomes symbolic of elegy,[155] a metamorphosis that makes her out of place in pastoral, and so an elegiac analogue of Vergil's Gallus: to apply Conte's observations on Ovid's *Heroides* to Propertius 4.3, Arethusa "reinterprets all this material of heterogeneous provenance organically and dynamically according to a new literary code, the language of elegy."[156] Were the parameters of individual genres not so clearly established in Latin poetry, as Conte argues,[157] they could not be distinguished one from the other. The result of the generic hostilities in the elegies examined in this chapter is that in each case one genre, and never pastoral, emerges victorious.

---

[152] Hubbard (1974) 142.
[153] Wyke (2002) 92 n.34.
[154] Putnam (1970) 334-5.
[155] See also Wyke (2002) 92: "Heading a pastoral poem [*Ecl.* 10] that narrated an elegiac lover's complaints about his absent mistress, Arethusa had already been associated with the amatory idioms of elegiac writing."
[156] Conte (1994) 122.
[157] Conte (1994) 118 ff.

CHAPTER 3

As dead as a Dido: the Vergilian Female in Propertius 4

ipsa loquor pro me — the rest is silence

Introduction

THERE ARE FEW parallels in Latin literature for the chorus of female voices in Propertius 4: Arethusa (4.3), Tarpeia (4.4), Acanthis (4.5), Cynthia (4.7 and 4.8), and Cornelia (4.11) each take their turn to speak and/or write from their own perspective. Within the Propertian corpus, comparable examples are far fewer, shorter, and more scattered;[1] for an equivalent phenomenon, we must look to the "transvestite ventriloquism" of Ovid's *Heroides*,[2] or to the emancipation of a (biologically?) female voice in the group(s) of elegies ascribed to Sulpicia.[3] Whatever late-republican/early-imperial socio-political dynamics were involved in this development,[4] one literary precedent, if not catalyst, has often been overlooked in studies of Propertius 4, despite having been flagged three decades ago by Margaret Hubbard: "the monologues of Dido had of course intervened meanwhile and given Roman poets a new target to aim at."[5] A year earlier, Judith Hallett had looked to Propertius 4 to offer a groundbreaking reading of Latin elegy as a form of 'counter-cultural feminism'.[6] The objective of this chapter is to re-examine Hubbard's suggestion in the light of the numerous contributions since Hallett to our understanding of the gender dynamics of Roman elegy and epic.

The self-consciousness with which Propertius 4 adopts the female perspective signals innovation. Symbolic of Propertian elegy itself, Vertumnus' statue begins its catalogue

---

[1] Cynthia speaks at 1.3.35-46, 2.15.8, 2.29b.31-8, 3.6.19-34: see Hutchinson 171 and Flaschenriem (1998).

[2] Lindheim (2003) 7 n.16 borrows the term from D.H. Harvey.

[3] For the ascription of [Tibullus] 3.8-12 to an *amicus Sulpiciae*, and [Tibullus] 3.13-18 to Sulpicia proper, and on the relationship between the two groups, see Hinds (1987a). On scholarship's view of Sulpicia as a male, see Parker, H.N. (1994) 'Sulpicia, the *Auctor de Sulpicia* and the authorship of 3.9 and 3.11 of the Corpus Tibullianum', *Helios* 21: 39-62 [*non uidi*].

[4] See e.g. P.A. Miller (2004) 130-159, 184-209; Hemelrijk (2004).

[5] Hubbard (1974) 137.

[6] Hallett (1973).

of metamorphoses by describing the ease with which it can switch gender: *indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella: | meque uirum sumpta quis neget esse toga?* (4.2.23-4).[7] Elegy 4.3 champions the female perspective by purporting, perhaps for the first time in Latin literature,[8] to be composed by the *puella* rather than her *amator*: *Haec Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotae* (4.3.1).[9] The blotting of Arethusa's pen(wo)manship by her tears and the illegible handwriting of her dying hand (4.3.3-6) metatextually obliterate the ventriloquizing voice of the poet and 'authenticate' the text as authored by a woman,[10] belied though the epistolary fiction is by the irony that no such blotting or illegibility could be preserved in a letter multiply copied for publication in the poetry book in which it is accommodated.[11] *Scripta puella* becomes *puella scribens* also in 4.7 when Cynthia's ghost, having enrolled herself among the noble heroines of legend who *narrant historiae tempora nota suae* (4.7.64),[12] composes her own epitaph to correct the written record of Propertian elegy (4.7.85-6). As an expanded form of sepulchral epigram, the *laudatio funebris* delivered in 4.11 by the deceased honorand represents the book's final bid for female vocal/literary emancipation (*ipsa loquor pro me*, 4.11.27).

What complicates these elegies as a straightforwardly progressive development, however, is the fact that each of the female speakers in Propertius 4 is (like Dido and her counterparts in the *Aeneid*) either moribund or already dead. The licence granted to the women of Propertius 4 to compose poetry is manifestly a poetic licence exercised by the (male) poet,[13] and can only empower the female voice to speak *pro se* within the parameters of a patriarchal society which has already reduced it to silence. Nevertheless,

---

[7] So Wyke (2002) 179-80. On Vertumnus as a metaphor for Propertian poetics, see Chapter 5 below.

[8] For a summary opinion on whether or not Propertius 4.3 anticipated Ovid's *Heroides*, see Lindheim (2003) 28-30 with n.74 (p. 197).

[9] See Wyke (2002) 85. On the effacement of Ovid through his construction of first-person heroines, see now Lindheim (2003) esp. 7.

[10] A replication of the traction (*tractus*) of stylus on papyrus is sensed by Dee (1974) 82 in the four spondees of v. 5.

[11] One might also remark on the (?presumably) extra-textual irony of a fictional threat to the legibility of a text of which a secure reading has been thwarted by the non-fictional *liturae* of its manuscript tradition.

[12] Barber's OCT here gives *narrant historiae tempora nota suae*; it is attractive to read *historias…suas* (Markland, adopted by Hutchinson) in apposition to *pectora* (retained by Hutchinson *ad loc.*; see also Lieberg (1984-5)).

[13] Dee (1974) 81 and *passim* observes that the poetic artistry and wry irony of 4.3 continually represent Propertius as the poem's creator. See also Lindheim (2003) 6 for a distinction between the construction of the feminine and the male construction of the feminine in Ovid's *Heroides*.

the prominence of a female voice in a collection of Roman *aetia* raises the possibility of a female interrogation of the patriarchy consistent with the recognised subversive/confrontational tendency of the elegiac genre. A recent collection of essays by feminist critics of elegy begins with the observation that "Latin love elegy offers perhaps the most fertile ground within Roman literature for examining both the problematization of gender roles and the engagement of literary texts with cultural norms and ideologies."[14]

The availability of elegy to this kind of reading has suggested to many critics in the tradition of Hallett that elegy can be gendered 'feminine'.[15] On this view, elegy's binary opposite, epic, is a genre which engenders the dominant patriarchy as masculine. This essentialism of gender and genre is encouraged by both (Vergilian) epic and (Propertian) elegy from their respective opening words: just as the *incipit* of the *Aeneid* echoes and then translates the *incipit* of the *Odyssey* to encode itself as an androcentric genre (Ἄνδρα, *Arma uirumque*), Propertian elegy conversely locates the poet's mistress as the *prima donna* of its orbit (*Cynthia prima*, 1.1.1).[16] Within epic discourse, all that is other than itself is tagged pejoratively as feminine, elegiac, *mollis* etc.,[17] while within the 'gynocentric' discourse of elegy the pejorative terms are masculine, epic, *durus* etc. Accordingly, the Vergilian Hercules enters the elegiac world of Propertius 4.9 as a rather unconvincing effete who ultimately shows his true colours as a 'rapist' of elegiac purity.[18] Conversely, Propertius, the gender-bending hero of elegy, translates to the gender-normative world of epic as the figure of Dido, who self-immolates on a conflagration of elegiac *furor* leaving epic to get on with the business of masculinity;[19] as Stephen Hinds has written, "woman never becomes theorized into epic as an essential

---

[14] Ancona and Greene (2005) 1.

[15] A lucid discussion of the gender of elegy (as ultimately more feminine than masculine) is provided by Wyke (2002) Chapter 5, esp. pp. 175 and 189 (with pp. 185-8 specifically on Propertius 4).

[16] See Kennedy (1993) 83; P.A. Miller (2004) 85. On essentialism of gender and genre, see Hinds (2000).

[17] On the implications of *durus* and *mollis* within androcentric discourse, see Kennedy (1993) 31-2. See further Edwards (1993) 63-97.

[18] The interplay within elegy of its own femininized discourse with the masculinity of epic is a constituent feature of Propertian elegy also prior to Book 4, where the "vacillation of the poet-lover between epic and elegiac discourses subverts the polarity of those discourses" (Ancona and Greene (2005) 5; see Greene (2005)), both exalting elegy to the status of epic and simultaneously inscribing epic within elegy's compass.

[19] On Dido as an elegiac figure, see Cairns (1989) 136-50.

element of the genre, but woman does achieve a kind of essentialized theoretical status as an *ambusher* of the purity of epic."[20]

In the past, scholarship formulated the male-female (or epic-elegy) polarity as one of 'public' versus 'private', with the hero's responsibility to the former taking precedence in the fulfilment of Roman destiny. The central debate between Aeneas and Dido in *Aeneid* 4 is a *locus classicus* of such analysis: for Pease, it contrasts "the woman who subordinates all thought of her nation to the behests of her love" with "the man who suppresses his natural and pardonable impulses in devotion to his family and nation";[21] for Austin, Dido represents "what Aeneas had renounced in gaining his Italy".[22] When Aeneas abandons Dido, therefore, we may say that epic, in the form of male, extricates itself from the non-epic, in the form of female. However, while hermeneutically viable to a point, these dichotomies will lead to misinterpretation if applied too inflexibly. In her own context, Dido is as 'public' a figure as Aeneas is in his, but, unlike Aeneas, Dido ultimately reneges on her civic responsibilities. Thus, as Hinds observes, "Virgil uses, say, Dido, at once protagonist in her own ktistic narrative and secondary love-interest in Aeneas's, to emplot into his epic poem a *continuing* discussion about the otherness of the epic female."[23] As in the case of pastoral/elegy and epic in the previous chapter, then, a coherent reading of male and female dynamics in both epic and elegy requires the presence of 'otherness' to be construed as an incursion rather than a contamination; in a sense, the generic collisions observed in Chapter 2 could each be reformulated in terms of gender in this chapter.

If Propertius 4 is essentially feminine, then, the Dido-analogues there discerned by Hubbard should, on the analysis of Hallett's school, be endorsed as normative figures in the elegiac context. Yet responses to Vergil's Dido, such as Augustine's tears (*Confessions*, 1.13.20-21) or Purcell's *Dido's Lament* (1681), indicate that the *Aeneid* too does not always foster the clear-cut, 'masculine' evaluation of elegiac otherness articulated in the previous paragraph, but instead leaves itself open to 'gynocentric'

---

[20] Hinds (2002) 223 in a discussion of what he terms "dynamic impurity".
[21] Pease (1935) 34.
[22] Austin (1955) xi.
[23] Hinds (2000) 233.

interpretation. Christine Perkell reads Creusa and Dido as "casualt[ies] of the Roman mission," and Aeneas' marriage to Lavinia as a loveless "political act".[24] Ellen Oliensis has synthesised this view with Quint's analysis of the *Aeneid*'s progressive and regressive impetuses to see women either resisting the future and retarding the progress of the epic (Juno, Creusa *viva*, Dido, the Trojan Women, Allecto, Camilla, Juturna) or submitting to "the masculine plot of history" (Creusa *mortua*) and acquiescing in their "exploitation for the future"[25] (Lavinia). Similarly, S.G. Nugent sees women as representing alternatives whose nonessentiality to the *Aeneid*'s "dominant voice" draws them "inexorably toward incorporeality, toward disappearance, toward nonbeing".[26] On this view, a woman such as Camilla "is particularly doomed, because her refusal to marry and procreate means that she can have no place in the proto-Roman state";[27] epic *uiri* (especially ephebes such as Nisus and Euryalus, Pallas *et al.*) can be gendered 'female' too, and similarly have no place in the future: Philip Hardie identifies them as "a series of attractive young people cut down before they reach maturity."[28] Alison Keith has shown that the *Aeneid* shares with other myths of Roman foundation a tendency to require female death as a catalyst for male action.[29] The Vergilian f/Female, therefore, being either superfluous or an impediment to the foundation of Rome, undergoes what has been termed an "erasure" from the epic.[30] Hence, epic's expulsion of the female can be recognised as a symptom of its masculine essentialism, but that does not mean it cannot be penetrated by incursions of 'female' interpretation, as these analyses show. Gynocentric reading of the *Aeneid* is anticipated by Ovid in *Heroides* 7, which focalises the Dido-Aeneas affair from Dido's perspective, just as Arethusa's letter focalises her relationship with Lycotas from hers. The same instinct is reflected at *Tristia* 2.536, where Ovid declares that no other part of the *Aeneid* was read more than the love-story of Dido and Aeneas. Richard Tarrant has suggested that Ovid's tendentious reception of Vergil might influence our own readings of the *Aeneid*;[31]

---

[24] Perkell (1981) 370 and 358.
[25] Oliensis (1997) 303.
[26] Nugent (1999) 264.
[27] James (2002) 144.
[28] Hardie (1994) 25.
[29] Keith (2000) 101-131.
[30] James (2002) 139. The title of Nugent's 1999 article, 'The Women of the *Aeneid* – Vanishing Bodies, Lingering Voices', recognises the same idea.
[31] Tarrant (2002) 26. For discussion of the Ovidian passages cited, see Hinds (2002) 224 and 230.

depending on where one locates the creation of meaning, then, the presence of proto-Ovidian Dido-types in Propertius 4 might similarly be taken to (re)construct the elegiac sympathies of Vergil.

On the other hand, and perhaps to a greater extent than Vergilian epic encourages feminine gendering, a different strand of feminist scholarship reads Propertian elegy as a darkly masculine genre: for Ellen Greene, the temporary inversions of elegy are but a Propertian fantasy in which the female is 'fetishized' for male delectation, objectified under his controlling 'gaze';[32] Thomas Habinek sees the speeches of Cynthia and Cornelia as instances of "delayed ventriloquism" accorded them only in death, and no exception to a wider mechanism of censorship that "silences the female voice even before it can speak" by constructing the elegiac *puella* as a reflection of the male's idealized self-image;[33] Duncan Kennedy reveals elegy's apparent subversions as negative *exempla* potentially available to a 'pro-establishment' didactic agenda.[34] Contrary, therefore, to Hallett's view of Propertius as a proto-feminist, he is an age-old misogynist, more womaniser than woman, and his Cynthia is more dominated than *domina*. Instead of resisting androcentrism, therefore, Propertian elegy might after all collude with epic in its (apparent) repression of female interests.

According to these diverse readings of gender in elegy and epic, Propertius and Vergil in their intertextual interaction will oppose female elegy against masculine epic and/or expose (or impose) latent epic masculinity or elegiac femininity in each other. It is important to be aware of these possibilities. Allison Keith has shown how the ancient commentaries on Vergil (a tradition which commenced in Vergil's own lifetime) endorse the *Aeneid*'s male/female antitheses with such insensitivity to (or occlusion of) its gender ambiguities that they offer a commentary foremost on their own gender bias: paradoxically, Servius and Donatus laud the *uirtus* of the feminised Euryalus and regard his (fatal) tarrying for spoils as noble and heroic, but simultaneously abhor the participation of Camilla in warfare and ascribe her (also fatal) desire for spoils to

---

[32] Greene (1998); see also Kennedy (1993) 70-75.
[33] Habinek (1998) with quotations from pp. 130 and 127 respectively. See now Dufallo (2007) on 4.7 and 4.11 as a subtype of *prosopopoeia* termed *mortuos ab inferis excitare*.
[34] Kennedy (1993) 35-7, deconstructing Stahl's 'anti-Augustan' reading of Propertius.

feminine and (therefore) ignoble materialism.[35] Their view of gender is already too 'essentialised' to appreciate where the text calls them to interrogate ideologies of gender, such as at the first sighting of Camilla:

> bellatrix, non illa **colo** calathisue Mineruae
> *femineas* adsueta **manus**, sed proelia *uirgo*
> **dura** pati cursuque pedum praeuertere uentos. *Aen.* 7.805-7

The most conspicuous comparand in Propertius 4 for Camilla's inversion of gender norms is Hercules, who doffs – or rather covers up – his epic masculinity when seeking admission to a *locus amoenus* of elegiac *puellae*, a metanarrative already shown to construct Vergil as Propertius' precursor (above, p. 39-49) and to stage the collision of Vergilian and Propertian poetics. Similarities between Hercules 'femininity' and Camilla's 'masculinity' are also instructive for the present discussion:

> idem ego Sidonia feci seruilia palla
> officia et Lydo pensa diurna **colo**,
> *mollis* et hirsutum cepit mihi fascia pectus,
> et **manibus duris** apta *puella* fui.' 4.9.47-50

Whereas Camilla's 'feminine hands' spurn the distaff (*colus* occurs only twice in Vergil) in preference for 'hard war', Hercules' 'hard hands' conversely take up the distaff to convert him into an *apta puella*.[36] Hercules and Camilla thus make inverse gender inversions, but meet half-way: now an *exclusus amator*, Hercules' nearest point of comparison within an epic frame of reference is Camilla. The 'experiment' results in each case in failure and a reversion to the default (already encoded in the adjectives applied to their respective hands: his 'hard' hands disqualify Hercules from elegy, her 'feminine' hands disqualify Camilla from epic). Within the 'centrism' of each genre, then, the failure of transgression reasserts the purity of gender and genre: paradoxically, transgression presupposes, or even requires for its existence, the very essentialism that

---

[35] Keith (2000) 27-31; also on Camilla's gender inversion, see Boyd (1992) esp. pp. 215-21.
[36] See DeBrohun (2003) 157-65, with emphasis on genre; Lindheim (1998), with emphasis on gender.

erases transgression.[37] There is, however, a difference between the two experiments under analysis: crucially, Camilla's transgression ends tragically (for her), whereas Hercules' ends comically and triumphantly (for him). It is something of a *non sequitur* that a female should die in her transgression of an androcentric context, but that a male should triumph in his transgression of a gynocentric context – unless, that is, the 'centrism' in each case is fundamentally the same: androcentric. This is perhaps a point in favour of readings of elegy which suspect that it is the gender-bending elegist who, like Hercules here, wears the trousers (under his skirt).[38] Comparison of Hercules and Camilla thus spotlights a passage of the *Aeneid* which has most in common with the gender nonconformity of elegy, but which also reveals a fundamental androcentrism common to both. Propertius 4, after all, is a book full of women none of whom survive; at the same time, however, its hospitality to this very deconstruction is once more a (potential) indicator of its gynocentrism, imposed if not exposed. Don Fowler's reflections on gender and closure are a suitable place to end this introduction: "simply to endorse male authorial control over women's voices in their texts is to acquiesce in a naïve notion of the power of the author in the face of a determined reader".[39]

Propertius' *Aeneid* (4.1a)

Female erasure is a conspicuous feature of the panorama of Roman history unfurled by Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1, paraded in the underworld pageant of *Aeneid* 6, and embossed on the Shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8:[40] if not entirely absent from these key passages, women are either exploited for the survival of Rome (Sabines) or demonised and exterminated as threats (Cleopatra). Propertius 4.1a offers one such panorama of proto-Roman history. As in Vergil's *Aeneid*, intertextually in view from the first couplet, women here too suffer near-total erasure from the grand plan of Roman destiny. Framing what might be read as a series of snapshots from the *Aeneid* (4.1.39-54) are two couplets recalling the legendary nursing of Romulus and Remus by the she-wolf (4.1.37-8, 55-6). The emphasis in each couplet on the twins' feral foster-mother

[37] See e.g. P.A. Miller (2004) 190 on Propertius 4.4.
[38] Lindheim (1998) argues that Hercules represents the elegiac *amator* who also vacillates between masculine and feminine.
[39] Fowler (2000) 293.
[40] Keith (2000) 19.

(*altricem…lupam*, v. 38; *optima nutricum…lupa Martia*, v. 55), and the visceral combination of her blood in the first couplet with her milk in the second, deny the participation of Ilia, the twins' human mother, in the origins of the Roman race. Moreover, *lupa Martia* carefully registers "the city's *paternal* descent, from the god of war himself".[41] However, Ilia's tragedy is not entirely effaced from the Propertian record, for her name survives, as if by accident, in the preceding couplet:

> 'uertite equum, Danai! male uincitis! ***Ilia** tellus
> uiuet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma **dabit**.'
> optima **nutricum** nostris **lupa *Martia*** rebus,
> qualia creuerunt moenia lacte tuo!
> ***moenia** namque pio coner ***disponere*** uersu: 4.1.53-7

Though referring primarily to Rome's Trojan ancestry, the description of Rome as *Ilia tellus* (v. 53) cannot but recall its founder's human mother. Beneath the surface of the text, therefore, an indelible Ilia bears witness to what has been analysed by Keith as her subordination to and incorporation into the masculine landscape.[42] Given Ilia's punishment is associated with her perceived unchastity, *lupa Martia* might suggest 'Mars' whore' (*OLD* s.v. 2), invoking the alternative, and more rational, version of the legend acknowledged at Livy 1.4. Outwardly, though, these lines endorse a less problematic view of Ilia's (non-) function, recalling to that end the speech of Jupiter in *Aeneid* 1, perhaps signposted here by *Iuppiter* (v. 54), who relates the androcentric view of Ilia's incidental role in Rome's *ktisis*:

> […] donec regina sacerdos
> **Mart**e grauis geminam partu **dabit *Ilia** prolem.
> inde **lupae** fuluo **nutricis** tegmine laetus
> Romulus excipiet gentem et ***Mauortia condet***
> ***moenia** Romanosque suo de nomine dicet. *Aen.* 1.272-7

Propertius' version of these lines removes all human agency from Rome's foundation, with the exception of his own: in setting out the city-walls in 'pious verse', he supplants

---

[41] DeBrohun (2003) 11 (my emphasis); see ibid. 67-8, 92.
[42] Keith (2000) 42-7, 103-7.

Romulus and Aeneas as literal founder and Vergil as literary founder of Rome.[43] Unusually for an elegist, however, Propertius goes further than Jupiter or Vergil in erasing the female from his text: *lupa Martia* elides what in Vergil are the separate elements of Romulus' parentage, and so emphasises the feral and martial, but not the female, ingredients in the Roman stock. Tarpeia will recall this intertextuality with her ascription of Romulus' bellicosity to the lupine udder on which he was suckled (*quem sine matris honore* | ***nutrit*** *inhumanae dura papilla* ***lupae***. 4.4.53-4), underscoring the minimal role of human motherhood in the birth of Rome, and thereby foreshadowing her own superfluity in Rome's subsequent history.

In accordance with Vergilian practice, the condensed and selective version of the *Aeneid* encapsulated within these framing couplets also enshrines the redundancy of womanhood in Rome's prehistory. Propertius recalls the iconic scene of Aeneas' flight from Troy with father on shoulders and son in hand:[44]

> cum **pater** in nati trepidus **ceruice** pependit,
> et uerita est **umeros** urere flamma *pios*. 4.1.43-4

> 'ergo age, care **pater**, **ceruici** imponere nostrae;
> ipse subibo **umeris** nec me labor iste grauabit; *Aen.* 2.707-8

The famous *pietas* which Propertius here celebrates (*pius*, v. 44) occludes the criticism that a feminist reading might level against Aeneas for neglecting to rescue his wife as well;[45] contrary to the tradition inherited by Vergil,[46] she is fatally left following at a distance (*longe seruet uestigia coniunx*, *Aen.* 2.711; cf. v. 725). Other critics emphasise Creusa's negative pull on the forward momentum of Aeneas' mission: symbolic of "familial responsibilities and of the home to which he [i.e. Aeneas] must return,"[47] she

---

[43] See Hutchinson 57-8n. for Propertius as another Aeneas here.
[44] The allusion is noted by Lucot (1960) 175, who overlooks *pater* but does point out that "pour authentifier le souvenir, Properce se plait à reprendre, dans le même ordre, les mots de Virgile". See also Hutchinson *ad locc.* for a range of passages evoked.
[45] On Aeneas' neglect of Creusa, see Perkell (1981) 358-62.
[46] On the tradition that Aeneas' wife accompanied him into exile, see Austin (1964) 795n.
[47] Nugent (1999) 266. Heinze (1915) 34-7 sees the necessity of Creusa's exit, but absolves Aeneas of responsibility by arguing that Vergil made her follow behind so that his hero could plausibly be unaware of her demise.

is necessarily scripted an early exit from the epic. It has also been argued that, as a mother, she must be left behind in an epic which privileges patrilineal descent,[48] a theme given symbolic representation by the vertical arrangement - so faithfully sculpted by Bernini - of grandfather, son, and grandson.[49] Whatever interpretation of Roman legend the Vergilian narrative invites, the patriotism of Propertius 4.1 does not apparently pause to count the cost.

The ensuing lines continue the idea of female subordination to the grand plan of Roman destiny by recalling Venus' provision of arms to Aeneas in a way that suppresses the parental bond: the victorious armaments not are *sui nati*, but *sui Caesaris* (4.1.46). It is notable that the identical scene in *Aeneid* 8 represents the only occasion in the epic when Venus seeks rather than shuns her son's embrace (*amplexus nati*, *Aen.* 8.615 ≠ *Aen.* 1.407-9): as in the *Aeneid*, where Venus is maternal only in the interests of securing dynastic descent,[50] now too in elegy the goddess of love is an agent of empire.

The Sibyl (4.1.49-50) and Cassandra (4.1.51-2) are similarly subordinate: the former articulates, as she does in the *Aeneid*, the predestination of the Roman nation; Cassandra's suffering at Troy (*Aen.* 2.403-6) is ignored to focus on the resurrection and revenge of Trojan-Rome. In sum, therefore, 4.1.37-56 endorses the dominant 'masculine' voice of the *Aeneid* which allots to women either a place of subordination in the relentless forward march of Roman destiny, or no place at all. The rest of 4.1a offers little to contradict this: the only other female mentioned is Vesta (v. 21), representative *par excellence* of Roman *castitas*, and worshipped in a proto-Rome dominated by *Patres* (v. 12) and *uiri* (v. 31). If Propertius' contrasts between the primitive rusticity of proto-Rome and the present splendour of Augustan Rome are

---

[48] Oliensis (1997) 304-5.

[49] Perkell (1981). See also Lee (1979) 43-6; Hardie (1993) 88-119, esp. 91-3 on Augustus' problems in finding a successor. The theme of generational descent might also be suggested in a deliberate ambiguity, posited by Marty (1961), at 4.1.43 as to whether the father and son to whom Propertius alludes are Anchises and Aeneas at *Aen.* 2.707-8 (quoted above), in which case *pependit* is from *pendēre* and suggests "Anchise en équilibre instable" *on* his son's neck (*in…ceruice*), or Aeneas and Ascanius in the preceding scene at *Aen.* 2.681-91, where a flame appears over Ascanius' head (*innoxia…flamma*, *Aen.* 2.683 ~ *uerita est…flamma*, 4.1.44), in which case *pependit* derives from *pendēre* and suggests a father pondering "en suspens" (*trepidus…pependit*, 4.1.43 ~ *nos pauidi trepidare*, *Aen.* 2.685) *concerning* his son's neck (*in…ceruice*).

[50] James (2002) 144-6. See also Boyle (1999) 148.

suggestive of an oriental emasculation of occidental *uirtus*, perhaps traced seminally to the arrival of Aeneas 'the Phrygian' (v. 2), the subversion is not so concrete as to placate Horos, doctrinaire representative of epic's opposite pole of elegy.

Horos' *Aeneid* (4.1b)

Propertius' opening bid to sing in Vergilian strains provokes Horos' intervention and delimitation of elegy's scope to the amatory sphere. The established view of elegy as an (ostensibly) 'emasculated' or 'feminine' genre is explicitly articulated by Horos, establishing from the outset the book's dynamic tension between 'masculine' and feminine' poetics.[51]

Horos begins his speech by admonishing the elegist's epic impetuosity and predicting the demise of his new project:

> '**Quo ruis** *imprudens*, uage, dicere fata, Properti?
> non sunt a dextro **condita fila** colo. 4.1.71-2

Horos here proves himself as selective a reader of Vergil as Propertius, for his rebuke recalls that of Aeneas to Lausus, the ephebe he is ruefully forced to kill:

> '**Quo** moriture **ruis** *maioraque uiribus audes*?
> fallit te incautum pietas tua.' nec minus ille
> exsultat *demens*, saeuae iamque altius irae
> Dardanio surgunt ductori, extremaque Lauso
> *Parcae* **fila** *legunt*. ualidum namque exigit ensem
> per medium Aeneas iuuenem totumque **recondit**; *Aen.* 10.811-816

Just as Lausus takes on Aeneas, Propertius dares to take on the *Aeneid*; Horos' implication would seem to be that both endeavours are equally doomed. Propertius *imprudens* thus becomes Lausus *demens*, daring like him to punch above his (generic) weight but equally short on the threads (*fila*) of destiny, as their respective opponents try to impress upon them (*quo ruis*...). However, in imitating Aeneas' threat to Lausus,

[51] On the bipartite agenda of Propertius 4, see e.g. Wyke (2002) 80-85.

Horos ironically assumes the voice of an epic killer, thus letting slip that he is after all constructed by the epicizing poet he apparently critiques.

Horos goes on to quote Apollo's injunction to Propertius to endure *seruitium* to a single mistress (vv. 139-144) in the campaigns of *militia amoris*:

> at tu finge elegos, fallax **opus**: haec tua castra! -
> *scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo.*
> ***militiam** ***Veneris*** blandis *patiere* sub armis,
> et Veneris Pueris utilis hostis eris. 4.1.135-8

The language of this conventional elegiac conceit may be heroic, but the immediate objection of Propertius' purist critic is that elegy cannot play host to epic themes any more than epic can safely accommodate elegiac, non-masculine elements. It is precisely this point which Evander tragically fails to recognise when he sends his ephebic son to war:

> Pallanta adiungam; sub te *tolerare* magistro
> ***militiam** et graue ***Martis** **opus**, *tua cernere facta*
> *adsuescat*, primis et te miretur ab annis. *Aen.* 8.515-7

Similarities indicate that Horos/Apollo is once again linking Propertius with the ephebic victims of the *Aeneid*. As if to prepare for the allusion, Pallas' situation is paralleled earlier in Horos' speech in the fate of the "elegiac paradigms"[52] Gallus and Lupercus (vv. 89-98). Both Pallas and Propertius (at the time of this injunction) are debutants, and both are setting out to endure *militia* (*militiam...patiere*, 4.1.137; *tolerare...militiam*, *Aen.* 8.515-6), but whereas Pallas has yet to learn the *graue...opus* (*Aen.* 8.516) of the war-god, Propertius is already a qualified exemplar of the *fallax opus* (4.1.135) of the love-goddess. Horos, then, supplies an *aition* of his own by implicitly associating Propertius' status as an elegist with the absence of a male role model in his formative years (*incipe tu lacrimis...nouis*, 4.1.120): whereas Pallas' mother died before her son (cf. *Aen.* 11.158-9), the death of Propertius' father (vv. 127-8) required him to grow up *matris...ante deos* (v. 132).

---

[52] Nethercut (1968) 94.

Arethusa (4.3)

puella scribens

Unlike the evanescent females of Vergilian epic and 4.1a, Arethus'a letter to Lycotas inscribes the female into the poetic oeuvre. Like the Postumus of 3.12, Lycotas has forsaken his wife to serve in the Eastern campaigns, but whereas it is Propertius who upbraids Postumus for abandoning Galla to follow the *Augusti fortia signa* (3.12.2), Arethusa pens her own letter of admonishment to Lycotas:[53] "[g]rande psicologo, interprete finissimo dell' anima femminile in tutte le sue espressioni si revela Properzio, anche nell' elegia IV, 3".[54] Arethusa's letter, then, is an invitation to hear the female voice speaking *pro se*, or attempting to do so, in a show of resistance against the male-only discourse represented in 4.1a.

First in the series of female voices, then, Arethusa initially seems to fulfil Horos' prediction that Propertius' epic designs would be frustrated by an elegiac *puella.* However, while Arethusa does display signs of jealousy (vv. 25-6) and imperiousness (*mittit mandata*, vv. 1; 69), and (?wishfully) styles Lycotas as her effete and emaciated *amator* (v. 23-4, 27-8), it is clear that she is not of the same mould as Propertius' earlier creations. A curious inversion of elegy's *exclusus amator* motif indicates a shift in her personal circumstances: housebound, Arethusa is *inclusa*, as indeed the *puella* of the *paraclausithyron* must be, but it is she who pines within, and it is she who garlands the *portae* in fretful anticipation of her beloved's return (vv. 17; 71).[55] The subverted dynamics of gender and power so characteristic of Propertian elegy are here 'normalised' with the identification of the *puella* with the submissive *amator.* A comparable failure of 'women's lib' can be observed in the *Heroides*, where the female voice dismantles her own emancipation by consistently moving the man to the

---

[53] Rambaux (2001) 285, finds Propertius in 3.12 the severer critic, but argues that the contrast in each case between loyal housebound wife and insensitive absent husband serves as a foil to the faithless Cynthia and the loyal Propertius, thus constituting (in both poems) "un reproche addressé à Cynthie".

[54] Celentano (1956) 55.

[55] On Arethusa as *inclusa amator*, see DeBrohun (2003) 149-51; Dee (1974) 87; Maltby (1981) 245.

epicentre of her situation.[56] Moreover, as the domiciled, faithful, wool-working wife of a Roman *miles*, Arethusa becomes a kind of Penelope or Lucretia. However, like Penelope and Lucretia, Arethusa's happy domesticity has been disrupted by warfare. From the elegiac perspective, this entails the intrusion and (re)establishment of epic as the prevailing norm: as Maria Wyke observes, the epic ethos requires Lycotas on the battlefield and Arethusa in the home, and the transferral of erotic imagery back to military *realia*: "not so much *militia amoris* as *amor militis*."[57] Arethusa would thus prefer her husband's emaciation and wounds to be the consequences of his campaigning rather than his philandering (vv. 23-8).

Arethusa: a reluctant Dido

On this analysis, correlation between Arethusa and the tragic women of the *Aeneid* should not be expected, since Arethusa is not the kind of woman who undergoes erasure, being already invisible. Indeed, observing her simplicity and passivity, Hubbard remarks that "[t]o compare Arethusa with Dido is absurd."[58] As a monogamous *matrona*, she disclaims interest in attractive finery: *nam mihi quo* ***Poenis*** *ter* ***purpura*** *fulgeat* ***ostris*** (4.3.51). Arethusa here rejects not only the licentiousness of the elegiac *puella*, but perhaps also the erotic militarism of Dido, who goes hunting with Aeneas sporting precisely the sort of Punic gear that Arethusa rejects: *reginam…* | ***Poenorum*** *exspectant,* ***ostro****que insignis et auro* | *…****purpur****eam subnectit fibula uestem* (*Aen.* 4.133-4, 139). Instead of venturing out with horse and hound (*Aen.* 4. 132), she stays indoors with her lapdog (4.3.55). Arethusa's 'normality', then, corrects the transgressive inversions of Dido.

Yet we should not lose sight of the adaptability of Dido's situation to the epistolary form: the Ovidian Dido in *Heroides* 7 pens a letter which assumes the status of a primary document, a prop from the Vergilian drama itself, with all the possibilities for

---

[56] Lindheim (2003) Ch. 1 *passim*, anticipated by Hubbard (1974) 144: "It is a part of the singular charm of Arethusa that by denying her efficient use of the rhetoric of persuasion, by showing her concentrated on the effort to make Lycotas see what she sees, never mind inference or connexion, Propertius has produced one of the few portraits antiquity offers of a good and beautiful noodle, loving, tender, and not in the least clever or formidable."

[57] Wyke (2002) 91. See also DeBrohun (2003) 187; Dee (1974) 86; Janan (2001) 59.

[58] Hubbard (1974) 145.

irony which that fiction mobilises.[59] Arethusa's letter is also motivated by events, takes place in a setting, and involves characters and props all broadly identifiable in *Aeneid* 4, which can be read as a miniature tragedy (as yet without a letter) embedded in the kindred genre of epic.[60] Arethusa and Dido lose their respective 'husbands' to their prevailing vocation to epic militarism; both are left to lament their lot and, in one case if not both, to die.[61] As will be shown in the case of Tarpeia, some aspects of Arethusa's condition will necessarily coincide with Dido (e.g. their tears (4.3.4, *Aen.* 4.437) and *agrypnia* (4.3.31-3, *Aen.* 4.5.9)), whom Francis Cairns has cogently analysed as a composite of generic elegiac *amatores*.[62] Other similarities, however, arguably go beyond these more conventional particulars. There is persistent reference to things African in Arethusa's surroundings (*Tyria*, v. 34; *Africus*, v. 48; *Poenis*, v. 51); like Dido, Arethusa has only a sister and nurse (the typical minor characters of tragedy) to comfort her:[63]

assidet **una soror**, curis et pallida **nutrix**	4.3.41
'Annam, cara mihi **nutrix**, huc siste **sororem**'	*Aen.* 4.632

una soror suggests Anna's epithet (***una****nimam*...***sororem***, *Aen.* 4.8), or alternatively echoes Dido's first words in *Aeneid* 4 (***Anna soror***, *Aen.* 4.9), or conceivably both, given their occurrence in successive lines. Both Aeneas and, even less explicably, Lycotas have left some of their armaments behind (*si qua* ***relicta*** *iacent*...*arma*, 4.3.30; *ensem*...***relictum***, *Aen.* 4.507),[64] but whereas Dido fatally consummates her erotic passion by providing the metaphorical scabbard for Aeneas' literal sword, Arethusa merely kisses Lycotas' weapons, willingly, and more innocuously, conflating sexual and

---

[59] See Knox (1995) 20-24, 201-233.

[60] Pease (1935) 8-11; Harrison (1972-3); Moles (1984).

[61] Cf. 4.3.6: *morientis*, which Heyworth (1999) 72 sees as contributing to "Arethusa's casting of herself as a Dido-type figure, capable of suicide." Cf. the couplet by [Ovid] *ante Her.* 7 where Dido writes to Aeneas in a similar vein: *Accipe, Dardanide,* ***morituraе*** *carmen Elissae.* Given the intertextuality of 4.3 and the *Heroides*, the similarity would suggest that either Ovid or Propertius was here aware of the association with Dido in 4.3. See, however, Fedeli *ad loc.*, who, disagreeing with Mersmann, sees no case here for Ovidian primacy and construes no connection with Dido's suicide.

[62] Cairns (1989) 136-50.

[63] This similarity is noted by Fedeli *ad loc.* and Heyworth (1999) 72.

[64] So Bernadini Marzolla, P. (1955) 'Tre elegie di Properzio', *Maia* 7: 163-83, esp. pp. 177-9 [*non uidi*], cited by Heyworth (1999) 72 n.3.

military imagery.[65] The self-destructive violence inflicted by Dido upon her own flesh is converted into Arethusa's georgic productivity (perhaps specifically signposted by *laboro*):[66]

> noctibus **hibernis** castrensia pensa laboro
> et **Tyria** in gladios **uellera** secta tuos; 4.3.33-4

> et stabula a uentis **hiberno** opponere soli
> [...]
> nec minor usus erit, quamuis Milesia magno
> **uellera** mutentur **Tyrios** incocta rubores. *Geo.* 3.302-7

4.3.34 (*et Tyria in gladios uellera secta suos*), without the emendation to which it is usually subjected,[67] neatly highlights both the similarity and difference between Dido and Arthusa: in both cases, Tyrian skin is cut by the missing lover's sword, but what in the *Aeneid* is Dido's bitter suicide becomes in 4.3 Arethusa's devoted service to Lycotas.

In 4.3, as in *Aeneid* 4, it is winter (4.3.33, 42; *Aen.* 4.309); however, whereas Lycotas' delayed return to Arethusa is fictively attributed to the season's unsuitability for sailing (*peierat **hiberni** temporis esse moras*, 4.3.42), Aeneas hastens the construction of his fleet to quit Carthage and Dido despite the prevailing conditions (*quin etiam **hiberno** moliri sidere classem | et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum*, *Aen.* 4.309-10); perhaps not incidentally, Propertius' *moras* trades with Vergil's *properas* an anagram of Vergil's cognomen for a pun on Propertius' nomen: if significant, then Propertius is appropriately inscribing himself into Vergil's most elegiac book, and Vergil into Propertius' most epic collection.

---

[65] Dido's suicide on her *lectus* (a *hapax legomenon* in Vergil) is perhaps echoed in Arethusa's lament on hers after kissing Lycotas' armaments: Cf., perhaps, *si qua **relicta** iacent, osculor **arma** tua; | tum queror in toto non sidere pallia **lecto**.* (4.3.30-1) with *tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras | erige, et **arma** uiri thalamo quae fixa **reliquit** | impius exuuiasque omnis **lectum**que iugalem, | quo perii, super imponas* (*Aen.* 4.494-7).

[66] On the centrality of *labor* in the *Georgics*, see Gale (2000) 143-195. Cf. also the farmer's wife weaving by night at *Geo.* 1.293-4 (with *hiberni*, v. 291).

[67] Barber's OCT prints *et Tyria in clauos uellera secta tuos*. See now Hutchinson *ad loc.*

Though the circumstances of Arethusa and Dido are analogous, their reactions are quite different: Dido is ultimately consumed in a conflagration of elegiac *furor*, whereas Arethusa, though also prone to some of Dido's elegiac 'weaknesses', embodies a *matrona*'s temperance. Whereas Arethusa enjoys official, uxorious status, Dido is not legitimately betrothed to Aeneas, as indicated by the perverse marriage rites and ensuing authorial comment which attend their al fresco union (*Aen.* 4.165-72). Arethusa may question the auspices under which she was married (vv. 13-16), but married she is (*nupsi*, v. 16), and therefore in possession of what Dido can only feign:

> omnis **amor** magnus, sed ***aperto*** in **coniug**e maior 4.3.49

The precise meaning of Arethusa's *aperto in coniuge* is debated, but the majority view, according to which Arethusa means love for an "openly acknowledged" husband,[68] can be supported by the lexical and thematic similarities to the crucial passage of *Aeneid* 4 in which, according to the narrator, Dido vainly constructs her elegiac *furtiuus amor* as a respectable marriage:

> nec iam ***furtiuum*** Dido meditatur **amorem**:
> **coniug**ium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam. *Aen.* 4. 171-2

Though commenting on Arethusa's expression without reference to Dido's, Lieberg nonetheless hits upon the *mot juste*: "[v]erba *aperto in coniuge*... verbis 'furtivo in coniuge' opponuntur."[69] 4.3 thus inverts the elegiac preference for *furtiuus amor*, and pronounces on one of the central arguments of *Aeneid* 4: Arethusa can legitimately remind Lycotas of their marital vows (*haecne marita fides*...?, v. 11), but Dido is reminded by Aeneas that they were never married at all (*nec coniugis umquam | praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera ueni*, *Aen.* 4.338-9).[70]

---

[68] Maltby (1981) following Passerat, Rothstein, Mersmann, Butler and Barber, and Fedeli. *Contra* are Camps and Rothstein, for whom *apertus* means simply *praesens conspicuusque*. See Heyworth (1999); Hutchinson *ad loc.*, weighs up the argument for deletion.

[69] Lieberg (1998) 362 (my emphasis). Cf. Maltby (1981) 244.

[70] In further support of a textual rather than merely thematic allusion in Arethusa's sententious definition of her love, the preceding couplet (*cum Pater altas | Africus in* **glaciem** *frigore nectit aquas*, vv. 47-8) details icy conditions in Africa (though improbable, no cause for the emendations normally made here), which are precisely the same conditions (*insequitur commixta* **grandine** *nimbus*)

Another difference between Propertius 4.3 and *Aeneid* 4 is that the device of Arethusa's letter excludes the interaction of both Lycotas and poet, unlike *Aeneid* 4, in which Dido's assessment of her situation is counterbalanced by interlocution with Aeneas and authorial comment. Were these elements to be extracted from the *Aeneid*, Dido's conviction that she is a married woman would remain unchallenged, as in Arethusa's letter. Paradoxically, it is this narratological difference which indicates a potential similarity: given the inversions observed above, it seems reasonable to consider whether Arethusa too might not be suffering from the elegiac lover's delusions. Read in this way, Arethusa's doubts about the solidity of her marriage find disturbing resonance with Dido's situation:

> quae mihi deductae ***fax*** omen praetulit, illa
> traxit ab euerso lumina nigra **rogo**;
> et **Stygio** sum **sparsa** lacu, nec recta **capi**llis
> **uitta** data est: nupsi non comitante deo. 4.3.13-16

Dee finds no Latin precedent for Arethusa's inversion of traditional marriage rites,[71] though it can be noted that the conversion of nuptial torches to funereal firebrands is reminiscent of Propertius 2.7, where identical imagery is used to portray marriage as a deadly threat to 'true love'. The conflation of wedding and funeral rituals is a standard image in Greek tragedy,[72] and therefore recurs prominently in the tragedy of *Aeneid* 4 when Dido self-immolates on a pyre crowned with her *lectus iugalis* (*Aen.* 4.496) and constructed in her *thalamus* (*Aen.* 4.495);[73] Dido's preparations involve the same trappings and ritual found in Arethusa's chthonic description of her wedding day (*fluuiali* ***spargere*** *lympha* | … *tege tempora* ***uitta***. / *sacra Ioui* ***Stygio***… | *perficere est animus* … | *Dardaniique* ***rogum capi****tis permittere* **flammae**, *Aen.* 4.635-40). Despite Arethusa's apparent inversion of the elegiac preference for *furtiuus amor*, then, she might after all participate in elegiac love and its tragic consequences.

---

as drive Dido and Aeneas on that infamous day (*ille dies*, *Aen.* 4.169 ~ *illa dies*, 4.3.61) to shelter in a cave in the same (improbable) region.

[71] Dee (1974) 84.

[72] See Rehm (1994).

[73] On Dido's conflation of marriage and funeral imagery in Greek tragedy, see Keith (2000) 114. The similarity with 4.3 is also observed by Heyworth (1999) 72.

Amazonian Arethusa

The echoes in Arethusa's letter of Dido's less favourable situation dismantle the assurances on which she had thought she could depend. The despair intensifies with the inference that Lycotas has been on service for some time (4.3.7-10, 18), in mortal danger (vv. 63-66); in petition for his safety, Arethusa seeks the altars (cf. *Aen.* 4.56-66) and prays that her effete beloved will not over-expose himself to the perils of glory-grabbing or bounty-hunting:

> ne, precor, ascensis tanti sit gloria Bactris,
> raptaue odorato **carbasa** lina duci,
> plumbea cum tortae sparguntur pondera fundae,
> subdolus et uersis in**crepat** arcus equis! 4.3.63-6

Michaela Janan concentrates on the erotic imagery in Lycotas' assault against his opponent to show that Roman militarism is directly responsible for engendering in Rome the softened masculinity that had previously been projected onto Rome's enemies: "The scented enemy commander only inverts the Roman ethos, without changing it structurally – which emerges in Lycotas' imagined libertinage at the borders of the empire."[74] Lycotas' battlefield gender inversion recalls the scene in *Aeneid* 11 in which the militant Camilla hunts down the orientalising Trojan priest Chloreus either in the hope of affixing weapons to temples (vv. 78-9) or of satisfying her 'feminine' desire for spoils (*femineo praedae et spoliorum...amore*, *Aen.* 11.782). Lexical coincidences between Arethusa's fears for Lycotas and Vergil's description of Chloreus secure the thematic similarity: warning her effeminate Lycotas not to be seduced by the enemy's ***carbasa lina*** (*carbasa* (4.3.64) occurs once elsewhere in Propertius), Arethusa evokes the luxury linen of the effeminate Chloreus (*sinus* ***crepantis*** | ***carbaseos***, *Aen.* 11.775-6: *carbaseus* occurs only here in Vergil) to which Camilla was so fatally drawn; the twanging bow dreaded by Arethusa (*in**crepat arcus***, 4.3.66) recalls the sound of Chloreus' garment (*crepare* occurs only once elsewhere in Vergil) and the sight of his weaponry (***arcus***, *Aen.* 11.774), though in her own normalised world *crepare* signals her appropriate activity at the altar (*et* ***crepat*** *ad ueteres herba Sabina focos*, v. 58) where *popae* confine their slaughter

[74] Janan (2001) 64.

to religious sacrifice (v. 61-2). There results the suggestion of an equation between Camilla and Lycotas, one a female warrior with masculine characteristics, the other a male soldier with feminine characteristics, both perilously attracted to their opposite number on the field of battle. The allusion reinforces Arethusa's concerns, and we wonder with her whether Lycotas will fare any better than Camilla in the hyper-masculine world of epic.

These allusions to Camilla and Chloreus destabilise the gender roles apparently normalised in Arethusa's letter. Similarly, just as Lycotas makes for a suspiciously unepic soldier, Arethusa's aspiration to bridge the gulf by which she is separated from him threatens to complicate her own femininity:[75] her domestic chores (vv. 33-4, examined above) become part of the war effort, she studies the geography of the new frontiers (vv. 35-40), and even wishes to enlist in the army like an Amazon (vv. 43-48):

> felix **Hippolyte**! nuda tulit arma *papilla*
> et texit galea barbara molle caput.
> Romanis utinam patuissent castra puellis!
> essem militiae sarcina fida tuae,
> nec me tardarent ***Scythiae*** **iuga**, cum Pater altas
> †Africus† in glaciem frigore nectit aquas. 4.3.43-48

Arethusa dreams of crossing the gender divide and participating in non-erotic *militia* like the Amazon Hippolyte, thereby aspiring to become the very Camilla-figure that she fears her husband resembles all too much. Her choice of Hippolyte is perhaps significant, for she is mentioned (once) in the *Aeneid* as a member of Camilla's Amazon retinue. The passage can be quoted at length in anticipation of the next elegy, as the inclusion also of a Tarpeia in Camilla's retinue will explain:

> At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon
> unum exserta *latus* pugnae, pharetrata Camilla,
> et nunc lenta manu spargens hastilia denset,
> nunc ualidam dextra rapit indefessa bipennem;
> aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae.

[75] On Arethusa's aspiration to cross this *limen*, see DeBrohun (2003) 188-9.

illa etiam, si quando in tergum pulsa recessit,
spicula conuerso fugientia derigit arcu.
at circum lectae comites, Larinaque uirgo
Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
delegit pacisque bonas bellique ministras:
quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis,
seu circum **Hippolyten** seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant lunatis agmina peltis. *Aen.* 11.648-663

Taking the reader of her letter once again to *Aeneid* 11, Arethusa claims an exclusive place in Camilla's cohort of female warriors, and aligns herself, like her effeminate husband, with the women of the *Aeneid* who attempt, unsuccessfully and tragically, to effect transition into the male world of epic. As one of Camilla's *lectae comites*, Arethusa automatically enlists in the *Aeneid*'s sequence of interconnected viragos, for identical Amazon imagery is used in the *Aeneid* to suggest a link between Camilla and Dido, who we may now recognise as Arethusa's *alter ego*. As is well known, it is upon Dido that Aeneas' eye first alights after removing his gaze from the Amazon Penthesilea on the doors of Juno's temple at Carthage. Numerous verbal similarities (underlined) connect the two Vergilian passages:

ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
Penthesilea furens mediisque in milibus ardet,
aurea subnectens exsertae cingula *mammae*
bellatrix, audetque uiris concurrere uirgo.
Haec dum Dardanio Aeneae miranda uidentur,
dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,
regina ad templum, forma pulcherrima Dido,
incessit magna iuuenum stipante caterua.
qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per **iuga *Cynthi***
exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram
fert umero gradiensque deas supereminet omnis *Aen.* 1.490-501

So mutually associable are these Camilla:Amazon and Amazon-Dido:Diana similes that it is tempting to see in 4.3 an attempt to link the two: as a Hippolyte (4.3.43; *Aen.* 11.661), Arethusa enlsists as one of Camilla's 'Amazons', while her willingness to traverse the *Scythiae iuga* (4.3.47) would retrace the *iuga Cynthi* (*Aen.* 1.498) traversed by the Amazonian Diana (=Dido) in the associate passage.

However, unlike Camilla and Dido, Arethusa reluctantly conforms with the restrictions imposed upon women by the male military state in which she lives: she acknowledges that warrior-women are not the norm (*Romanis utinam patuissent castra puellis*, v. 45), and tacitly admits that she would be a hindrance, "un peso inutile",[76] to the campaign: *essem militiae sarcina fida tuae* (v. 46). Whereas Camilla and Dido die for their failed integration with, and obstruction of, the male world of epic, Arethusa ultimately stays within her circumscribed parameters and, seemingly, survives.

Post Scriptum

Arethusa may stay within the bounds of propriety by not arraying herself in hunting gear like Dido and by disclaiming her qualifications as an Amazon, but the segregation of male and female with which she reluctantly complies is subverted by Lycotas' non-epic femininity and Camilla-like desire for oriental booty. Arethusa's own personality, too, is uncomfortably split between stoic *matrona* and suffering elegiac *amator*, as the juxtaposition of her door-garlanding and weaving implies: *omnibus heu portis pendent mea noxia uota:| texitur haec castris quarta lacerna tuis* (vv. 17-18). That these lines are followed by a curse on the *protos heuretes* of the implements of war (vv. 19-20) shows that the establishment *matrona* as well as the non-/anti-establishment elegiac lover suffer the consequences of *arma*. Despite its new conformity, therefore, Propertian elegy maintains its former stance on warfare.[77] This returns us to the rapprochement between the authenticated and authentic authors of this letter; indeed, Arethusa's door-garlanding and weaving (*texitur*) of a fourth cloak (*quarta lacerna*) for the camps (*castris*) might represent a metaliterary nod to Propertius' production of a fourth book of

---

[76] Fedeli *ad loc.*

[77] Poliakoff (1987) uncovers erotic innuendo in Arethusa's letter and concludes 4.3 is "a piquant rejection of Roman attitudes and duties".

elegiac text interwoven with an epic thread. Such would encourage a gynocentric view of this letter. In this regard, Arethusa's weaving also recalls that of Penelope in the *Odyssey*, whose delaying tactics allow Homer to spin out his story, or of Helen in the *Iliad*, whose depiction of herself in her own textile has been seen to represent the incorporation of women in the text of Homeric epic.[78] Likewise, Arethusa has made a concerted attempt to write herself into Propertius' reworking of Vergil's *Aeneid*, as neatly conveyed by the first and last words of her letter's concluding couplet, which further intensify the literary reflexivity of what is already an inscription within a letter within a poetry-book:

> **armaque** cum tulero portae uotiua Capenae,
> subscribam: SALVO GRATA *PUELLA* **VIRO**. 4.3.71-2

The concluding encapsulation of *puella* within *arma uirumque* might indicate that Arethusa is not ultimately an acquiescent 'vanishing body' of Propertio-Vergilian elegy, but instead is successfully incorporated therein. Yet there remain enough contradictions in 4.3 to impart a touch of the suicide-note to her letter (cf. her *mandata*, v. 1, and *signa...dextrae iam morientis*, v. 6: see n. 61 above): in her affinities with Dido, she has the motive; in her husband's idle weapons, she has the means. As in the *Aeneid*, then, here too the female is seen in a position of vulnerability to the prevailing demands of Roman militarism. Arethusa's concluding couplet, therefore, might indicate that she is encapsulated by, rather than herself encapsulating, *arma uirumque*.[79]

Tarpeia (4.4)

Tarpeia: a less reluctant Dido

If Arethusa represents an individual whose femininity in an epic world ensures her suffering, but whose reluctant acquiescence seems to secure her survival, then the

---

[78] See Keith (2000) 1-2, citing I.J.F. de Jong. *Narrators and Focalizers* (Amsterdam, 1987) 120.

[79] With the suggestion of the *Aeneid*'s *incipit*, the reference to the Porta Capena, the gate by the spring of the Italian water divinity Camena, might adduce another famous first line, that of Livius Andronicus' translation of the *Odyssey*: *virum mihi, Camena...* (fr. 1), on which see Hinds (1998) 58f. In this case, Propertius' *armaque* (4.3.71) advertises, via Livius Andronicus, a recognition of Vergil's replication of the first word of Homer's *Odyssey*, Ανδρα.

failure of Tarpeia to survive can be related to her failure to toe the epic line. In Tarpeia, therefore, a more willing equivalence to types like Dido and Camilla should be expected. The Rome in which Tarpeia lives could not be less accommodating of women: the capitol is under the threat of a reprisal for the rape of the Sabine women by Romulus and his men. As a Vestal virgin in this context, the very essence of Tarpeia's femininity has been subordinated to the preservation of the Roman hearth.[80] In the traditional versions of the legend which Propertius inherited, Tarpeia's betrayal of Rome is motivated by her greed for the bracelets worn by the besieging Sabines, rendering her subsequent execution an act of uncomplicated retribution.[81] So nefarious is she, indeed, that she is accorded a virtual *damnatio memoriae* in the *Aeneid*: her involvement in the Sabine reprisal is entirely excised from its depiction on the Shield of Aeneas, though Michael Putnam has detected, under erasure, a residual trace of her reputation a few ekphrastic scenes later, when the adjective *Tarpeius* (*Aen.* 8. 652) is adduced in the context of a later Gallic invasion.[82] Propertius 4.4 records Tarpeia's etymological legacy in Rome more overtly and, with a soliloquy of some thirty six lines, provides a detailed account of the psychology and actions of the girl who almost brought destruction upon the early city: written out of Vergilian history, Tarpeia now finds herself accommodated in Propertian aetiology. What motivates her treachery, however, is no longer her fancy for Sabine *arma* (though cf. 4.4.32), as in Varro and Livy, but *amor* for the Sabine king: fittingly for her elegiac medium, Tarpeia betrays her homeland out of love for Tatius, whom she sees – in direct contrast to his depiction as a *senex* in his Vergilian cameo (*Aen.* 8.638) – as a dashing soldier-king.[83] Compared with Vergil's more selective account, Propertius supplements the exclusively 'epic' view of history with the 'elegiac' femininity there effaced.

To account for her elegiac motive, Tarpeia is provided with an elegiac voice. As such, her *querellae* can be expected to resemble those of Vergil's elegiac Dido. Among the *topoi*

---

[80] See P.A. Miller (2004) 190-195 on the importance of Tarpeia's vestal status in interpreting this elegy.

[81] For the different versions of the Tarpeia legend and their literary analogues, see now Hutchinson 116-7.

[82] So Putnam (1998) 129. See further Chapter 4 below.

[83] For Propertius' synthesis of folkloric betrayals of *patria* for *amor*, Simulos' account of Tarpeia's treacherous love for the Celtic Brennus, and the versions provided in Varro and Livy, see Corsaro (1992) 45-9.

detailed in Cairns' analysis of Dido,[84] the following are common to both Dido and Tarpeia: the inception of love at a banquet (***conuiuia***, v. 75, *Aen.* 4.77), the quintessential lover's tears (*et sua Tarpeia residens ita* ***fleuit*** *ab arce* | *uulnera*, v. 29-30, cf. e.g. *Aen.* 4.369), the conception of love as a wound (v. 30, *Aen.* 4.2), the lover's submission to captivity (v. 33-4, *Aen.* 4.85, 330), their futile aspirations towards marriage (vv. 59-61, *Aen.* 4.172, 316), and recourse to magic (*o utinam* ***magicae*** *nossem cantamina Musae*, v. 51; ***magicas*** *invitam accingier artes*, *Aen.* 4.493). However, that each of these similarities is generic may constitute something of a proviso to postulating any direct equation of Tarpeia and Dido.

General similarities of storyline are also inadequate proof of a connection with Vergil's Dido. Thus, when Francesco Corsaro comments that the details of Tarpeia's story "non può non richiamare un *Vorbild* illustre, il libro quarto dell' *Eneide*, coi suoi intrighi celesti, le sue seduzioni, la vicenda di amore e morte di Didone,"[85] we must reply that these similarities, too, are generic. As Tarpeia herself admits, her story parallels that of Scylla (4.4.39-40), the paradigm of the treacherous daughter. It can be observed that Tarpeia, like Dido, faces a dilemma between civic duty and private love, and yields to the latter at the price of death (vv. 43-46);[86] the civic irresponsibility in each case is linked to a breach of chastity: Tarpeia is a Vestal Virgin, while Dido, after Sychaeus' death, had sworn not to remarry (*Aen.* 4.16). The association between female chastity and national security, however, is not a unique coincidence, but a standard Roman discourse upon which the Vestal religion is based. Nevertheless, similarities are cumulative, and conventional particulars can assume an intertextual 'function' given any less casual similarities.

More remarkable, perhaps, is Tarpeia's prayer for Tatius' horse to sweep her off to his camp, which makes for a dismissive echo of Dido's initial pretence of stalwart fidelity to her late husband:

---

[84] Cairns (1989) 136-150.

[85] Corsaro (1992) 62, noting that just as Tarpeia is killed by Tatius, so too does Dido die on account of, even if not at the hands of, Aeneas.

[86] On Tarpeia's "oscillation between desire and duty" and *amor*/Roma, see Welch (2005) 63-67.

et ualeat probro Vesta **pud**enda meo:
ille equus, **ille meos** in castra reponet **amores** 4.4.36-7

sed mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat
[...]
ante, **pud**or, quam te uiolo aut tua iura resoluo.
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, **amores**
abstulit; *Aen.* 4. 24, 27-9

This similarity might suggest that, of the two, it is Tarpeia who concedes more easily to passion. Both Dido and Tarpeia are prepared to subordinate the public weal to private interest by proffering nuptial alliance and the surrender of sovereignty. Equally, though, both women realise that it is by complying with, rather than resisting, the epic worlds in which they are embroiled that they have the best chance of survival. Dido's 'private' pursuit of marriage with Aeneas can be read as a 'public' attempt to bolster her vulnerable position in Africa. Tarpeia similarly attempts to create a legitimate role for herself by offering to Tatius her hand in marriage (vv. 55, 59-60).[87]

Tarpeia's crime, therefore, appears more straightforwardly reprehensible than Dido's, which continues to divide readers. For one thing, Dido is a pawn in the power struggle of Venus and Juno; however, there remains a nuance that Tarpeia, too, is the pawn of a goddess with vested interests:

dixit, et incerto permisit bracchia somno,
nescia se **furiis accubuisse** nouis.
nam Vesta, Iliacae felix tutela *fauillae*,
culpam **alit** et plures condit in ossa ***faces***.
illa furit, qualis [...] 4.4.67-71[88]

---

[87] Perhaps envisioning herself as a kind of Lavinia, the medium through whom the international alliance of the *Aeneid* is brokered: cf. *me rape et alterna* ***lege*** *repende uices!* | *commissas acies ego possum soluere:* ***nuptae*** | *uos medium palla* ***foedus*** *inite mea* (4.4.58-60), *cum iam co****nubiis*** *pacem felicibus (esto)* | *component, cum iam* ***leges*** *et* ***foedera*** *iungent* (*Aen.* 12.821-2).

[88] This passage has a certain similarity to *Aen.* 4.65-73, where Dido's scrutiny of the omens for an endorsement of her relationship with Aeneas is undermined by the *uatum ignarae mentes* (v. 65), and her wound likened to that unwittingly inflicted on a deer by a *pastor* (i.e. Aeneas), who is as *nescius* as Dido (and Tarpeia): *nescia* (4.4.68) ~ *ignarae* (*Aen.* 4.65), *nescius* (*Aen.* 4.72); *condit in ossa faces* (4.4.70) ~ *est mollis flamma medullas* (*Aen.* 4.66); *illa furit, qualis* etc. (4.4.71) ~ *furens, qualis* (*Aen.* 4.69).

That Vesta should conspire against her own priestess is for Richardson a "monstrous" suggestion which demands Kraffert's emendation of the agent to *Venus*.[89] However, as Corsaro points out,[90] Vesta is a Sabine goddess, and is therefore promoting the interests of Rome's rivals by 'working with' Tarpeia's infatuation with Tatius.[91] She encourages her weakness (*culpam alit*, v. 70), but unbeknownst to Tarpeia: Propertius' description of Tarpeia as *nescia* (v. 75) specifically encapsulates the tragic aspect of Vergil's Dido (*nescia Dido*, *Aen.* 1.299).[92] The reference to Tarpeia's *culpa* adduces to this context the moral crux of Dido's culpability (*Aen.* 4.172), but couches it in the terms used to describe Dido's wound of love (cf. 4.430) and the fires in her marrow (see also *Aen.* 4.101):

> At regina graui iamdudum saucia cura
> ***uulnus* alit** uenis et caeco carpitur ***igni***. *Aen.* 4.1-2

In the *Aeneid*, Dido actively hides her own *culpa* and nourishes her own *uulnus*, while her counterpart in Propertius 4.4 is the passive victim of a goddess who does this for her. As such, this passage might complicate the moral judgement of the reader who would condemn Tarpeia as a threat to Roman supremacy.[93]

On the other hand, the juxtaposition of the *faces* in Tarpeia's bones with the fire it was her duty to protect might hint more at Tarpeia's failure in duty. Moreover, as if to imply her culpability and doom, there is a recurrent distribution through the text of fragments from Vergil's description of the underworld in *Aeneid* 6: here, for example, *furiis accubuisse* (v. 68) might recall *Furiarum…accubat* (*Aen.* 6.605-6);[94] the particular region of Hades in question is not the *Lugentes Campi*, however, whither Tarpeia's analogue Dido is sent, but rather where punishments are meted out on the damned; that Vergil singles

---

[89] See Richardson *ad loc.*; for the counterargument, see Hutchinson *ad loc.* and Welch (2005) 66-7.
[90] Corsaro (1992) 63.
[91] Lyne (1987) 16 with n.31 detected that Propertius is here reworking Allecto's aggressive manipulation of Amata's Phaedra-esque passion for Turnus (cf. *Aen.* 7.355: *ossibus implicat ignem*); on Allecto's violence in Propertius 4, see also p. 89 above.
[92] *benigna* (4.4.66), *hapax* in Vergil (*Aen.* 1.304), might also be drawn from this passage.
[93] For a different reading of the Vergilian voice in v. 70, see Hutchinson *ad loc.*
[94] *accubare* occurs just twice in Vergil; cf. also *lapsa cadunt* (4.4.64), *lapsura cadentique* (*Aen.* 6.602); *diuitiis* (4.4.76), *diuitiis* (*Aen.* 6.610: *hap. leg.*); and, possibly, *lege…Hymenaee* (4.4.58-61), *leges…hymenaeos* (*Aen.* 6.622-3).

out adulterers and traitors for special attention (*Aen.* 6.612-3) does not augur a happy destination for Tarpeia's impending *katabasis*. She fits into the same categories, an archetypal criminal in a gallery of Roman sinners.[95] The silent voice of Vergil within 4.4 could thus be taken to ratify the official line adopted by Propertius in the outer section of the elegy, i.e. that Tarpeia was a *mala puella* (v. 17), deserving of death (vv. 17, 92) and undeserving of commemoration (v. 94). Vergilian allusion can thus militate against the sympathy for Tarpeia that, for many analyses of the poem, the central section encourages.[96]

Amazonian Tarpeia

Tarpeia's transgression thus goes further than that of Arethusa in 4.3, whose aspiration to get involved in the male world of epic, like an Amazon, was wishful thinking. In an article entitled "Another would-be Amazon",[97] John Warden had identified intertextual links, similar to those discussed above in the case of Arethusa, between Propertius' Tarpeia and Vergil's putative Amazons, Dido and Camilla. Tarpeia's place in the Amazon squadron is secured, as already noted, by the fact that one of Camilla's comrades in arms has the same name:

> at circum **lectae** comites, Larinaque uirgo
> Tullaque et aeratam quatiens Tarpeia securim,
> Italides, quas ipsa decus sibi dia Camilla
> de**legit** pacisque bonas bellique **ministras** *Aen.* 11.655-8

Propertius 4.4 is here intertextual with both *Aeneid* 11 and its engagement with a pre-existing tradition, preserved elsewhere only in the frieze of the Basilica Aemilia, according to which Tarpeia was (represented as) an Amazon.[98] Tarpeia's identification with Camilla's retainers is further secured by her description of herself as *uirgineo* ***lecta***

---

[95] I owe this formulation to conversation with Prof. S.J. Harrison.
[96] Stahl (1985) 279-304; Wyke (2002) 93-99; Welch (2005) 56-78. A judicious treatment of the moral judgement of the poem is provided by Hutchinson 116-118.
[97] Warden (1978).
[98] On this monument as a Propertian intertext, see Welch (2005) 58-62. On its iconography and (disputable) date, see Evans (1992) ch. 7. The similarity with Propertius' Tarpiea is noted also by Warden (1978) 180.

ministra *foco* (v. 44), a phrase which almost self-consciously selects *ministra* in the knowledge that it is a Vergilian *hapax legomenon.*

Warden's article also demonstrates that Tarpeia shares with Dido and Camilla an association with Maenads.[99] This comparison is explicit in the case of Dido (*Aen.* 4.300-303), and implicit in the frenzied *aristeia* of Camilla and her *lectae ministrae*:

> **quales** Threiciae cum flumina *__Thermodontis__*
> pulsant et pictis bellantur Amazones armis *Aen.* 11.659-60

Warden finds the "emotionally overwrought" Thracian females depicted here to be automatically suggestive of Maenads.[100] When Tarpeia finally sleeps, she dreams that she too is raving like a bare-breasted (i.e. Amazonian) woman on the banks of the same river (which does not occur elsewhere in either poet):

> illa ruit, **qualis** celerem prope *__Thermodonta__*
> *Strymonis* abscisso fertur aperta sinu. 4.4.71-2

The presence at the river Thermodon, which was in Cappadocia, of a woman with the epithet of the river Strymon, which divides Thrace from Macedon, makes for a geography as confusing as Vergil's designation of the Thermodon as a Thracian river.[101] Warden's perception of Maenadism in this muddled dreamscape can be vindicated by the occurrence of Vergil's sole reference to the river Strymon just prior to the dismemberment of Orpheus' body by Maenads in the *Georgics* (*Geo.* 4.508). Propertius thus achieves a synthesis in Tarpeia of both Amazon and Maenad through a cluster of allusions to the *aristeia* of Camilla and her troupe of warrior women in *Aeneid* 11, a passage itself linked, as demonstrated above, to the implicit comparison of the 'kingly' Dido to an Amazon in *Aeneid* 1. Tarpeia's fitful sleep follows an *agrypnia* (***sidera lapsa*** *cadunt.* | *experiar* ***somnum***, 4.4.64-5) akin to that which also afflicts Dido *cum medio uoluuntur* ***sidera lapsu*** (*Aen.* 4.524), but without the respite Tarpeia achieves (*neque*

---

[99] See now Janan (2001) 76-8 on the "composite *savagesse*" that relates Tarpeia to both man-hating Amazon/Maenad and man-loving Bacchant, and shows her dislocation from the male world.
[100] Warden (1978) 181.
[101] For Janan (2001) 78 this indicates that Tarpeia cannot be located in any recognisable place.

umquam soluitur in **somnos**, *Aen* 4.529-30). It is unsurprising that Tarpeia's dream should bespeak her desire to cross like Camilla into the world of epic, for that is where the object of her affection abides.[102] However, in failing to actualise that transition outside her dream, Tarpeia's fate becomes a 'reality check' for the women of her society.

As noted in the previous chapter (pp. 87-8 above), Tarpeia's elegiac *amor* tellingly results in her being crushed by the epic *arma* of Tatius' soldiers (v. 91), just as Arethusa at the end of 4.3 is contained by *arma uirumque*, both instances of female 'erasure' with metapoetic implications. Yet Tarpeia's attempt to give voice to an elegiac history is not entirely silenced: as Propertius' *aition* explains, she lives on eponymously in the location that witnessed her misplaced love and resultant demise (vv. 93-4). As with Ilia in 4.1, Tarpeia's violent incorporation into the dominant terrain of Rome has left its impression.

Acanthis (4.5)

Two reasons why Propertius hates Acanthis

The lesson of 4.4 informs the didactic *praecepta* of the *lena* Acanthis in the fifth elegy, which takes the form of a curse on her tomb. Ironically making her Propertian debut only now, this stock character of elegy (cf. Tibullus 1.5.47-60, 2.6.44ff. and Ovid, *Amores* 1.8)[103] nonetheless appears to have been lurking in the background all along – so, at any rate, we infer from the correlation between her *praecepta*, quoted by Propertius in the central section of the poem, and Cynthia's recalcitrance in the previous books.[104] On the one hand, Acanthis' profession makes her a 'blocker' in both the old elegiac as well as new 'epic' worlds, and so she uniquely attracts the condemnation of both poles of Book 4;[105] on the other hand, as *praeceptor* of Cynthia's resistance, she safeguards the *sine qua non* of the elegiac scenario, and thus is alter-ego as well as counter-ego to

---

[102] On Tarpeia's traversal of this *limen* into the world of *arma*, see DeBrohun (2003) 195.
[103] On the literary history of the *lena*, see Hutchinson 137, with the suggestion that Propertius here picks up where Tibullus' last elegy left off. For a comparison of these three elegiac *lenae*, see Myers (1996); for a comparison of Propertius' Acanthis and Ovid's Dipsas, see Hubbard (1974) 137-42.
[104] For a table of correlations, see James (2003) 67.
[105] See not dissimilarly Wyke (2002) 101.

Propertius, as Myers has shown.[106] Accordingly, her **sepulcrum* (4.5.1) and ***turpia**...ossa* (4.5.4) recall Tarpeia's ***turpe*** **sepulcrum* (4.4.1) in the preceding elegy, but her central monologue anticipates the speeches of self-defence by Cynthia (4.7) and Cornelia (4.11) by exposing the hypocrisy of the elegiac poet and by defending the elegiac ethos against the verdict of a conformist patriarchy.[107]

As *praeceptor amoris*, Acanthis has little affinity with Dido and her types in Propertius 4, who as unrequited lovers seek rather than impart instruction. Dido's first *praeceptor* is Anna, who encourages her sister to set aside her fidelity to her late husband in favour of her new interest in Aeneas with the argument that the concerns of the dead, contrary to conventional epitaphic belief, do *not* continue in the grave: *id **cinerem** aut **Manis** credis curare **sepultos**?* (*Aen.* 4.34). The epitaphic opening of 4.5 immediately overturns Anna's *praecepta* by reinstating the conventional orthodoxy that validates the curse on Acanthis' shade:

> Terra tuum spinis obducat, lena, **sepul**crum,
> et tua, quod non uis, sentiat umbra sitim;
> nec sedeant **cineri Manes** [...] 4.5.1-3

Dido later claims to have consulted a second *praeceptor*, an Ethiopian sorceress with a repertoire of spells for effecting various (possibly anti-Lucretian) *adynata*, including curing and securing love (*Aen.* 4.483-91).[108] A magic ritual ensues in which a (the same?) *sacerdos* produces various elixirs of doubtful provenance (*latices simulatos fontis Auerni*, v. 512), including what would appear to be *hippomanes* (v. 515-6), "the grisliest of all the witch's gatherings",[109] though in a form apparently different to that at *Geo.* 3.280-3, where the *hippomanes* is a secretion from pregnant mares collected by wicked step-mothers for magic potions (***hippomanes**, quod saepe malae **legere** nouercae*, v. 282). Acanthis is presented as one such exponent of the dark arts, a worker of (apparently

---

[106] Myers (1996) 19-20.

[107] For 'feminist'/deconstructive (in the sense that they deconstruct the outwardly masculine aspect of the poem) readings of 4.5, see especially Gutzwiller (1985), James (2003) 52-68, Janan (2001) 85-99, Wyke (2002) 184.

[108] Noted by Janan (2001) 87 as a generic similarity. On magic in 4.5 (and its employment by Propertius rather than Acanthis), see O'Neill (1998-9).

[109] Austin (1955) *ad loc.* with comment on which version of *hippomanes* Vergil has in mind here; on the literary history of the georgic *hippomanes*, see Thomas 280-3n.

anti-Lucretian)[110] *adynata*, and a collector of *hippomanes*, of the georgic variety, for tactical use against Propertius (*in me* | ***hippomanes*** *fetae semina* ***legit*** *equae* (4.5.17-8), where *legit* might also hint at Acanthis' consultation of the *Georgics* for this expertise).

Given the renown of *hippomanes* as an aphrodisiac,[111] Janan finds its enumeration among Acanthis' weapons to be a *lapsus calami* that exposes Propertius' misogynistic misrepresentation of her benign intentions.[112] This may be so; 4.5 is certainly an elegy open to such deconstructions. There is no great necessity, however, to find Acanthis' deployment of *hippomanes* against Propertius conspicuously paradoxical, or to take its sinister connotation in the *Georgics* as a precedent for its poisonous properties[113] rather than as an example in Vergil's *praecepta* on the perils of *amor* of how a well-known aphrodisiac might be administered manipulatively:[114] Cynthia's ghost will inform us that her rival has Propertius under one such spell (*si te non totum Chloridos herba tenet*, 4.7.72); so too does Dido vest her sorceress with the power to make others fall in as well as out of love (*Aen.* 4.479). The narrator of 4.5, in other words, seeks to discredit Acanthis by aligning her with the *malae nouercae* of the *Georgics* (her *herbae* (4.5.11, cf. *Geo.* 3.283) and transformation of mother-birds into *nouercae* (4.5.10, cf. *Geo.* 3.282) might do the same) as well as with the liminal and disreputable figures who in the *Aeneid* collude with and advise Dido.

Erotodidaxis: Acanthis' v. Propertius' *Georgics*

Acanthis for her part (4.5.21-62) avoids any such reminiscence of the *Aeneid*, for her pupil's best chance of survival in a hostile world is precisely not to repeat the fatal mistakes of Dido. The comic models of Menander's Thais and Geta (4.5.43-44)[115] are consequently recommended over the tragic Medea (*nec te Medeae delectent probra sequacis*,

---

[110] See Hutchinson *ad* 4.5.9 (*poterit magnes non ducere ferrum*).
[111] On the hippomanes as a love charm in other texts, see the extensive note of Pease (1935) *ad Aen.* 4.515.
[112] Janan (2001) 90.
[113] Considered by Shackleton-Bailey *ad* 4.5.17, though his own interpretation (without the support of the text) is that Acanthis used *hippomanes* to enamour Propertius with a woman other than Cynthia.
[114] Richardson's interpretation (that Acanthis employed *hippomanes* to enamour Propertius with Cynthia) therefore remains attractive, despite the objections of Janan (2001) 90.
[115] On the comic influences on 4.5, see Yardley (1987), Myers (1996) 3-4, and Wyke (2002) 100.

v. 41), whose description as *sequax* perhaps reveals her as the prototype of a Dido who repeatedly vows to pursue the *Aeneadae* for centuries to come (cf. esp. *Aen.* 4.384 (*sequar*), 625-6 (*ex ossibus ultor,* | *qui…sequare*); see also vv. 538, 592). Bypassing the *Aeneid*, therefore, Acanthis' *erotodidaxis* anticipates Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* by aping the style of Vergil's *Georgics*[116] – not, however, to recommend the baleful *hippomanes* cited by the narrator, but for more practical advice on the selection of lovers (****nec tibi displiceat*** *miles non factus amori*, 4.5.49) in the manner that Vergil recommends careful selection of breeding-stock (****nec mihi displiceat*** *maculis insignis et albo*, *Geo.* 3.56, *displicere* occurring only here in Vergil), and for the ****rosaria Paesti*** (*Geo.* 4.119), twice-blooming in the *praeteritio* of *Georgics* 4, now a metaphor for the transience of youth's bloom and an apt conclusion for the speech of a woman with a floral name:

> uidi ego odorati uictura ***rosaria Paesti**
> sub matutino cocta iacere Noto. 4.5.61-2

Here Vergilian intertextuality collaborates with Propertian intratextuality, particularly if 4.5.55-6 is a genuine quotation of 1.2.1-2, where the poet advises his mistress not to style herself with expensive coiffures and Coan silk.[117] In Acanthis' speech, these georgic and elegiac texts join forces against the elegiac *amator*, the former in recommending his financial exploitation, the latter in exposing his idealism as rapacious egotism.[118]

However, by appropriating Vergil to protect the rights of the elegiac mistress, Acanthis also collides with the book's 'epic' agenda, which appropriates Vergil to boost the status of Propertian elegy. In the outer sections of the poem, therefore, both the 'elegiac' and 'epic' aspects of Propertius attempt to repossess the intertext usurped by Acanthis to protect herself and her protégée from androcentric exploitation. The narrator ignores Vergil's practical advice on careful selection and the rose-tinted didactic interlude at Paestum, and seeks out the 'darker' aspects of the *Georgics*, leaguing Acanthis with

---

[116] Cf. e.g. *Ars* 1. 471, 629-30, 757-8 with Hollis (1977) *ad locc.*

[117] For this and other instances of self-allusion in Propertius 4, see Romussi (1943).

[118] In support of retaining 4.5.55-6 on thematic grounds, see Myers (1996) 19, Janan (2001) 89, Wyke (2002) 102 and 184; it can be noted that many repetitions in the *Corpus Vergilianum* are treated as meaningful self-quotations. The couplet is excised as "a senseless repetition" by Goold (1990) 18 and (1989); see also Heyworth (1986) 209 and Hutchinson *ad loc.*

wicked *nouercae*, as noted, and apparently infecting her with the symptoms of the devastating plague which ravages man and beast in *Georgics* 3: the bawd's post-mortem dipsomania (*sentiat umbra sitim*, 4.5.2) recalls one of the chief symptoms of the plague (cf. *Geo.* 3.434 as a prelude to 3.483); common to both the plague and the poet's vision of Acanthis' decline and death are visions of emaciation (4.5.64 ~ *Geo.* 3.483), squalor (*animam...**putrem**...|...**immundo**...situ*, 4.5.69-72 ~ *tellas...**putris** | ... **immundus** ...sudor*, *Geo.* 3.562-4), coughing (*tussis*, 4.5.67 ~ *Geo.* 3.497: only here in Propertius and Vergil), and meagre sacrifice (Propertius' at 4.5.65-6, Acanthis' at 4.5.16; cf. *Geo.* 3.486-93, whence the adjective *ieiunus* (v. 493), only twice in Vergil, is perhaps recalled at 4.5.4); the *turpis scabies* which attacks the sheep before the full onslaught of the plague (*Geo.* 3.441, cf. the concluding *turpi...tabo*, v. 557) may be echoed at the beginning and end of 4.5 in Acanthis' *turpia...ossa* (v. 4) and the rough stones (*scabris...saxis*, v. 77) hurled by passing lovers at her tomb. Contraction of Vergil's Noric cattle-plague seems to be a hazard faced by the women of Propertius 4: given its figurative association in *Georgics* 3 with the disease of love, it is not implausible that it should be contracted by an erotodidact, just as in the previous elegy Tarpeia's *hirsutis brachia secta rubis* (4.4.28) referred her to the same contagion (see p. 86 above).

As well as re-appropriating Acanthis' georgic intertext and deploying it against her, the poet goes on to recast Acanthis as a figure reminiscent of the monstrous Cyclops of *Aeneid* 3:

> *__uidi ego__ rugoso tussim concrescere collo,
> sputaque per **dentis** ire ***cruenta*** cauos 4.5.67-8

> *__uidi ego__met duo de numero cum corpora nostro
> prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro
> frangeret ad saxum, ***sanie***que aspersa natarent 625
> limina; uidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo
> manderet et tepidi tremerent sub **dentibus** artus—
> haud impune quidem; [...] *Aen.* 3.623-8

Though not an unlikely locution, the phrase *uidi ego* occurs in Vergil only here; thus, Acanthis' georgic image of floral ephemerality (*uidi ego* etc., v. 67) is reworked into the

poet's vision of an alcoholic *lena*'s tubercular rictus (*uidi ego* etc., v. 61), and layered over an analogous wine-drinking, man-eating (but not unpunished) monster. The narrator redirects us from one of the most soothing images in the *Georgics* to one of the most grotesque of the *Aeneid*, and thereby realigns the book's epic pretensions with a suitably epic intertext.

The georgic imagery of desiccation will recur, as we have seen, with metapoetic implications in 4.9, where a fastidious Hercules turns from the Tiber (reminiscent of the flooding Nile in *Georgics* 4) to slake his post-Vergilian thirst (reminiscent of the *chersydrus* in *Georgics* 3) in a grove of elegiac *lympha* (see pp. 46-7 above). The duplication of imagery in 4.5 and 4.9 is noted by Myers, who highlights the metaliterary appropriateness of the affliction with thirst of a figure who "threatens to sap the male sexually, artistically, and economically".[119] Acanthis' thirst, therefore, is karma for her (alleged) obstruction of Propertius *amator*, but also symbolic of the desiccation of the elegiac source from which she hails and from which Propertius has withdrawn to write more patriotic verse (cf. 4.1.39-40). As the ensuing poem shows, it is Vergil's description of Actium which replenishes the Callimachean waters of the opening lines (4.6.4, 7); in 4.9 the situation is partially reversed in Hercules' quest for elegiac *fontes*, but the end result is that they too are drained dry. The erasure of women emerges as a constituent element in these metanarratives, as will be apparent also from the demise of Cleopatra in 4.6.

Cleopatra (4.6)

The gendering of Actium

In contrast to the speaking women of the surrounding poems, the woman whose villainy haunts the centre of Propertius 4 is silenced, a sure sign of the "unquestioning nationalistic "masculinism" " of elegy 4.6.[120] Here, as in 3.11, Propertius follows the practice of the Augustan poets by referring to Cleopatra only obliquely (*illa*, 4.6.63,

[119] Myers (1996) 10 and 8-10 on the metapoetic dimension of thirst. See also Wyke (2002) 99-103 for a reading of Acanthis as a 'literary construct'.

[120] Janan (2001) 102 on the masculinity of 4.6. Hutchinson 154 describes 4.6 as "a very male poem", noting Cleopatra's absence in contrast both to the surrounding poems and her previous appearance in 3.11.

mulier, 4.6.65) and never by name. Vergil's more explicit reticence (*nefas*, *Aen.* 8.688) is as firm an indication as any that Cleopatra's infamy in the aftermath of the Battle of Actium was such that her name incurred a virtual *damnatio memoriae* in the poetry of the day.[121] The *aition* provided in 4.6 accordingly bypasses the female in question to focus on the temple of Palatine Apollo, which by this account was dedicated to the god for his support of Augustus at Actium (4.6.11, 67-8).[122] As in 4.4, then, the death of a female precedes an act of foundation (Tarpeia's for the *Tarpeium nemus*; Cleopatra's for the temple of Palatine Apollo) and apparently guarantees a restoration of Roman order (the conclusion of hostilities between Romans and Sabines in 4.4; the *pax Augusta* in 4.6).

Rome's enemy at Actium is emphatically embodied in a single female (*dat femina poenas*; v. 57, cf. v. 65: *quantus mulier foret una triumphus*), and the apparently global showdown (*huc mundi coiere manus*, v. 19) is reduced to a tête-à-tête between Augustus, defender of the *patria*, and the *feminea manus* of an unspeakable woman (4.6.21-4: quoted below). For Jeri DeBrohun, Propertius constructs Actium as a "battle of the sexes";[123] for Gurval, Propertius eschews the high drama of Vergil's cosmic clash to focus instead on the unheroic victory over a single woman.[124] While it is fair to say that Propertius 4.6 miniaturizes the Vergilian account, it could also be seen to amplify its gender-consciousness: Antony is decked out *ope barbarica*, with *uiris...Orientis* and his *Aegyptia coniunx* in tow (*Aen.* 8.685-8); Cleopatra for her part is commander-in-chief (*Aen.* 8.696) and brings with her a dubious host of Oriental gods (*Aen.* 8.698); the juxtaposition of Cleopatra's flight into the Nile's embrace with Augustus' triumphal celebrations at Rome (*illam... at Caesar...*, *Aen.* 8.709, 714) implicitly pits her against Augustus, a showdown presented in starker terms in 4.6.

The gendering of Actium manifests a strand of Octavian propaganda which sought to sanitise what was essentially a civil war into a conflict of masculine West against

---

[121] See Wyke (2002) 205-6.
[122] A somewhat inaccurate association, as it happens, as the temple was originally vowed to Apollo for his assistance against Sextus Pompeius.
[123] DeBrohun (2003) 218.
[124] Gurval (1995) 277.

effeminate East, and ultimately of male against female.[125] Propertius' starkly reductive gendering of the Actian combatants, therefore, can be located in a pre-existing mode of representation which Wyke describes as "a discursive tradition whose history transcends the immediate control of individual Augustan poets."[126] Alison Keith similarly identifies a narrative trend whereby the female corpse is exploited as a means of regulating order and as a prerequisite for acts of foundation:[127]

> The male conquest of the militant female in the *Aeneid* reflects an enabling fiction of the early Augustan regime, in which the Roman Order is re-established externally through the defeat and death of Cleopatra and internally through the re-domestication of Roman women.

> Just as Aeneas inaugurates his imperial mission over his wife's ghost (2.272-95) and reaffirms his devotion to the project over the entreaties of the dying Dido (4.345-50; cf. 6.460-4), so Vulcan depicts Augustus, Aeneas' descendant on the shield, restoring order to the Roman world with the defeat and death of Cleopatra.

The fate of Cleopatra in 4.6 is reduced to a simple formulation of this 'rule' (*uincit Roma fide Phoebi: dat femina poenas*, 4.6.57). As at the close of 4.4 and 4.5, then, the narrative voice of 4.6 confirms that appropriate punishment has been meted out on a nefarious female for her attempted overthrow of *Romanitas*.

Cleopatra as Camilla/Dido

Propertius' construction of Actium as a 'battle of the sexes' begins with the arrangement of the opposing navies prior to engagement, pitting the unmentionable *femina* against the *pater patriae*:

> altera classis erat Teucro damnata Quirino,
> pilaque **feminea** turpiter apta manu:

[125] Wyke (2002) 200-221, esp. 214-5; Keith (2000) 78; Gurval (1995) 189ff., 195-6 (on 3.11), 262-3, 277 (on 4.6); Mader (1989) 143-4 on Actium as a *bellum iustum* waged against an oriental monarchy; Paladini (1958) 244-5, 468, whose more dated article explores the possibility of some (ultimately rather conjectural) links between literature and historical reality.
[126] Wyke (2002) 209.
[127] Keith (2000) 81 and 118 respectively.

hinc Augusta ratis plenis Iouis omine uelis,
signaque iam patriae uincere docta suae.
tandem aciem geminos Nereus **lunarat** in arcus,
armorum et radiis **picta** tremebat aqua 4.6.21-26

Gordon Williams has described these lines as "deliberately artificial and stylised", and defended on these grounds the MS reading *picta* (v. 26) against Dausqueius' emendation to *icta*.[128] The rarity of the verb *lunare* is noteworthy,[129] but Propertius' intertextual engagement is such that it has had occasion to be printed twice in the forgoing pages, for it occurs in the Vergilian simile in which Camilla's troupe of warrior women is likened to a squadron of Amazons:

quales Threiciae cum flumina Thermodontis
pulsant et **pictis** bellantur Amazones **armis**, 660
seu circum Hippolyten seu cum se Martia curru
Penthesilea refert, magnoque ululante tumultu
feminea exsultant **lunatis** agmina peltis. *Aeneid* 11.659-663

The verb *lunare* occurs only once elsewhere in Vergil (see below), while the Amazons' 'painted weapons' (*pictis...armis*) endorse William's instinctive retention of *picta*. Pointedly, the allusive material is distributed in such a way as to avoid contaminating the Augustan forces with Camilla's gender-bending militarism. Rather, it is Cleopatra who, like Arethusa and Tarpeia before her, is subsumed into the Camilla/Amazon nexus of warrior women who oppose the establishment of male power in the *Aeneid*. As in the cases of Arethusa and Tarpeia, the central figure in this Propertio-Vergilian nexus is Dido, a particularly apposite analogue for the Propertian Cleopatra given that the elegiac Dido in *Aeneid* 4 is her prefigurement.[130] That Dido is an active participant in the Cleopatra/Amazon nexus at 4.6.21-6 is suggested by the possibility that, at this precise point, Propertius' description of Actium, though more obviously conversant with the ekphrasis of the Shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8, arguably has its eye also on the ekphrasis of Dido's temple to Juno in *Aeneid* 1, where Vergil's only other use of *lunare*

[128] Williams (1968) 654.
[129] See Hutchinson *ad loc.*
[130] See Pease (1935) 24-8; Camps (1969) 95-6; Keith (2000) 68, 78, 119; James (2002) 141.

occurs (*ducit Amazonidum* ***lunatis*** *agmina peltis* | *Penthesilea furens*, *Aen.* 1.490-1).[131] The coordinates, therefore, are 4.6, *Aeneid* 11 (Camilla simile), and *Aeneid* 1 (Dido ekphrasis); as noted above, Penthesilea is one of the intratexts that links the Vergilian corners of this triangle.[132]

However, we are dealing here not with a triangle, but a quadrangle: the postulation of a Dido-Cleopatra parallel in 4.6 is supported by (and itself supports) a backward glance to Dido in Vergil's depiction of Cleopatra in the Shield ekphrasis, which extends the field of intertextual reference to a fourth (and more obvious) co-ordinate. In the denouement of *Aeneid* 4, Dido is described as *pallida* ***morte futura*** (*Aen.* 4.644), just as, four books later, the defeated Cleopatra flees to the Nile with death's pallor already upon her (*pallentem* ***morte futura***, *Aen.* 8.709).[133] The Propertian Cleopatra also seeks refuge in the Nile, her death similarly indicated as a *fait accompli* by the future participle ***moritura*** (4.6.64), which itself is applied expressly to Dido three times in *Aeneid* 4 (vv. 308, 415, 519). Propertius thus advertises his awareness of the intratextual allusion to Dido in Cleopatra's demise at *Aen.* 8.709 by applying to his own moribund Cleopatra a different participle, but one which nonetheless directly connotes Dido. In this context, the reference in the following couplet to Jugurtha (v. 66), Dido's compatriot in later history, might further align Propertius' *Aegyptia coniunx* with Vergil's African queen.

Both the Vergilian and Propertian Cleopatras, then, are aligned with Dido, Camilla, and the Amazons. As in 4.4, the dominant voice of 4.6 regards Cleopatra's transgressive femininity with contempt: she brandishes her javelins *turpiter* (4.6.22; cf. 4.6.45, 4.4.1, 4.5.4), her posturing against Rome is against the will of the gods (4.6.57) and nature (4.6.48), and is foiled justly and with apparent ease:

---

[131] Paladini (1958) 468-9 rather tendentiously tries to relate the unusual phraseology of v. 25 to the prose histories of the Battle of Actium.
[132] Fowler (1991) 34-5 offers the rhetorical figure, e.g. the simile, as an analogy for the way in which ekphrasis may relate to its containing narrative.
[133] Putnam (1998) 148; Keith (2000) 119.

frangit et attollit uires in milite causa;
quae nisi iusta subest, ***excutit arma*** pudor.
tempus adest, committe ratis: ego temporis **auctor**
ducam laurigera Iulia rostra **manu**.'
dixerat, et pharetrae pondus consumit in arcus:
proxima post arcus Caesaris **hasta** fuit.
uincit Roma fide Phoebi: dat ***femina*** poenas:
sceptra per Ionias fracta uehuntur aquas. 4.6.51-58

Self-righteous, hypermasculine triumphalism of the kind paraded here is adduced at various points in the *Aeneid* to challenge the masculinity of the Trojans – and to be proved wrong. The classic case is Numanus Remulus, whose vehement diatribe (*Aen.* 9.598-620) is cut short by Ascanius as he makes his passage to epic manhood;[134] similar sentiments are expressed in *Aeneid* 12 when Turnus, arming for his duel with Aeneas, calls upon his spear to give to his Phrygian foe what his questionable virility deserves:

[...] 'nunc, o numquam frustrata uocatus 95
hasta meos, nunc **tempus adest**: te maximus **Actor**,
te Turni nunc dextra gerit; da sternere corpus
loricamque **manu** ualida ***lacerare reuulsam***
semiuiri Phrygis et foedare in puluere crinis
uibratos calido ferro murraque madentis.' *Aen.* 12.95-100

Both Turnus here and Apollo in 4.6 announce that it is time for decisive action (*tempus adest*: a phrase not used elsewhere by either poet); Turnus characterises his opponent as effeminate and prays that he may tear his breastplate from him, while Apollo, in pursuit of a *femina* who is possessed of masculine traits, sententiously claims that shame will dash the weapons from the soldier whose cause is not just: Cleopatra's smashed sceptre is an outcome that normalises the gender inversion Turnus imputes to the Trojans; indeed, in the *Aeneid*, it is Turnus who will yield Pallas' spoils back to Aeneas.

[134] See Hardie (1994) 16-17 and Keith (2000) 18-21 on the implications of this episode.

Degeneracy at Actium

These allusions suggest that Propertius 4.6 exploits the *Aeneid* to voice the prevailing androcentric perspective which elegy, by Hallett's analysis, ordinarily contradicts. As Janan observes,[135]

> 4.6 flaunts an array of pretensions at odds with the female-prominent and anti-martial elegiac ethos typical not only of Propertius' work, but of his fellow elegists', too (4.6 displays contempt for feminine dominance, for example, and revamps Apollo, the god of poetry, into an unambiguously, if temporarily, martial afflatus).

Apollo's dual identity as god of Augustan personal poetry and Augustus' personal god of war serves as a paradigm for the patriotic-erotic elegies of Propertius 4. The presence of the former Apollo is anticipated in the outwardly Augustan 4.1a with a reference to his Palatine temple (4.1.3), but counterbalanced in 4.1b by an injunction from his artistic *alter ego* to compose erotic elegy portraying male *seruitium* to *una puella* (4.1.133-150). The Apollo of 4.6, then, necessarily doffs his elegiac (feminine) trappings in preparation for his epic (masculine) role at Actium:

> **non ille** attulerat crinis in colla solutos
> aut testudineae carmen inerme lyrae,
> **sed *qu*ali** aspexit Pelopeum Agamemnona **uultu**,
> egessitque auidis Dorica castra rogis,
> aut ***qu*alis** flexos soluit Pythona *per orbis
> serpentem, **imbelles** quem timuere lyrae.
> mox ait 'O Longa mundi seruator ab Alba,
> Auguste, **Hectoreis** cognite maior auis,
> uince mari: iam terra tua est: tibi militat arcus
> et fauet ex umeris hoc onus omne meis.
> *solue metu patriam, quae nunc te uindice freta
> imposuit prorae publica uota tuae. 4.6.31-42

[135] Janan (2001) 199 n.14. On Apollo's dual identity in this poem, see now Hutchinson 154; see also P.A. Miller (1994); Connor (1978) 6-9, who follows Johnson (1973) in (perhaps over)emphasising Apollo as "limp" (8); Mader (1990); Sweet (1972) 173.

At Actium, Apollo came not as the lyre-strumming effete, but rather (*non ille...sed quali...uultu*) as the Apollo who unleashed plague upon the *Dorica castra*, or who defeated the Delian Python so dreaded by the unwarlike (*imbelles*) muses. A number of similarities (in bold) invite comparison with Priam's last words in *Aeneid* 2, where, after witnessing the slaying of his son by Neoptolemus (Pyrrhus), the old king lambastes his assassin for failing to meet the honourable standards set by his father in identical circumstances (***non ille***...*Achilles* | ***t*alis** *in hoste fuit Priamo;* ***sed***...), and pathetically throws a harmless (*imbelle*) spear at the young warrior:

> [...] patrios foedasti funere ***uultus**.
> at **non ille**, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles
> ***t*alis** in hoste fuit Priamo; **sed** iura fidemque
> supplicis erubuit corpusque exsangue sepulcro
> reddidit **Hectoreum** meque in mea regna remisit.'
> sic fatus senior telumque **imbelle** sine ictu
> coniecit [...] *Aen.* 2.539-45

The parallel is significant in that it serves to align Apollo's words with Priam's, and therefore his addressee Augustus with Neoptolemus, one of the *Aeneid*'s most uncompromising and unsympathetic exponents of vehement masculinity. To push the subversive implication a little further, if the 'decapitand' Priam can, as Servius suggests, be identified with Pompey,[136] whose participation in Rome's civil war ended with his murder at Alexandria, then we might reflect that Augustus' opponents at Actium, who also died at Alexandria, were similarly vanquished in a civil war – something which Augustan propaganda was anxious to reformulate, and which, according to Gurval, Propertius 4.6 and *Aeneid* 8 both suppress.[137]

---

[136] Servius *ad loc.*: *Pompei tangit historiam.* For further references, see Austin (1964) 214. See Hinds (1998) 8-9. There is perhaps a suggestion of Vergil's historical allusion to Pompey at Propertius 4.1.52: *longaeuum ad* ***Priami*** *uera fuere* ***caput***.

[137] Gurval (1995) 262-3, 277. Propertius' other Cleopatra poem, 3.11, specifically mentions Pompey's death at Alexandria (3.11.33-6). It will be argued in greater detail later that Propertius 4.6 does not in fact entirely efface the historicity of Actium's civil bloodshed.

The passage of *Aeneid* 2 is also relevant in its thematisation of "the preservation of family generations through male succession",[138] shown above to be a concern of Propertius 4.1, and which is reiterated with respect to the Julian dynasty in 4.6 (vv. 60 and 82). Witnessing the death of his son and about to die himself, Priam contrasts Neoptolemus with Achilles, who killed son but respected father (*corpus… | reddidit* ***Hectoreum***). Through this act, Neoptolemus obliterates Priam's line, but simultaneously instigates a degeneration in his own, which he blithely recognises in bidding Priam to update Achilles' shade on the activities of *degenerem… Neoptolemum* (*Aen.* 2.549).[139] Conversely, in the passage of 4.6 under examination, Apollo addresses Augustus as ***Hectoreis*** *cognite maior auis*, thus assuring his vicar that he improves upon his illustrious ancestry, a compliment all the more flattering for its rarity in Roman moralistic thought.[140] However, this assurance might be complicated by the intertextual configuration which, once activated, links Augustus to Neoptolemus, who according to Priam and by his own admission fails to live up to his Homeric ancestors.

Propertius emphasises his interest in these Homero-Vergilian themes of fame among posterity and (dis)respect for the war-dead by alluding within the same lines to one of Vergil's most conspicuous acknowledgements of the centrality of Homer's influence on his art:

> […] uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
> bellaque iam fama totum uulgata *per orbem,
> Atridas, Priamumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem.
> constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus,' inquit, 'Achate,
> quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?
> en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,
> sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
> *solve metus; feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem.' *Aen.* 1.456-63

Once again, Propertius 4.6 looks to the ekphrasis of Dido's temple to Juno, which depicts *inter alia* the Iliadic scenes of Achilles' savagery towards Priam. The *orbis* of the

---

[138] Hardie (1993) 33-6.
[139] On the anxieties of this passage, see Hardie (1993) 89-90.
[140] So P.A. Miller (2004) 206 on this line: "the notion that a descendent could be *maior* […] was a non sequitur".

world (and perhaps metapoetically of the epic cycle)[141] becomes in 4.6 (v. 35, underlined above) the 'coils' of Python, while, seven lines later in each text and again in the same *sedes*, Aeneas' optimistic (mis)interpretation of Dido's ekphrasis as a homage to the defeated rather than as a monument to the Greek victors[142] becomes Apollo's *hortatio* to the Trojan-Roman Augustus to defeat his Ptolemaic foes (*solue metus*, 4.6.41, underlined). Moreover, Aeneas' *solue metus* looks forward to his hospitable reception by a very unbarbarian Dido, perhaps exposing the negative portrayal of her analogue in Propertius 4.6 as unduly negative.

Propertius' allusions to Vergilian ekphrasis and to Aeneas' (mis)interpretation of art within the art of the *Aeneid* raises the important issue of how to read textual monuments (such as 4.6). One interpretation of this intertextuality might argue that Vergil is to Propertius what Homer was to Vergil, with Propertius trumping Vergil's display of poetry's power to immortalise both its author and its protagonists though the assertion that Augustus will be more famous than his Trojan forbears. Then again, the simultaneous allusion to Priam's/Pompey's death opens up different, less favourable readings of Augustus' legacy. The intertextual web thus unites separate Vergilian ekphraseis (Dido's temple in *Aeneid* 1 and Aeneas' Shield in *Aeneid* 8) and their associate passages (Neoptolemus' killing of Priam; the death of Dido; Camilla's Amazonian retinue) to dialogue with Vergil about male anxieties about female superiority and non-succession or degeneration in the male line. Cleopatra, with a little help from Roman propaganda, triggered both of these anxieties.

Cleopatra and [Helen]

It is an expression of androcentric anxiety that 4.6 pours scorn on the notion of being worsted by a female, asserts that Rome righteously wins and the female rightfully pays (4.6.57), and puts a positive 'spin' on the fact that she escapes the ignominy of an appearance in a Roman triumph (4.6.65-6). Similar reflections motivate Aeneas' urge to kill Helen in the episode in *Aeneid* 2 to which she lends her name. Whether or not this

---

[141] See Barchiesi (1997) 273.

[142] On Aeneas' misinterpretation of the monument, see Horsfall (1990) 137-8; against this view, see Fowler (1991) 32.

similarity goes beyond a conventional articulation of male anxiety will consequently have bearing on the authenticity of an alleged interpolation in the *Aeneid*.[143] In this vexed passage of *Aeneid* 2, Aeneas concedes that there is no glory in punishing a woman (*etsi nullum memorabile nomen* | **femin**ea *in* **poena** *est, habet haec* **uictoria** *laudem*, *Aen.* 2.584) but would nonetheless have done so (cf. the similar sentiments of Arruns, killer of Camilla (*Aen.* 11.785-93)) but for the intervention of his mother. Conversely, in Propertius 4.6 a female *is* punished (**uincit** *Roma fide Phoebi: dat* **femina poenas**, 4.6.57), though the narrator recognises not dissimilarly that her appearance in a triumph would have made for a shallow spectacle (*quantus mulier foret una* ***triumphus**, 4.6.65); Aeneas, by contrast, had more anxiously pondered the reverse scenario – the victorious female's triumph (*partoque ibit regina* ***triumpho**, *Aen.* 2.578) in which would parade Troy's male line and a *turba* of Trojan women and their Phrygian attendants (*Aen.* 2.579-80). An approach such as Goold's would presumably argue that the "interpolated" passage's implicit misogyny and open contempt for yet another nefarious female (*nefas*, *Aen.* 2.585, cf. *Aen.* 8.688) should be seen as "precisely what an imitator of Virgil would strive to attain";[144] certainly, the anxieties about female dominance it expresses accord with prevailing bias in Roman discourse generally. Yet the lexical closeness of Propertius 4.6.57 and 65 (highlighted above) to this suspected passage of the *Aeneid* suggests that the date of its composition could be narrowed from the *terminus ante quem* of 65 AD offered by the allusion at Lucan *BC* 10.53ff (which Goold accepts as valid)[145] to a contemporary date. If the similarities are not so compelling as Goold's cogent table of non-references to the Helen Episode in the ancient scholarly tradition,[146] the thematic duplication in both texts can at least be taken to reflect the consistency of misogynistic thought in antiquity.

---

[143] For a lucid summary of the manuscript and ancient commentary evidence for the Helen Episode, see Conte (1986) 197 n.1 (with further bibliography), and, more recently, Murgia (2003) with nn. 1 and 2 setting out the bibliography for and against. See also Austin (1964) 217-9.

[144] Goold (1970) 104. Nisbet (1990) 379 less sceptically finds the scene "Virgilian not only in style but also in imaginative power and psychological appropriateness".

[145] Goold (1970) 124. On Lucan's allusion (which occurs, moreover, in a discussion of Cleopatra), see R.T. Bruère, 'The Helen Episode in *Aeneid* 2 and Lucan', *CP* 59 (1964) 267 [*non uidi*]; Murgia (2003) now argues that the Helen episode was modelled on the Lucan passage.

[146] Goold (1970) 123. A contemporary allusion to the Helen episode would not exactly *in*validate Goold's findings, but it might indicate that his table proves only that the Helen Episode was not included in the first editions of the *Aeneid*, rather than that it is not vintage Vergil, or, at least, that it is not of Vergilian vintage.

However, if the Propertian lines do constitute an allusion to a text of the *Aeneid* in which the Helen Episode is a legitimate component, then their occurrence after the allusion to Neoptolemus' killing of Priam (as discussed in the foregoing section) matches the sequence of *Aeneid* 2, in which the Helen episode directly follows Priam's death. The structural scheme of 4.6, then, is as "unified and continuous" with *Aeneid* 2.533-87 as Conte has shown the Vergilian text, also including the Helen Episode, to be with *Iliad* 1.188-202, where Athena appears with blazing eyes to stop Achilles from killing Agamemnon, just as Venus, similarly illuminated (*pura per noctem in luce refulsit*, *Aen.* 2.590), appears to her son to stay his hand from killing Helen.[147] Like *Iliad* 1, then, 4.6 attests the "indivisible continuity" of the Helen Episode with its surrounding text.[148]

Moreover, Conte's "gallant defence"[149] of the Helen Episode might be further rescued from its detractors with the observation that Apollo's advent in Propertius 4.6 suggests a second tier of allusion to precisely the same passage of *Iliad* 1 to which Conte argues the Helen episode alludes: Apollo takes his stand over his protégé (****astitit** *Augusti puppim super*, v. 29), as does Athena behind hers (*στῆ δ' ὄπιθεν, v. 197); the shower of light that attends Apollo's arrival (*noua flamma* | ***luxit***, 4.6.29-30) might recall Athena's blazing eyes (δεινὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε **φάανθεν**, v. 200); Apollo comes *quali* ***aspexit*** *Pelopeum* ***Agamemnona*** *ultu* (v. 33), while Achilles asks Athena if she has come to witness Agamemnon's hybris (ἦ ἵνα ὕβριν **ἴδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονος** Ἀτρεΐδαο; v. 203). However, whereas Athena, like Venus in the Helen episode, urges her protégé to check his anger (σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, v. 214), Apollo endorses Augustus' revenge against Cleopatra. Propertius thus overturns the sentences handed down in *Iliad* 1 and the Helen Episode to ensure, pointedly, that *dat femina poenas* (v. 57). Implicitly more *degener* than his ancestor, therefore, Augustus does not balk at killing a woman.

---

[147] Conte (1986) 201-202, faulted by Murgia (2003) 405 for requiring too much of a type-scene (comparable episodes in Homer, however, are not abundant).

[148] The formulation is that of Conte (1986) 207.

[149] Horsfall (1995) 300, who nevertheless finds Conte's argument invalidated by the multiplicity of Homeric texts in Vergil's mind. Multiple Homeric allusion, however, is surely a consistent enough feature of Vergil's technique to validate its occurrence in the Helen episode.

The Poetics of Actium

Before leaving 4.6, it remains to be considered whether the transposition of Actium into a collision between genders offers scope for a metapoetic intepretation of the poem as a confrontation of genres. Jeri DeBrohun has suggested that the gender conflict of 4.6 can be read in this way, as a metapoetic battle between the opposing poles of Propertian elegy in Book 4: thus, *mulier...una* (v. 65) flees to the Nile in her *cumba* (v. 63), to which Propertius had formerly attached metapoetic significance (3.3.22), to escape Augustus' triumph, just as Horos predicts *una puella* will continue to elude Propertius' victories/grasp (*palmas*, 4.1.140).[150] Reciprocity between the Propertian Antony and the Antonian Propertius, such as that proposed by Jasper Griffin, could be used to support such a reading.[151] Similarly, as suggested in Chapter 2, the opening *ekphrasis* creates a space in which generic negotiations can be thrashed out (see p. 90 above). If, as Janan holds, the masculinity of 4.6 is such that the poem functions as a "general antipode to themes articulated elsewhere in Book IV",[152] then the numerical values in Apollo's archery (*una decem uicit missa sagitta ratis*, 4.6.68) might even provide a metapoetic comment on the role of 4.6 in Book 4, where this one poem beats the remaining ten into submission.

However, the reduction of Actium into the smashing of 'effeminate' Propertian elegy by 'masculine' Vergilian epic is problematic, not least because the same masculine/feminine polarisation of Actium is equally identifiable in Vergil and the wider discourse. In other words, an interpretation of 4.6 which would make of Actium a *naumachia* between Propertian and Vergilian poetics, refereed by the god Apollo, would necessarily, but perhaps less convincingly, construe in *Aeneid* 8 an identical metapoetic conflict. On the other hand, if 4.6 extrapolates the gendering of Actium in this direction, then by inversion a re-reading of the Vergilian passage will find it impregnated with the same idea. The tendency in Roman discourse to gender

---

[150] DeBrohun (2003) 232.
[151] Griffin (1985) 32-47. See also Wyke (2002) 171 (with the qualification against any corollary equation of Cynthia with Cleopatra).
[152] Janan (2001) 102.

oppositions and tensions of all kinds should urge caution here; poetic tensions are, nevertheless, at issue in 4.6, and will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Cynthia *mortua* (4.7)

Carthaginian Cynthia

Exploration of female death continues in 4.7 with the spectral return of Cynthia, last seen at the end of Book 3 when she was dismissed with apparent irrevocability from the poet's *a/Amores*. Her re-entry as a ghost in the wake of Propertius' most 'epic' elegy (4.6) corresponds to the juxtaposition of epic and elegiac poetics in the bipartite 4.1,[153] though it makes for a lukewarm fulfilment of Horos' prediction that *una puella* will continue to dominate the poet's output (4.1.139-46). Her non-appearance hitherto is more consistent with the exploration of female 'erasure' in Propertius' least conventionally elegiac collection, and extends this theme to its logical conclusion: 'Cynthia', *puella* and poetry, is dead. If female death truly is a prerequisite for acts of foundation in Vergil and Propertius, then Cynthia's death will have been required by the 'Roman *Aitia*' of Propertius 4. The encounter of the male protagonist with his girlfriend, dead at the behest of the overriding demands of his 'epic' programme, parallels Aeneas' inverse encounters with the ghosts of Creusa, who magnanimously endorses the mission she had opposed in life, and Dido, whose silence does little more than acquiesce to the ideology against which she had so railed in life. Cynthia's post-mortem recriminations, therefore, invert the sentiments of Creusa (*mortua*)[154] and conflate the verbal barrage of Dido *uiua* in *Aeneid* 4[155] with her mute incorporeality among the shades in *Aeneid* 6; Propertius, for his part, acquires the taciturnity of Aeneas in Carthage,[156] and makes the poem available to gynocentric discourse.

---

[153] See Janan (2001) 102-4 for 4.6 and 4.7 as "thematically and numerically the book's center and "epicentre" respectively" (p. 101); Wyke (2002) 104-5.
[154] Explored by Dimundo (1990) 204-5.
[155] As shown by Allison (1980): see further below.
[156] Propertius' taciturnity is noted by Papanghelis (1987) 158-9: "if throughout the poem he does not get a word in edgeways, it is probably because he has little remorse about their shared past and takes no objection to their projected future."

Scholars have found the appearance of Cynthia weeping, paradoxically, in Elysium to be Propertius' response to the appearance of Dido in the *Lugentes Campi*. Papanghelis sees Propertius here "under the spell of the recently published *Aeneid*", but takes issue with Solmsen's view that this sublimated the moral dimension of the elegy: "for all the impact that the atmosphere evoked by Virgil may have had on the elegist, tragic pathos does not filter into 4.7 and serious moral reflection is outside its scope".[157] As recent studies have shown, however, 4.7 focalises through Cynthia a far more disquieting picture of her relationship than that presented by her lover in the previous books;[158] an equation with Dido, therefore, would offer possibilities for tragic pathos and serious moral reflection that might challenge androcentric readings of the elegiac genre. Carefully reformulating Vergil's underworld eschatology (*nam gemina est* ***sedes*** *turpem* ***sorti****ta per amnem*, 4.7.55; *nec uero hae sine* ***sort****e datae, sine iudice,* ***sedes***, *Aen.* 6.431) so that the *turba* (4.7.56; cf. *Aen.* 6.305, 325, 611) of deceased wives are damned or beatified according to their deserts, Cynthia locates herself in Elysium among such *sine fraude maritae* (v. 63) as Andromeda and Hypermnestre, and far from the likes of Clytemnestra and Pasiphae, who alone of Propertius' *exempla* is duplicated in Vergil's underworld, where she spends perpetuity in the *Lugentes Campi* with Dido (*Aen.* 6.447-50). Cynthia thus ranks herself among the unblemished and socially acceptable wives of legend who, unlike Dido, are licensed to tell their own tales (*narrant historias, pectora nota, suas*, v. 64).[159] In so doing, she echoes the speeches of Vergil's Dido and thereby 'envoices' the mute ghost of *Aeneid* 6 with her animated railing in *Aeneid* 4:

> spirantisque animos et **uocem** misit: at illi
> pollicibus fragiles increpuere manus:
> '**Perfide** nec cuiquam melior **spera**nde puellae,
> in te iam uires somnus habere **potest**? 4.7.11-14

> tandem his Aenean compellat **uocibus** ultro:
> 'dissimulare etiam **spera**sti, **perfide**, tantum
> **posse** nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra? *Aen.* 4.304-6[160]

---

[157] Shackleton Bailey (1956) 253; Solmsen (1975) 240-244; Papanghelis (1987) 182.
[158] See Flaschenriem (1998); Janan (2001) 100-101, 104-5, 108-112; Wyke (2002) 184-5.
[159] For this reading of the text, see p. 102 n.12 above.
[160] Cf. also *Aen.* 4.365ff.: *nec tibi diua parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,* | ***perfide****, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens* | *Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.*

Among other similarities,[161] Cynthia's first word echoes the opening of Dido's *agon*, restoring to its original Catullan *sedes* the perfidy so studiously borrowed by Vergil from Ariadne's recriminations in Catullus 64.[162] Cynthia attempts to assert control over her *nachleben* with the wholesale revision of her Propertian reputation for faithlessness to one of monogamous devotion (*me* ***seruasse fidem***, v. 53) that even leaves Dido in the shade (*non* ***seruata fides***, *Aen.* 4.552).[163] In returning to her 'spouse' to reveal her murderer (*insidiis* ***pallida*** *uina bibi*, v. 36), Cynthia also recalls Dido's late husband (*in somnis inhumati uenit imago | coniugis ora modis attolens* ***pallida*** *miris*, *Aen.* 1.353-4),[164] but whereas Sychaeus' killer *factum...* ***celauit...*** | ***multa*** *malus simulans* (*Aen.* 1.351-2), Cynthia proposes a cover-up of Propertius' crimes (***celo*** *ego perfidiae crimina* ***multa*** *tuae*, 4.7.70).

June Allison has argued that Propertius 4.7 follows *Aeneid* 4 in conflating the concepts of *regnum*, *amor*, and death.[165] After Cynthia's funeral (*ab exsequiis...* ***amoris***, 4.7.5), Propertius laments the *frigida* ***regna*** (v. 6) of his empty bed; Dido greets Aeneas' love for his *regnum* in preference to himself (*hic* ***amor***, *haec patria est*, *Aen.* 4.347, *et nos fas extera quaerere* ***regna***, *Aen.* 4.350) with disdain (*i, sequere Italiam uentis, pete* ***regna*** *per undas*, *Aen.* 4.381) and promises to hound him after her *frigida mors* (v. 385): "[b]oth poets equate *regnum* with *amor* and use the attributive *frigida* to refer to death and to the death of love."[166] Thus, Propertius and Dido, whose kingdom is love, invert the ethos of Aeneas, whose love is kingdom.

Alternatively, the ambiguity of Vergil's hero is such that Propertius' devotion to *amor* could be taken to highlight the reluctance with which Aeneas claims to have abandoned Dido (cf. *Aen.* 6.460) or conversely to insinuate that Propertius' first loyalty is to *Roma*. In another sense, then, the *frigida regna* of an empty bed which Propertius laments at the

---

[161] Cynthia's speech, in fact, seems to be peppered with fragments of Dido's diction: *nec crepuit fissa* ***me propter*** *harundine custos* (4.7.25): ***te propter*** *Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni | odere, infensi Tyrii;* ***te propter...*** (*Aen.* 4.320-1); *per* ***nomen quoniam*** *est ausa rogare meum* (4.7.46): *hoc solum* ***nomen quoniam*** *de coniuge restat* (*Aen.* 4.324).

[162] On Vergil's reworking of Catullus 64, see Wills (1996) 26-8; Allison (1980) 333 with n.7 observes the identical uses of *perfidus* in *Aeneid* 4 and Catullus 64.

[163] The parallel is noted by Allison (1980) 333.

[164] Yardley (1977) 84.

[165] Allison (1980) 332-4

[166] Allison (1980) 333.

beginning of 4.7 might also represent the loveless, 'epicising' strains he has adopted in Book 4; *frigidus* is notably also a literary critical term (*OLD* s.v. 8b). At the end of 4.6, Propertius had retired from his encomium of the saviour of Rome, citing the *fusca regna* (4.6.78) of conquered territories as one of the themes which the poets of his coterie might sing; the proximity (aural and textual) of *fuscaque regna* at the end of a poem on Actium to *frigida regna* at the beginning of a poem on the death of Cynthia (and the poetry she represents) suggests that Propertius has forsaken *amor* for *Roma*, and has allied himself more closely with Aeneas than with Cynthia and Dido.

Trojan Cynthia

Cynthia's affinity with Dido, at any rate, recommends a 'feminist' reading of Propertian elegy and Vergilian epic. Though elevating *amor* to the status of *regnum* and otherwise setting the record straight, her past tense verbs nevertheless indicate her resignation to a fate as ineluctable, perhaps, as that of Troy:

> longa mea in libris *regna fuere* tuis.
> iuro ego Fatorum *nulli reuolubile* carmen,
> tergeminusque canis sic mihi molle sonet,
> me **seruasse fidem. si *fallo***, uipera nostris
> sibilet in tumulis et super ossa cubet. 4.7.50-4

> uenit summa dies et *ineluctabile* tempus
> Dardaniae. *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium* et ingens
> gloria Teucrorum; *Aen.* 2.324-6

An echo here of the fall of Troy (as italicised) in the destruction of Cynthia's literary *regnum* would complement Cynthia's affinity with Dido, for the destruction of Troy in *Aeneid* 2 also foreshadows that of Dido's Carthage in later history. Aptly, *Aeneid* 2 turns out to be a recurrent intertext in this poem. A general similarity to be observed here is that both the Trojan and Cynthian *regna* fall through treachery. The very phrase whereby Cynthia protests her faithfulness, and with which she improves upon Dido's

non seruata fides (see above), occurs elsewhere in the *Aeneid* only in Book 2, where Sinon's lies secure Troy's faith:[167]

> tu modo promissis maneas ***seruataque*** **serues**
> Troia **fidem, si *uera*** feram, si magna rependam. *Aen.* 2.160-1

That Cynthia echoes Sinon, liar *par excellence*, in protesting her faithfulness (suggested by the parallels in bold type) might be enough to problematize her claims; the tears with which she purports to cure[168] herself of the love of her life (*sic mortis* ***lacrimis uitae*** *sana**mus** amores*, 4.7.69), therefore, might similarly be belied by Sinon's crocodile tears, catastrophically accepted by the Trojans as genuine (*his* ***lacrimis uitam*** *da**mus** et miserescimus ultro*, *Aen.* 2.145). Some intertextual readers may wish to see here an indication that Propertius has grown weary of Cynthia's promise to inspire his poetry; alternatively, if in the *Aeneid* Sinon's lies bring about the fall of the Trojan *regnum*, the fall of the Cynthian *regnum* in 4.7 may have been occasioned by Propertius' treachery rather than her own. The intertext does not answer the questions posed by 4.7, but it does legitimate them.

Accordingly, the snake (underlined above) that Cynthia invites upon her grave as a penalty clause should she be proved false could be taken either to anticipate or invert in miniature the gigantic serpents whose attack on Laocoon and his sons attends the Trojans' calamitous credulity and prefigures the destruction of their city (cf. *in**cumbunt***, v. 205; ***sibila**...ora*, v. 211).[169]

---

[167] It is tempting to discern a signpost to Sinon in the conditional clauses of vv. 71-2: ***si** te **non*** etc.

[168] So Knox (2004) 158-9 who reads *sanamus* [Barber's OCT: *sancimus*] as a bold usage of the topos of *medicina amoris*.

[169] Austin (1964) *ad Aen.* 2.211 notes that the adjective *sibilus* is first attested in Vergil. Fernandelli (1997) 141 suggests that the expression *serpere...equum* at Propertius 3.13.64 relates to snake imagery in Greek tragedy, and is possibly based on *Aeneid* 2.225ff., where the entry of the wooden horse to Troy is assimilated to the movement of a snake. Connections between Sinon and the serpent imagery (cf. *sinus*, *sinuo* etc.) of *Aeneid* 2 are explored *inter alia* by Knox (1950). It is just possible that Propertius links the (?symbolic) serpent of *Aeneid* 2 with the deadly *chersydrus* of *Georgics* 3 (Knox points out that the verb *delitescere* occurs in Vergil only in these two passages): the word *uipera* (4.7.53) occurs in Vergil only at *Geo.* 3.417 and (of the same snake) 545) as emblem of the plague which, for its part, parallels the civil war in *Georgics* 1, the disease of *amor* in *Georgics* 3, and perhaps (as argued above, pp. 44-9) the hazards that confront artistic creativity; it has been argued in Chapter 1 that this georgic *chersydrus* is metapoetically significant in 4.9. Hence, the *uipera* (occurring

It is emerging that the intertextual activity of 4.7 fluctuates between the dark night of *Aeneid* 2 and the fiery *agon* of *Aeneid* 4. These tragic intertexts are thus in tension with the comic/mimic intertextuality which scholars have highlighted in this poem. Peter Knox, for example, points out that Cynthia's escape through a window under the cover of dark is a burlesque of the comic or mimic stage:[170]

> iamne tibi exciderant uigilacis **furta** Suburae
> et mea **nocturnis** trita fenestra **dolis**?
> per quam **demisso** quotiens tibi **fune** pependi,
> *alterna* ueniens in tua colla *manu*!
> saepe Venus triuio *commissa est, pectore mixto*
> fecerunt tepidas *proelia* nostra uias. 4.7.15-20

Elements of Vergil's tragic stage, however, continue to intrude upon Propertius' comic stage. Cynthia's descent from her window ***demisso...fune*** (v. 17) echoes the descent of the Greek warriors from the wooden horse ***demissum...per funem*** at *Aen.* 2.263, once again locating the reader in the tragic world of *Aeneid* 2; equally suggestive of the Greek wiles at Troy are Cynthia's nocturnal *furta* (v. 15; *Aen.* 2.258) and *doli* (v. 16; *Aen.* 2.264).[171] Loyal to her elegiac provenance, however, Cynthia slides down the rope *alterna...manu* (4.7.18) to engage in *militia amoris* (*Venus...commissa est; pectore mixto; tepidas; proelia*);[172] yet it could also be said that, having returned more as foe than friend, Cynthia has appropriately enlisted in a squadron of Greek warriors.[173]

With the Greeks pouring out of the horse, Aeneas' narrative switches immediately to his account of his interview with Hector's ghost, a scene which provides a direct

---

only here in Propertius) which threatens Cynthia's grave might reflect (via the georgic *chersydrus*) the artistic constriction potentially in store for Propertius after the ravages of *amor* with Cynthia.

[170] Knox (2004) [kindly supplied to me by Prof. Philip Hardie] 159-60 cites Ovid, *Ars Am.* 3.605 with Gibson (2003) *ad loc.* on the strategy of exits/entrances via windows; the article bases the case for Cynthia's murder at the hands of Propertius on a comparison with Roman mime (for hints in this direction, see vv. 36-7, 49, 70); also on the 'adultery mime', see McKeown (1979), with pp. 74-7 on Propertius 4.8; see also Hubbard (1975), 151. For the (possible) influence of mime in 4.9, see Wiseman (1999) 198-99.

[171] *dolus* occurs eight times in *Aen.* 2: vv. 34, 44, 62, 152, 196, 252, 264, 390.

[172] The military imagery here supports the anonymous emendation to *proelia* of the disputed *pallia* (so Barber's *OCT*) or *pectora* of the MSS. Even without it, however, *commissa* and *mixto* are secure, and impart to *tepidas* the 37°C of fresh exsanguination.

[173] cf. 2.3.32, 33-40 for a comparison between Cynthia and Helen.

analogue for 4.7 as a whole.[174] Although visible physical trauma is a conventional feature of *bi(ai)othanatoi* such as Hector, there are few parallels for the similar signs of combustion and decomposition undergone by Cynthia in the natural disposal of her corporeal remains (4.7.7-10).[175] That both Hector and Cynthia come with instructions and prophecies is the norm for revenants; in the detail, however, an extended *oppositio in imitando* prevails: Aeneas is sound asleep (vv. 268-70), whereas Propertius is (arguably)[176] sleepless (v. 5); Hector (ultimately) received full burial rites, whereas Cynthia protests that she has been denied hers; both foretell the end of a *regnum*, literal in one case, and literary in the other (*longa mea in libris regna fuere tuis*, 4.7.50; *Aen.* 2.290-3); Hector's prophecy that Aeneas will secure the eternal destiny of his people (*Aen.* 2.294-5) is reversed in Cynthia's prediction that Propertius will soon (*mox*, v. 93) join her in the grave; and whereas Hector hands over to Aeneas the emblems of burning Troy (*Aen.* 2.293-4, 296-7), Cynthia commands Propertius to burn the poetry composed in her name (vv. 77-8).[177] Hector's benevolent *manis* thus becomes Cynthia's more malevolent *larua*.[178] Her opening words adopt the terms of Aeneas' opening address to Hector, but reverse the sentiment (*Per**fid**e nec cuiquam melior **spe**rande puellae*, 4.7.13; *o lux Dardaniae, **spes** o **fid**issima Teucrum*, *Aen.* 2.281). The charges of perfidy, as noted, are those of Dido, and are consequently the opposite of the sentiments expressed by ghosts like Hector and Creusa who propel rather than retard the epic mission of which they are the acquiescent collateral damage.

---

[174] Without (apparently) suspecting allusion to this scene, Muecke (1974) 126 has observed that, in presenting a disfigured yet recognisable Cynthia, Propertius finds the poignancy of Vergil's contrast between Hector's former splendour and his mangled ghost. Papanghelis (1987) 151 notes the similarity but finds Propertius' Cynthia goes beyond the "generically requisite to the realistically circumstantial". On the pathos of Hector's former splendour, see e.g. Heinze (1915) 17.

[175] Muecke (1974) compares Tib. 1.10.37-8 (*ustoque capillo*), to which Yardley (1977) offers Lucian, *Philops.* 24. Cynthia's decay may be a sign of her status as an *ataphos* (i.e. the ghost of the unburied or improperly buried), while her alleged poisoning (4.7.36) qualifies her, like Hector, as *bi(ai)othanatos* (i.e. one who has died violently or unnaturally); as Ogden (2002) 146 observes, murder victims and suicides "provided the bitterest ghosts in this class". Also on the (overlapping) categories of ancient ghosts, see Waszink (1949).

[176] See Hutchinson *ad loc.* for the argument that Propertius is asleep.

[177] Personal effects were burnt with the deceased: so Papanghelis (1987) 185. A (humorous) instance of this custom is provided by Lucian, *Philops.* 27, where Eucrates claims his wife returned *post mortem* to rebuke him for neglecting to cremate one of her sandals.

[178] Broadly speaking, *larvae* and *lemures* denoted noxious ghosts, but the words are largely absent from Augustan poetry (they are found in Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles*, but not the *Odes*), where the more euphemistic (*Di*) *Manes* prevails. See Thaniel (1973).

In dialogue with the Roman Homer

Propertius' interview with Cynthia's ghost is thus projected not only onto Achilles' interview with Patroclus' ghost in *Iliad* 23, an established intertext,[179] but also onto Aeneas' interview with Hector's ghost in *Aeneid* 2. What is noteworthy about this double-vision is that Aeneas' encounter with Hector's ghost is itself already modelled on the identical passage of *Iliad* 23.[180] Cynthia's identification with Hector can therefore be corroborated by the stratification in 4.7 of a window-allusion to Vergil's own recasting of Patroclus' phantom in the form of Hector. The implications are several. Thematically, a split in Cynthia's personality between Patroclus and Hector has the advantage of allowing her, in death, to reflect both the affection and antagonism that characterised their relationship in life.[181] Generically, this Propertio-Vergilio-Iliadic nexus recognises Vergil's claim to be the Roman Homer, and thereby promotes Propertian elegy in the same direction;[182] alternatively, it could be taken to present an eroticised interpretation of the *Iliad*, perhaps reflecting the later tradition which construed an homoerotic dimension in Achilles' relations with Patroclus.[183]

---

[179] On the Homeric structure of 4.7 and 4.8, see pp. 289-90 below, with bibliography at nn. 195-6.

[180] See Austin (1964) on *Aeneid* 2.268-97.

[181] So Dimundo (1989) 277-278, though she finds Cynthia's bitter recriminations more reminiscent of Homer's Hector, whose corpse was mutilated by Achilles not unlike Cynthia's has been neglected by Propertius. See also Dalzell (1980) 35: "The differences between Cynthia and Patroclus are more striking than the similarities".

[182] So Hubbard (1974) 150: "This is Homer not merely recollected but transposed and modernised, to a world where characters of equal authenticity, however remote from the values, the strengths, the limitations of the heroic world, speak in the accents of their great predecessors." Similarly Knox (2004) 168-9.

[183] For this later tradition, cf. Plato, *Symp.* 179e-180b; Aeschines, i (*Against Timarchos*), 133, 142ff.; for the contrary interpretation, see Xen. *Symp.* 8.31. It is perhaps in recognition of the Achilles-Patroclus nuance in the relationship of Aeneas and Pallas that Cynthia's lean exequies (4.7.22-34) reverse some of the detail and all of the pomp of the lavish affair laid on for Pallas (*Aen.* 11.29-99): whereas Propertius seems to have neglected the provision of a decent prop for Cynthia's head (4.7.26, on Hutchinson's interpretation, though the meaning of the line is a *zetema* of the earlier commentaries), Aeneas sees Pallas appropriately laid out (*laesit et obiectum tegula curta* ***caput***, 4.7.26 ≠ ***caput*** *nivei fultum Pallantis*, *Aen.* 11.39); Propertius is accused of not warming his toga with tears (v. 28), whereas Aeneas weeps (*Aen.* 11.39) and the Trojans spatter their weapons with tears (*Aen.* 11.191); from the erotic simile whereby the dead Pallas is compared to a freshly plucked flower, *pollex* (*Aen.* 11.68 (only here in Vergil), 4.7.12) and *hyacinthus* (*Aen.* 11.69, 4.7.33 (same *sedes*)) recur in the more sordid context of Cynthia's funeral. Cynthia's connection with Pallas is, at most, tentatively made, but thematically the comparison is quite *ad rem*: Pallas can be seen as Dido's successor for Aeneas' affection (Oliensis (1997) 309 notes the nuptial imagery of Aeneas' veiling (*obnubit*, *Aen.* 11.77) of Pallas' corpse with a robe woven by Dido) but, in an epic that promotes familial reproduction, their's is a love that dare not speak its name.

It is perhaps metapoetically that this 'window-allusion' has most to say. In the tradition of Callimachus' dream encounter with Hesiod's muses on Helicon and Ennius' with Homer's ghost in the *Annales*, Aeneas' inheritance of Troy's emblems from Hector's ghost has been seen to inaugurate the *Aeneid* with a scene of poetic investiture in which Vergil inherits the epic tradition.[184] In the same way, as Gregory Hutchinson has suggested, the dream encounter of 4.7 might be read as a programmatic 'proem in the middle'.[185] Through Vergil's appropriation of Homer, then, Propertian elegy goes one further, and appropriates Homer *and* Vergil. Here, the charred collateral damage of Propertius' Roman *Aetia* declares that the era of love elegy is over: she commands him to consign to her pyre the elegy composed in her name (vv. 77-8); her image, too, is smelted down into the *dos* of Propertius' new mistress (vv. 47-8), who 'sweeps the ground with her golden cloak' (*aurata cyclade signat humum*, v. 40), or, reading κυκλάς metapoetically,[186] 'signs the territory with her epic cycle'; and the name of the nurse whom Cynthia discharges into Propertius' care is also the (purported) nickname of Vergil:[187]

> nutrix in tremulis ne quid desideret annis
> Parthenie: potuit nec tibi auara fuit. 4.7.73-4

Pointedly, this 'Verginity' has not been stingy to Propertius.

The *exsequiae* of Cynthia and Caieta

As an endangered (literary) species, Cynthia's concern in 4.7 is to reassert her right to survive. The theme of immortality is raised thematically and intertextually from the *incipit* of the poem, which echoes, only with greater self-assurance, the *topos* of sepulchral epigram to speculate on the possibility of life after death.[188] In view of this

---

[184] See Hardie (1993) 101-105.
[185] Hutchinson 170.
[186] See Barchiesi (1997) 273.
[187] *Vita Donati*, 11. Vergil himself may be punning on 'Parthenias' at *Geo.* 1.430 (*uirgineum*), where an acrostic in vv. 429-33 spells out the initial two letters of each of his three names: see Thomas *ad loc.* and Feeney and Nelis (2005); another possibility is embedded in the *sphragis* of the *Georgics* (*Geo.* 4.563-4: *Vergilium...Parthenope*); see O'Hara (1996) 289. On the rarity of Parthenie as a female name, see Hutchinson *ad loc.*
[188] Fedeli *ad loc.* compares *C.L.E.* 428, 14: *si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes*; 1190, 3: *si tamen at Manes credimus esse aliquid*; Prop. 2.34.53: *si post Stygias restabimus undas*; Ov. *Trist.* 4.10.85: *si tamen exstinctis*

theme, Propertius 4.7 might be seen to correspond to the opening of *Aeneid* 7, which offers an unusual case of midpoint programmatic writing: as Vergil embarks upon the second half of the epic, he delays the programmatic announcement of his *maius opus* to grant his hero a moment to bury Caieta, his *nutrix* (*Aen* 7.12), and to perform her 'exequies' (*exsequiis*, *Aen.* 7.5). Alessandro Barchiesi has revealed these lines as the palimpsest of sepulchral epigram: they are appropriately epigrammatic in style, and even imitate the lilt of elegy, as closely as the hexameter can, to mark Aeneas' private moment of grief.[189] Both 4.7 and *Aeneid* 7 open epigrammatically, then, and with the death of socially marginal women who have no place in the 'epic' worlds into which their respective poems are moving.[190] However, whereas Aeneas' nurse secures decent burial and a form of immortality by giving her name eponymously to what today is the seaside town of Gaeta, Cynthia protests that she has been denied funeral honours, orders the poet to burn the poetry written about her, and composes an epigram of her own (4.7.85-6) which excludes any reference to Propertius but guarantees the literary immortality of *aurea Cynthia.* In contrast to the recurrent instances of female erasure in epic, Cynthia's epigram can be taken as elegy's bid for female autonomy.[191] The contrast of Cynthia's combusted remains with the interment of Caieta might recall the etymology of ancient Caieta which Vergil bypasses, but which Servius preserves and to which Ovid alludes in his epitaph for Caieta (*Met.* 14.443-44): Caieta from καίω, for it was here that the Trojans burned their ships.[192]

To pinpoint the parallel between Vergil's seventh book and Propertius' seventh poem, it can be observed that the *exsequiae* of the deceased occur (in the same case) in the fifth line of each, and in Vergil's case is his only use of the word (i.e. 4.7.5 ~ *Aen.* 7.5). The inclusion of *hapax legomena* from the text to which allusion is being made is a standard

---

aliquid nisi nomina restat. The confluence of Homer, epigraphy and Augustan poetry at 4.7.1 is difficult to explain. Yardley (1977) 83 notes that *Sunt aliquid Manes* answers positively the conventional scepticism of funerary epigram, whereas Casey (2001) 410 n.35 is "inclined to believe that the epitaphs are modelled on the poetry and not vice-versa." However, to apply the latter solution to the Homeric parallel would be too controversial for most; it would seem best to agree with Muecke (1974) 132 n.30, who refers to the theory of Cairns (1972) chapter 2 that Homeric types migrated into epigram and other genres. This solution would also be consistent with the ancient view of Homer as the source of all literature.

[189] Barchiesi (1979); Dintner (2005).

[190] On the symbolic death of Caieta, see Keith (2000) 47-8.

[191] For this reading of Cynthia's epigram, see especially Flaschenriem (1998) 55-6 and 58-60.

[192] See O'Hara (1996) 183.

technique of Callimachean poetry, and as such is quite at home in the 'Callimachus Romanus'. Statistically, this alignment is a remarkable textual event, but one which is thematically functional in the context of this argument. The likelihood of coincidence is further diminished by the recurrence of *exsequiae*, those of Cynthia's antitype Cornelia, in a mirrored position five lines from the end of the book (4.11.98).[193] Moreover, five lines from the end of 4.7, Cynthia declares *uectum nauta recenset onus*, where the verb, as Hutchinson explains, means " 'checks' the number is right",[194] and the subject encodes in a metapoetic context yet another instance of Propertius' disputed cognomen (see pp. 4 and 49 above). Propertius' only other use of the word *exsequiae* in Book 4 is also revealing: celebrating the grim exequies of Acanthis, he exults *exsequiae fuerint rari furtiua capilli | uincula* (4.5.71-2), meaning literally 'let her exequies be the stolen ribbons from her scanty hair', but (given the metapoetic potential of *furtiuus*, *capillus*, and *uinculum*) the line might also be rendered 'let *exsequiae* be the theft of a rare stylistic feature'.[195]

In a poem which Janan has called the 'epicentre' of Propertius 4, the intertextual 'tracking' of *exsequiae* (a word which itself connotes the idea of pursuit) indicates how, from the epic centre of the *Aeneid*, the lament of elegy radiates outward.

With Cynthia's death, there is much with which to come to terms: linked to Patroclus, Hector, Creusa, Dido, and now Caieta, her unsuitability to the requirements of Rome seems indelibly stamped on her profile. That she is to be understood as a 'vanishing body' is implied in the final line, when her evanescent wraith dissolves in the poet's embrace. On this view, Propertius offers a concerted reading of the *Aeneid* for its 'rare' moments of elegiac disquietude. On the other hand, having set the record straight,

---

[193] Goold (1967) 101-2, however, argues for the transposition of 4.11.97-8 to follow 4.11.62.

[194] Hutchinson *ad loc.*

[195] For the metapoetic associations of *uincula* in Propertius, see Hinds (2006). Words pertaining to hairstyle are also associated with literary style (cf. *Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona*, 4.1.61; see also 1.2.1), on which see Kraus (2005) 104 with n.24, 114-115; at *Fasti* 3.1-2, Mars is invited to lay down his arms and loosen his *nitidas...comas* from his helmet, read by Harrison (2002) 86 as "a clear metapoetic symbol of descent into a softer, more elegiac role (given the common fixation of love-elegy with the mistress' hair)". As pointed out to me by Damien Nelis, *capillus* occurs again at 4.7.7, which could secure the link between the two *exsequiae*, in which case *eosdem...capillos* (4.7.7) acts as a 'footnote'. Graevius' *fuerint* [*fuerant O*] doubly recommends itself as the correct reading at 4.5.71 if, as well as a jussive perfect subjunctive, it be taken (in the metapoetic reading) as a future perfect indicative, so that Propertius is confiding with the alert reader as to the poetic theft he is planning to make at 4.7.5.

Cynthia countenances Propertius' interim affairs with other mistresses and contents herself with the thought of his impending (*mox*, v. 93) decomposition by her side, thus framing in erotic terms (*mixtis ossibus ossa teram*, v. 94) Patroclus' *mandata* to Achilles.[196] Drawn into the dialogue with the centre of the *Aeneid*, we might contrast Aeneas' *nutrix* (*Aen.* 7.1), whose death is required by the hero's arrival in Italy, with Cynthia's (*nutrix*, 4.7.73), who lives on now that the elegist has turned to the Vergilian themes her name invokes. As a result of this process, Cynthia has become a somewhat more 'epic' and *vir*tuous figure herself, to the extent that, reading sequentially, this elegiac successor to 4.6 becomes the epic precursor to 4.8.

Diva Rediviva (4.8)

Bipolar Cynthia

Cynthia's corporeal reanimation in 4.8 counterbalances the concessions made to epic in the previous elegy.[197] She returns from an excursion to Juno's cult shrine at Lanuvium[198] to re-establish her *regnum* in all its former glory. Though there is no explicit reference to the concept of *regnum* in 4.8, it follows from the metapoetic reading of the last poem that Cynthia's fallen realm can be re-founded, as Allison shows,[199] and Propertius' 'wonted round of song' renewed:[200] as Dee notes, the return of Propertius' mistress reveals the poet's "continuing fascination with the love relationship and his deep commitment to the erotic world."[201] The resumption of this elegiac norm will require the subordination of Vergilian *militia* to Propertian *amor*.

It is less clear at the start of 4.8 that this upheaval of androcentrism is the end in store, however, for Cynthia is shown riding off to Juno's cult shrine at Lanuvium where *puellae* submitted to an archaic form of lie-detector test whereby they proved their

---

[196] The erotic subtext is resisted by some scholars (*pro*: Dimundo (1990) *ad loc.*; *contra*, Harrison (1992)), but, given the conjunction of *tero* with *misceo*, and the use of the latter in an indisputably erotic context earlier in the poem (v. 16), it would seem insensibly prudish to exclude it here. See also Adams (1990) 183, who cites Prop. 3.11.30: *et famulos inter femina trita suos* (where the *femina* in question is Cleopatra).

[197] For Wyke (2002) 105, 4.8 is 'required' by the book's poetics of polarity.

[198] Lanuvium was the cult centre of Juno Sospita. Cf. v. 16: *causa fuit Iuno*. See Hutchinson 3-14n.

[199] Allison (1980) 335-7.

[200] *Carminis interea nostri redeamus in orbem* (3.2.1), tr. Goold (1990) 224.

[201] Dee (1978) 53.

chastity by feeding titbits to a subterranean serpent. 4.8 thus begins with a scene of female subordination and containment by now familiar in this book, but concludes with a reversal of that situation and a shift from aetiological back to erotic poetics. Here, the generic poles of the book shift within a single poem in a way that has not been as pronounced since 4.1; as Maria Wyke observes, "[n]ow [...] the dynamic of the fourth book changes *within* rather than between poems."[202]

Lanuviaque uenit litora

The bipolar 4.8 will shift from an epic to elegiac mode. In the *Aeneid*'s terms, the timid *uirgo* with which 4.8 begins must be a Dido antitype, and equivalent to the acquiescent Lavinia. Indeed, as Paley notes, Lanuvium may be "another form of Lavinium":[203] Aelian, evidently working on the basis of the Propertian description, actually locates the rite in Lavinium, which he then derives from the legendary Lavinia (*Nat. Anim.* xi.16). The *uirgo* here and Lavinia in the *Aeneid* are broadly associable as subordinates to reproduction; for the former, her chastity is paradoxically a prerequisite for agricultural fecundity:

> si fuerint **castae**, redeunt *in colla parentum*,
> clamantque **agricolae** 'Fertilis annus erit.' 4.8.13-14

A similar philosophy operates in the 'idealised' agricultural world described at the end of *Georgics* 2, where *amor* and female sexuality are replaced by the *labor* of agriculture (a vision which finds fuller expression in the beehive two books later):[204]

> **agricola** incuruo terram dimouit aratro:
> hic anni labor, hinc patriam paruosque nepotes
> sustinet [...]
> [...]

---

[202] Wyke (2002) 105 (her emphasis).
[203] Paley (1853) *ad loc.*
[204] On *amor* as inimical to *Georgic* ideals, see Gale (2000) 96-100, and 228-9 on its absence from the beehive.

interea dulces *pendent circum oscula nati*,
casta pudicitiam seruat domus… *Geo.* 2.513-15, 523-4

It is not possible to assert with confidence that Propertius has this precise passage in mind, but his depiction of the successful farmer's maintenance of a chaste yet paradoxically fruitful household is thematically in keeping with the denigration of elegiac passion for which Vergil is noted. As Oliensis has shown, the *Aeneid* continues the articulation of gender and *amor* established in the *Georgics*, associating "the feminine with unruly passion, the masculine with reasoned (self-) mastery."[205]

The snake ritual in which Cynthia (purportedly) participates at Lanuvium has some similarity to the ritual performed by the sorceress whom Dido deceptively claims to have consulted in her attempt to secure either *coniugium* with Aeneas or a *remedium amoris*, and whose expertise is inherited by Acanthis in 4.5, as shown:

Lanuuium annosi uetus est tutela ***draconis**,
[…]
ieiuni serpentis honos, cum ***pabula*** poscit
annua et ex ima sibila torquet humo.
talia demissae pallent ad sacra puellae,
cum temere anguino creditur ore manus.
ille sibi ***admotas*** a uirgine corripit ***escas***. 4.8.3-11

hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos, ***epulas***que ***draconi***
quae dabat *Aen.* 4.483-5

Both passages detail a religious ritual connected with female sexuality[206] in which a girl feeds morsels to a snake, but whereas Cynthia's (purported) participation in the rite is in compliance with androcentric law (and vindicates the chastity her ghost proclaims in

[205] Oliensis (1997) 303.
[206] vv. 6-7, for example, seem to juxtapose male 'penetration anxiety' [thought this is (?deliberately) ambiguous: depending on how a modern edition will punctuate, the subject of *penetrat* can be either *uirgo* or, taking *uirgo* as vocative, *serpentis honos*] with less controversial phallic imagery of masculine empowerment: *qua penetrat*[,] *uirgo, tale iter omne caue,* | *ieiuni serpentis honos cum pabula poscit*; on the punctuation (but without Freudian interpretation), see Dee (1978) 43.

4.7), Dido's (purported) intention is to secure either requital or riddance of the erotic passion to which she has succumbed. The ritual at Lanuvium thus rewrites Dido's magic in a gender-normative context. This conformist Cynthia and Dido-antitype will be recast in the development of 4.8 as a non-conformist Cynthia who will reverse the outcome of *Aeneid* 4 with the successful summons of Propertius *ad foedera*; thus, for example, the conformist *uirgo* pales at her ordeal (4.8.9), just as *pallor* steals over Dido as she prepares for suicide (*Aen.* 4.644); later in 4.8 it will be Propertius who pales (v. 54) when Cynthia makes her comeback.

The vision of Cynthia driving down the Via Appia with an effeminate paramour (vv. 23-6)[207] might already anticipate the full revival of her 'masculinity' later in the poem. Within the account of the ritual at Lanuvium, therefore, there is a latent antithesis between the regularised, regulated gender-roles displayed in the snake ritual, at which girls oblige a snake with *pabula* and *escae* (4.8.7, 11), and the inversion of those roles en route (*huc*, v. 15) to that ritual:

> huc mea detonsis auecta est Cynthia ***mannis***:
> causa fuit Iuno, sed mage causa Venus.
> Appia, dic quaeso, quantum te teste ***triumphum***
> egerit effusis per tua saxa rotis!
> [...]
> spectaclum **ipsa** sedens primo ***temone** pependit,
> ausa per impuros ***frena mouere*** locos. 4.8.15-22

Cynthia's ambiguity is sustained by her alignment here with Juturna, another Vergilian *uirago* (*Aen.* 12.468) who exemplifies a loyalty so staunch that it brings her into conflict with the norms of femininity; thus Cynthia's deft chariot-handling recalls Juturna's displacement of Turnus' charioteer (*lapsum **temone** reliquit;* | ***ipsa** subit...flectit habenas*, *Aen.* 12.470-71) so that she herself might steer her brother (*germanum...ouantem*, v. 179, cf. *triumphum* | *egerit*, 4.8.17-18) out of harm's way.[208] If Juturna is here translated to

---

[207] On the *nepos*' femininity, see Dee (1978) 46 and Janan (2001) 120.

[208] Butler and Barber *ad loc.* note a similarity to the chariot race in *Aeneid* 5, where speed and bravura are equally of the essence: *campum* | *corripuere ruuntque **effusi** carcere currus,* | *nec sic immissis aurigae*

elegy as the elegiac *uirago* Cynthia, then perhaps the depilated *nepos*, rival of Propertius, is to be identified with Turnus, rival of Aeneas. The elegiac scenario thus attenuates the high drama of epic, or perhaps accentuates, through the figure of the *nepos*, the latent ephebe in Turnus; in the same way, Juturna's horses (*equis*, *Aen.* 12.478) become Cynthia's ponies (*mannis*, 4.8.15), and the *nepos*' dogs are *armillatos* (v. 24), effectively a diminutive of the *Aeneid*'s first word. Encased in this Vergilian passage is a simile (*Aen.* 12.473-7) in which Juturna is likened to a swallow flitting through a mansion looking for food for her young: ***pabula*** *parua legens nidisque loquacibus* ***escas*** (*Aen.* 12.475); in Propertius 4.8, the agropastoral material of this simile (*pabula*, 4.8.7: ten occurrences in the *Georgics*; *esca*, 4.8.11: cf. *Geo.* 4.15-17: *Procne...escam*, its only other occurrence in Vergil) is confined to the more appropriately georgic context of the fertility ritual in Lanuvium. Intertextually, therefore, the opening of 4.8 plots a calculated volte-face from georgic regularity to elegiac inversion of epic. The target of the poem is to elevate Propertian *amor* to the level of Vergilian *militia*, and to draw Vergilian *amor* (Lavinia, Juturna) and rivalry (Aeneas v. Turnus) into the realm of Propertian *militia amoris*.

maius opus mouens

In the second movement, Propertius has jumped ship (*castra mouere*, cf. *Aen.* 3.510; *Aen.* 11.446) to a stage redolent of comedy and mime,[209] piqued in his conviction that Cynthia's excursion to Lanuvium is a mere pretext to spend an afternoon with his rival. His ascription of Cynthia's absence to the interference of the same two deities who pull Dido asunder in their tug-of-war (*causa fuit Iuno, sed mage causa Venus*, v. 16)[210] anticipates the introduction of the poem's chief Vergilian intertext, which will jostle for position with the Homeric intertext of Odysseus' *nostos* and *nemesis* in *Odyssey* 22 (see below p. 290 with n.196). Cynthia gatecrashes Propertius' soirée in a condition reminiscent of Dido bursting into the inner quarters of her palace:

---

undantia lora | *concussere iugis pronique in uerbera* ***pendent*** (*Aen.* 5.144-47). Cf. perhaps also *Geo.* 1.512 (*carceribus sese* ***effundere*** *quadrigae*), with ***triumphos*** at v. 504 (cf. 4.8.17).

[209] See Dee (1978) 48-9; McKeown (1979) 74-5; Hubbard (1974) 151.

[210] To Allison's comparison of *malorum* | *causa* (*Aen.* 4.169-70) may be added the request in the proem to the *Aeneid* for the *causas* (*Aen.* 1.8) of Juno's wrath.

nec mora, cum *totas resupinat Cynthia ualuas*,
non operosa comis, sed **furibunda** decens.
pocula mi digitos inter cecidere remissos,
palluerantque ipso labra soluta mero. 4.8.51-54

interfusa genas et **pall**ida morte futura,
interiora domus inrumpit limina et altos
conscendit **furibunda** rogos ensemque recludit *Aen.* 4.644-6

The situation is reversed, however: Propertius takes on Dido's pallor, while Cynthia's 'furibund' state has more in common with Allecto than with Dido (see above, p. 98), for she directs at Propertius the violence Dido had turned upon herself.[211] Cynthia's grand entrance, as well as recalling Dido's in *Aeneid* 4, parallels Hercules' assault on Cacus, and Pyrrhus' invasion of Troy (see p. 97 above), thus distancing her from Dido as a figure who externalises rather than internalises violence, and once again portraying her as a Greek who 'slaughters' unsuspecting 'enemies'. The screeching hinges sound a nexus of interrelated Vergilian imagery. Audible here too, perhaps, are the rusty hinges of Dido's temple to Juno in *Aeneid* 1 (*foribus* ***cardo*** *stridebat aënis*, *Aen.* 1.446-9). Establishing her new *regnum* in Carthage, Dido founds a temple to Juno, while Cynthia in 4.8 returns from Juno's shrine to re-establish her *regnum* in Propertian poetry. The iconography of Juno's temple in *Aeneid* 1 depicts a number of scenes from the fall of Troy, an event recalled in 4.8 via Pyrrhus' irruption (*cardine postes*). As in 4.6, the panels of Vergil's ekphrasis are recalled in 4.8; it might be noted that the sequence is introduced with Propertius' admission, in the manner perhaps of Gallan elegy,[212] that although corporeally at his Esquiline orgy, he was mentally alone at the gates of, precisely, Juno's temple in Lanuvium (*Lanuuii ad portas, ei mihi, solus eram*, v. 48).

A fitting parallel for Cynthia's violence and Propertius' emasculation in this poem is provided by the first scene in Vergil's *ekphrasis*, the cruel scene in which the young Troilus is killed by a more experienced foe, so inaugurating the *Aeneid*'s series of failed transitions to the world of adulthood and epic. Whereas this *infelix puer* is dragged along behind his chariot by the horses he could not master (*fertur equis curruque haeret* ***resupin****us inani,* | *lora*

[211] On Cynthia's violence in 4.8, see Janan (2001) 123-4.
[212] See Hutchinson *ad loc.*; Fantazzi (1996) 183-4 (on *Eclogue* 10.43).

tenens tamen, *Aen.* 1. 474-8), Cynthia demonstrates her 'epic' temperament in 4.8 with an admirable display of chariot-handling, as shown. The adjective *resupinus* (only here in Vergil) shows the passivity of Troilus, whereas the verb ***resupinat*** shows how Cynthia actively breaks down the doors (v. 51).[213]

Once inside, Cynthia wreaks a havoc reminiscent of the scenes of devastation at Troy depicted on Dido's temple:

> interea ad templum non aequae Palladis ibant
> ***crinibus*** Iliades ***passis*** peplumque ferebant
> **suppliciter**, tristes et tunsae pectora **palmis**; *Aen.* 1.479-81

Cynthia's rivals flee with their hair similarly strewn (*direptisque* ***comis*** *tunicisque* ***solutis***, v. 61), while Lygdamus (v. 69) and Propertius are left to beg for mercy (***supplicibus palmis***, v. 71). As elsewhere in Book 4, the evocation of Troy's destruction is related to the evocation of Dido, an apt conflation given the proleptic twinning in the *Aeneid* of the fall of Troy with the fall of Dido's Carthage. The ensuing lines liken Cynthia's assault on Propertius to the sacking of a city, recalling (but without specifying the historical comparison) the simile applied to the clamorous ululation that broke out upon the revelation of Dido's suicide:

> fulminat illa oculis et ***quantum*** **femina** ***saeuit***,
> *spectaclum capta* ***nec minus*** *urbe fuit.* 4.8.55-56

> tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
> ***non aliter quam*** *si immissis ruat hostibus omnis*
> *Karthago aut antiqua Tyros* [...] *Aen.* 4.668-70

Here, then, "the reassertion of Cynthia's *regnum*"[214] is expressed through allusion to the fall of Dido's. The captured Propertius consequently joins his slave in a return to the *seruitium* of old (*Lygdame, nil potui: tecum ego captus eram*, v. 70; cf. 1.1.1: *Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis*). For *quantum* ****femina*** *saeuit* (v. 54), Allison compares the metrically similar *furens quid* ****femina*** *possit* (*Aen.* 5.6), the narrator's aside at precisely the point when Aeneas looks back in wonderment at the flames rising from Carthage.

---

[213] A vivid verb: compare Camps and Hutchinson *ad loc.*
[214] Allison (1980) 336.

At another moment, she is an Aeneas: Dee logs ***fulminat*** *illa oculis* (v. 55) as "an almost certain echo"[215] of ***fulminat*** *Aeneas armis* (*Aen.* 12.654), as he is described to Turnus by Saces, whose own facial injury (***saucius ora***, *Aen.* 11.652) is later inflicted by Cynthia on Propertius (*et mea perversa* ***sauciat ora*** *manu*, v. 64). In establishing her tyranny, she even becomes a Mezentius (***imperio*** *facta* ***superba*** *dato*, v. 82; ***superbo*** | ***imperio***, *Aen.* 8.841-2). Defeated and enslaved, Propertius agrees to Cynthia's terms (*tum demum* ***ad foedera ueni***, v. 71) in words which reverse Aeneas' protestation that he had never been married to Dido (*nec coniugis umquam* | *praetendi taedas aut haec* ***in foedera ueni***, *Aen.* 4.338-39).[216] Thus the conventional inversions of elegy are restored with Propertius taking over the role of Dido from Arethusa, Tarpeia, and Cleopatra, consequently agreeing to Cynthia's condition that he accept the *culpa* (v. 72) as his own. When ordering Propertius to change the bedclothes (***imperat et tot****as iterum mutare lucernas*, v. 85) she adopts the stance of Aeneas at the funeral of Pallas (*tolli miserabile corpus* | ***imperat, et toto*** *lectos ex agmine mittit* | *mille uiros*, *Aen.* 11.59-61), thereby appropriating the erotic dimension of that relationship while at the same time casting Propertius as a dead ephebe – a Troilus-figure, killed in the epic warfare to which he was fatally ill-suited.

In 4.8, therefore, Cynthia has created her own elegiac version of the *Aeneid* in which she plays first the part of a Lavinia, and then of a Dido whose dreams are realised. This represents a sophisticated inversion of the *Aeneid*'s own progress from the failed relationship of Dido and Aeneas in Books 1 and 4 to the successful marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia in Book 12, which itself is an inverted repetition of the failed Dido-Aeneas alliance.[217] Cynthia is a post-Vergilian elegiac mistress, bringing into elegy the full range of allusion now at her disposal: her versatility is such that she can embody elements also of Juturna, Hercules, Mezentius, and sundry Greek warriors. It has been suggested, too, that her assault on Propertius parallels Allecto's violent conversion of Turnus from peaceable rustic into militant warrior (see p. 97-8 above); in the *Aeneid*, Allecto is a representative female in that she obstructs the teleology of Trojan Rome. Translated to the universe of elegy, however, she propels the inverse teleology of *militia amoris*, and concludes a satisfying

---

[215] Dee (1978) 49-50.
[216] So Dimundo (1990) 84.
[217] See Monti (1981) 83-96.

erotic armistice (*soluimus* ***arma toro***, v. 88, inverting Turnus' taking up of arms to reclaim his bride: *arma amens fremit,* ***arma toro*** *tectisque requirit, Aen.* 7.460). Her ***foedus*** (v. 71) and ***leges*** (v. 74, 81) recall the ***leges*** *et* ***foedera*** (*Aen.* 12.822) at the end of the *Aeneid*, and her demand that Propertius change the bedclothes (***mutare*** *lacernas*, v. 85; ***mutato*** *per singula pallia lecto*, v. 87) rather pokes fun at the costume change to be made by the Latins as part of the heavenly *foedus* (*nomen* ***mutare*** *Latinos, Aen.* 12.823; *uocem* ***mutare*** *uiros aut uertere uestem, Aen.* 12.825). Perhaps, too, Cynthia is demanding a change also of poetic language, if *lacernas* recalls the more epic *lacerna* woven by Arethusa (4.3.18):[218] elegy 4.8, therefore, represents Cynthia's counter-attack, whereby she attempts to reinstate the only kind of poetry in which she can have a legitimate existence. Unlike the female figures in Vergilian epic, it is Cynthia who calls the shots in this elegiac *Aeneid.*

Cornelia (4.11)

Cornelia and Creusa

The triumphant return of the elegiac mistress in 4.8 might be taken to have fulfilled the poet's prediction at 1.12.20 that *Cynthia prima fuit, Cynthia finis erit.*[219] However, this prediction, if realised in spirit, is not strictly realised in letter, for the *puella* of Propertius' final elegy is no Cynthia. Rather, Cornelia in 4.11 could not be more establishment: a consul's daughter, she married a consul; above all, as the daughter of Scribonia she was the stepdaughter of Augustus, whose tears honoured her funeral (vv. 58-60).[220] As a composite of at least three literary forms (an extended sepulchral epigram, forensic defence, and *laudatio funebris*),[221] 4.11 presents a final *puella scribens.*[222] Though outspeaking (*ipsa loquor pro me*, v. 27), Cornelia is not outspoken; members of the imperial family were not exempt from *damnatio memoriae.* With the exception of 4.8, the poems of Propertius 4 illustrate that a *puella* is required to conform if she is not to vanish. Accordingly, Cornelia carefully underlines her adherence to the moral rectitude expected of her: as Hubbard neatly puts it,

---

[218] For lacernas (*LPDV*$_2$), Barber prints lucernas (*NV*$_0$); see also Hutchinson and Heyworth *ad loc.*, and below p. 293 with n. 204.
[219] Dee (1978) 53.
[220] On Cornelia's family connections, see Williams (1968) 387. See however Johnson (1997) 168 and 173-6 on why the presence of both Scribonia and Augustus could have occasioned an awkward moment at the funeral.
[221] See Williams (1968) 390-1.
[222] See Hutchinson on how this format both does and yet does not efface Propertius.

"[t]he terms of her defence state the ideals of her class",[223] a fact true of all Latin sepulchral epigram, even when the deceased led a life as irregular as that recorded in the so-called *Laudatio Turiae*;[224] coming as it does at the end (that is not to say the 'close') of Propertius 4, Cornelia's *laudatio* "restores the values of loyalty, constancy, and chastity to their traditional context – that of marriage rather than the elegiac love affair", as Wyke observes;[225] Janan shows that Cornelia constructs her chastity as "continuous with, and structurally analogous to" Roman imperialism.[226] In other ways, too, Cornelia distances herself from the Dido-types in the foregoing poems: by claiming that there can be no return from death (vv. 7-8), she normalises the paranormal return of Cynthia's ghost in 4.7; her claim to have lived *inter utramque facem* (v. 46) ostensibly separates the nuptial and funereal fires that were confused in Arethusa's letter.[227]

Some literary analogues for Cornelia have been noted. G. Paoluano has uncovered numerous parallels with Euripides' wifely heroine, Alcestis, though he ultimately damns 4.11 as a dull "riduzione eticizzante dei motivi prevelentamente erotico-sentimentale di Euripide".[228] 4.11 has also been compared to the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, with Paullus identified with the former as a kind of *exclusus amator*, and Cornelia with the latter as the beloved wife locked in the *domus* of Hades under the watchful eye of its *portitor*.[229]

Cornelia's association with Eurydice is of interest to an analysis of Vergilian models in 4.11, for Cornelia also shows significant similarities to Creusa, the literary reincarnation of the georgic Eurydice in the *Aeneid*.[230] Cornelia's ghost shares the matronly status and

---

[223] Hubbard (1974) 147.
[224] See Hemelrijk (2004).
[225] Wyke (2002) 111.
[226] Janan (2001) 155.
[227] However, Curran (1968) 138 sees a conflation of the two fires: "the pairing of the two torches makes her wedding a mere prelude to her funeral".
[228] Paoluano (1968) 23. Contrast e.g. Romussi (1952) 154: "È giusto qui che non dobbiamo indagare e riconoscere la romanità properziana, in questo sentimento purificatore nel senso della stirpa e della prole, che mancava appunto a Properzio e che doveva vieppiù fargli sentire l'amarezza della sua solitudine senza amore di donna, senza affetto di figli." See Janan (2001) 146-163 (158-9 on Alcestis) on whether Cornelia's death is a "sublime self-sacrifice or meaningless waste" (148).
[229] Curran (1968) 134-5; Williams (1968) 397; Hutchinson 7-8n. provides a close parallel in *Geo.* 4.502-5.
[230] See Austin (1964) 286-9 (= n. 795) for parallels between Vergil's Eurydice and Creusa; Gale (2003) 15-16. See also Heinze (1915) 34ff. on Vergil's choice of Creusa over the Eurydice of the legendary material.

traditional outlook of Creusa's ghost in *Aeneid* 2, as Austin sensed: "In her [sc. Creusa's] farewell to him [sc. Aeneas] from her mysterious unearthly shore she is a Roman wife and mother, anxious for those who are dear to her and whom she must leave behind for ever, as Roman as the Cornelia of Propertius' last elegy or the Turia of the beautiful *laudatio*."[231] Both Cornelia and Creusa instruct their respective husbands not to grieve (*desine, Paulle, meum lacrimis urgere sepulcrum*; 4.11.1; *lacrimas dilectae pelle Creusae*, *Aen.* 2.784); both accept the ineluctability of their fate (4.11.3-8; *Aen.* 2.776-9), and commend to their husbands the common bond of their children (*nunc tibi commendo* ***communia*** *pignora, Paulle* 4.7.73; *iamque uale et nati serua* ***communis*** *amorem*, *Aen.* 2.789). Just as Aeneas was applauded in the opening poem of Propertius 4 for putting his patrilineal priorities ahead of his wife, here, at the conclusion of the book, Creusa's analogue endorses her own consignment to the past, perhaps echoing the iconic moment when Aeneas takes the responsibility of his father's safety upon his shoulders (*subiectaque* ***colla***; *succedoque* ***oneri***, *Aen.* 2.721, 723):

> fungere maternis uicibus, pater: illa meorum
> omnis erit **collo** turba ferenda tuo.
> oscula cum dederis tua flentibus, adice matris:
> tota domus coepit nunc **onus** esse tuum. 4.11.75-8

Acquiescent in their relegation to the past, the ghosts of Creusa and Cornelia urge their husbands to remarry (*coniugium, pueri, laudate*, 4.11.87; *illic…regia coniunx | parta tibi*, *Aen.* 2.783-4), each foreseeing the future security of their *gens* (4.11.69; *Aen.* 2.783) and happiness of their husbands (4.11.96; *Aen* 2.783). The parallels even extend to their being married into one and the same *Gens Iulia* (4.11.58-60; *Aen.* 2.787). Related then in every sense, Cornelia and Creusa represent the kind of women celebrated by the dominant voice of epic discourse.

---

[231] Austin (1964) xvii.

Cornelia and the end of the *Aeneid*

Assured of her piety, Cornelia confidently invites the punishment of the Danaids upon herself should her virtue be found wanting:

> ipsa loquor pro me: si fallo, poena sororum
> **infelix umeros** urgeat urna meos. 4.11.27-8

Taking the Danaids as a "negative index to her innocence and chastity",[232] Cornelia echoes Cynthia's self-identification with Hypermnestra (4.7.63, 67), the only one of Danaus' fifty daughters who refused to murder her bridegroom, and inverts the criminality of Tarpeia, whose Vestal duties are reminiscent of the Danaid's punishment (*at illi | urgebat medium fictilis urna caput*, 4.4.15-16).[233] Janan demonstrates that Cornelia's interpretation of this myth endorses the law as articulated by men: her concentration on the Danaids' punishment, rather than their resistance to 'rape' at the hands of the Aigyptioi, implies that their "obstinate virginity" was a crime punishable by death.[234] In contrast to the Danaids, Cornelia emphasises that she has died rather than inflicted a *mors immatura* (cf. v. 17: *immatura licet, tamen huc non noxia ueni*).[235]

Danaid imagery, a central theme in Augustan iconography,[236] occurs in the *Aeneid* on Pallas' baldric, where it configures his death as a *mors immatura* (cf. *Aen.* 11.166-7), one of a sequence inaugurated with Troilus and repeated in Nisus and Euryalus, Pallas, Lausus, Camilla, and ultimately Turnus. When Turnus dons Pallas' baldric and its depiction of the Danaids' nefarious deed (i.e. the crime from which Cornelia distances herself), he "collects his own death" in the symbolic act of dressing himself in the *mors immatura* he dealt to Pallas.[237] At the end (that is not to say the 'close') of the epic, it is the sight of Pallas' baldric, now sported by Turnus, which transforms Aeneas' hesitation into decisive action:

---

[232] Johnson (1997) 172.
[233] Tarpeia as a Danaid: Janan (2001) 74.
[234] Janan (2001) 156-8.
[235] On the qualifying *tamen* of this line, see Waszink (1949).
[236] On the Danaid myth in Augustan literature and political history, and its allegorical implications, see Harrison (1998).
[237] Pöschl (1962) 149; see also Conte (1986) 185-95.

et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
coeperat, **infelix umero** cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, uictum quem uulnere Turnus
strauerat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat. *Aen.* 12.940-44

The collocation in both passages of ***infelix umeros*** in relation to the Danaids' crime suggests that Cornelia is invoking, at the end of Propertius 4, the end of the *Aeneid* and the death of Turnus. Like him and his victim, she has died a *mors immatura*, but she inverts Turnus's culpability by carrying no burden of guilt upon her shoulders. In contrast to Tarpeia but akin to Cynthia in 4.7, Cornelia corresponds to the type of female endorsed by – because she herself endorses – contemporary officialdom. Thus, at the end of the *Aeneid*, Turnus pleads for a stay of execution by reminding Aeneas of the grief the death of a son would cause to a father (*miserere* ***senectae***, *Aen.* 12.934); Cornelia's death restores natural order with the survival of Paullus into old age (***senectam***, v. 93) and the addition to their children's lives the years subtracted from hers (v. 95). The assonance of Paullus with Pallas, whose name rings out in the final lines of the *Aeneid*, invites us to pursue these inversions:[238] whereas Pallas dies, Paullus lives, and while Turnus' life flees *in**dignata*** (*Aen.* 12.952) to the shades below, Cornelia is conveyed skyward, ***digna*** *merendo* (v. 101). The deaths of Turnus and Cornelia trigger mechanisms of closure and restore masculine order to their respective works.

Of course, Turnus' death is one of the most 'open' in literary history: the problematic distribution of *pietas* and *impietas* at the end of the *Aeneid* could also problematise the masculine, closural reading of the Danaid myth apparently followed by Cornelia. Layered over the unanswered questions at the end of the *Aeneid*, Cornelia's self-defence continues to interrogate the certainties of androcentric discourse.

*****

[238] See Hardie (1993) 40 for a similar deployment of the "almost homonymous" Pallas-Paullus assonance in Silius Italicus' version of the end of the *Aeneid* (*Punica* 12.212-58).

It is one of the ironies of Propertian scolarship that elegies 4.8 and 4.11 have both laid claim to the title of *regina elegiarum*,[239] for where Cornelia conforms, Cynthia rebels. Yet for all her acquiescence to the overriding requirements of her patriarchal society, Cornelia speaks from the grave, and in this is more identifiable with the moribund Arethusa of 4.3 and the ghostly Cynthia of 4.7; indeed, of all the Vergilian females of Book 4, the only one to survive, because she can be resurrected, is the Cynthia of 4.8, and she, ultimately, is more representative of Propertian rather than Vergilian poetics.

[239] Valckenaer's application of the title to 4.11 was challenged by Wilamowitz, who awarded it to 4.8.

CHAPTER 4

The Shield of Propertius

bella canam, quando scripta puella mea est — Propertius 2.10.8

WHEREAS THE PREVIOUS chapter examined the place in post-Vergilian elegy of *puellae* (formerly the focus of Propertian elegy and extrinsic to epic), this chapter examines the three poems of Book 4 (4.4, 4.6, and 4.10) of which the subject is war (the focus of epic and traditionally anathema to elegy). Propertius' promise in the *recusatio* of 2.10 to treat of wars after he has written about his girl exemplifies (and depends upon) an essentialist generic theory according to which *bella* and *puellae*, unless appropriated by and subordinated to the discourse of their opposing genres, as in the elegiac conceit of *militia amoris*, are mutually exclusive. If Propertius' devotion to *amor* thus 'forces' him to postpone his celebration of Augustus' conquests in 2.10 (vv. 11-20), his dismissal of Cynthia at the end of Book 3 leaves him generically free, or freer, to address *militia* proper in Book 4. The revelation in 4.7 that Cynthia is dead, coming as it does after a remarkably epic elegy, can be seen either to have (further) enabled Propertius' new poetic direction, or to have resulted directly from it.

enarrabile textum (4.6)

Actium and Augustus

The foregoing chapters saw that 4.6 engages with Vergilian pastoral and females – elements in Vergilian poetry at a remove from the essentialist view of epic as the medium for *reges et proelia* – paradoxically to define itself in relation to Vergilian epic. As noted in Chapter 2, Propertius' treatment of Actium was deemed so inappropriate and, in the 1960s, ranked so inferior to Vergil's that critics who subsequently rallied to the elegist's defence were moved to no less vehement appraisals of the poem.[1] The debate

[1] A role-call of critics and catalogue of quotations has become a veritable *topos* of discussions of 4.6 (see e.g. Gurval (1995) 249-252, Cairns (1984) 131-3, Mader (1989), Connor (1978) 1-3) and as such

as to whether Propertius is successful or sincere in his bid to raise elegy to epic grandeur was shown to have overlooked the telling fact of the thematic and structural engagement of 4.6 both with *Eclogue* 6 (to replicate Vergil's own generic ascent from pastoral to epic) and with the pastoral *loca amoena* of the *Aeneid* (to stage the invasion of a 'lightweight' genre by a 'heavyweight' opponent). Chapter 3 built upon more recent metapoetic and gendered interpretations of 4.6 which read the elegy and its portrayal of Apollo as encoding the epic and masculine sides of the book's bipolar poetics. Complementing this equation between gender and genre, it was suggested that the Propertian Cleopatra of 4.6 is linked to her Vergilian counterpart on the Shield of Aeneas and, via the *Aeneid*'s nexus of interconnected females, to Dido, the Amazons, Camilla, and [Helen]; Propertius was thus as complicit as Vergil (however complicit that may be) with a contemporary propaganda which required the erasure of such women from epic discourse.

While the Vergilian Cleopatra, like *Eclogue* 6, has not hitherto been linked to 4.6, it is generally accepted that Propertius' description of the Battle of Actium is conversant with Vergil's depiction of the same event on the Shield of Aeneas.[2] Both passages consist by and large of the same components, and in outline proceed in a roughly identical order, from the geographical setting (4.6.15-8; *Aen.* 8.677), to the assembly (4.6.19; *Aen.* 8.689-90), identification (4.6.21-4; *Aen.* 8.678-688) and arrangement (4.6.25-6; *Aen.* 8.676) of the opposing fleets, with the good side distinguished from the bad through their enjoyment of favourable winds and divine support (4.6.23; *Aen.* 8.679, 682 – though Propertius reverses the Vergilian sequence by describing Rome's enemies first),[3] to the fighting (4.6.55-6; *Aen.* 8.689-704), victory (4.6.57; *Aen.* 8.713), flight of the defeated (4.6.63; *Aen.* 8.707-713) and celebrations of the victors (4.6.61; *Aen.* 8.714-728). According to Francis Cairns, these correspondences derive from both poets' adherence to "the strict limitations of a rhetorical

---

need not be rehearsed here. Its brief occurrence above (p. 89) was intended (hopefully less redundantly) to invite the question as to why Propertius 4.6 should draw criticism for its generic ambition whereas *Eclogue* 6 does not.

[2] For Camps' conservatism on this question, see the quotation on p. 32 above.

[3] That Augustus' ship in Propertius is *plenis...uelis* (4.6.23) endorses the view of the corresponding Vergilian passage taken by West (1975-6) 301: "The obvious inference is that the sails are tight and side-on to the wind [...] How else do we know that the *uenti* are *secundi* for Agrippa in 682 if not by his billowing sails set at right angles to his line of advance?"

prescription", in this case the *ekphrasis naumachias*.[4] If certain details were generically *de rigeur* in both accounts, then accompanying lexical coincidences (e.g. *plauserunt*, 4.6.62; *plausu*, *Aen.* 8.717; **triumphus*, 4.6.65, **triumpho*, *Aen.* 8.714) cannot automatically be vested with significance. On the other hand, the two examples of Propertian *aemulatio* of Vergil discussed by Cairns might suggest that the shield ekphrasis was at least as important a model for 4.6 as the rhetorical progymnasma.

The first of these constitutes perhaps the most recognised Vergilian allusion in 4.6: Apollo's arrival over[5] Augustus' stern to the accompaniment of a triple-curved flame reworks Vergil's description of Augustus' position upon his stern with twin flames spouting from his brow and his adoptive father's star appearing overhead:

> **astitit** Augusti **puppim** super, et noua ***flamma**
> luxit in obliquam ter sinuata *facem*. 4.6.29-30

> **stans** celsa in **puppi**, geminas cui tempora ***flammas**
> laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur uertice *sidus*. *Aen.* 8.680-1

With mathematical accuracy, Propertius appears to have conflated Augustus' double flame with Caesar's star to produce a new (*noua*), triple flame.[6] Augustus himself, however, would appear to have been supplanted by his patron god,[7] as suggested by Propertius' amplification of the role played by Apollo's archery in the Vergilian account of Actium: whereas Vergil's Apollo merely *arcum intendebat* (v. 704), his Propertian counterpart downs ten enemy ships with a single arrow (v. 68, cf. vv. 39-40). Cairns finds that 4.6.56 (*proxima post arcus Caesaris hasta fuit*) corrects Vergil's unique emphasis on Apollo's bow by making

---

[4] See Cairns (1984) 155-156 for correspondences between Propertius and the rhetorical ekphrasis (the quotation is from p. 155) and 156-7 for a comparison of the Propertian and Vergilian accounts.
[5] If *super* (4.6.29) does not reflect *desuper* (*Aen.* 8.705, compared by Postgate, Butler and Barber, Fedeli *ad loc.*), then conceivably it may be taken to mean 'on' the stern (as perhaps implied by the compound ***a(d)stitit***), as in the Vergilian account: so J.F. Miller (2004) 79-80.
[6] Scholars have agonised over whether Propertius' *obliquam ter sinuata facem* (4.6.30) denotes a lightening bolt (so Camps *ad loc.*; Shackelton Bailey (1956) 246; Mader (1990) 332; J.F. Miller (2004) 80; Hutchinson *ad loc.*) or a comet (so Postgate and Butler and Barber *ad loc.*). Despite Mader's suggestion that Jupiter's bolt would connote affinities with gigantomachy (see further below), it is hard to agree that *sinuata* could convey "the conventional rendering of the lightening flash as a zig-zag" (Camps). If *ter* is intended to cap Vergil's *geminas*, then it is emulative rather than conventional. The notion of a comet would also support Camps' own suggestion that the *Idalium astrum* at 4.6.59 (see Camps *ad loc.*) refers to the comet which appeared after Julius Caesar's assassination.
[7] For an interpretation of 4.6 that sees Augustus eclipsed by Apollo, see Gurval (1995) ch. 6, esp. 272 and 277.

Augustus' *hasta* "equally responsible" for the victory;[8] yet a more straightforward reading of 4.6.56 confirms what the rest of the elegy suggests – that Caesar's spear was of secondary importance (*proxima post*) to Apollo's bow, and that Rome won through Apollo's agency (*uincit Roma fide Phoebi*, v. 57). Moreover, the delivery by Apollo of the general's pre-battle *exhortatio* costs Propertius a substantial aberration from the rhetorical prescription.[9] If Apollo can be suspected of eclipsing Augustus in the Vergilian account of Actium, the degree of prominence accorded to the god in 4.6 substantially amplifies the same tendency. That 4.6 is a mythic hymn to Apollo will go some way towards explaining this,[10] but it does not offer an explanation congruent with both accounts, and so leaves Propertius' similarity to Vergil in this regard somewhat unmotivated and in need of further consideration (below, pp. 190-191).

Lights, camera, Actium!

Critics have also remarked upon Propertius' (characteristically) more fragmentary version of events: "the difference in treatment between Virgil and Propertius is considerable. Virgil describes the battle on a grand epic scale and with a great sweep of narrative; Propertius treats it as a series of elaborate miniatures."[11] The episodic shifts of 4.6 are apparent from Cairns' breakdown of the elegy's thematic structure, which resolves the description of the battle into nine separately identifiable sections.[12] The naval engagement itself is postponed by Apollo's lengthy speech, and is ultimately condensed into two couplets (4.6.55-58), a considerable reduction of the corresponding passage in Vergil (*Aen.* 8.689-706). An associated contrast concerns the relative lack of action in 4.6: "So no account of the battle: just the look of water, highly artificial, and the major speech of Apollo."[13] The stately posturing of the fleets in Propertius replays the corresponding moment in Vergil in 'slow motion':

---

[8] Cairns (1984) 166.
[9] For other explanations of this *variatio* of the rhetorical ekphrasis, see Cairns (1984) 157.
[10] Pillinger (1969) 192: "His poem then is as much a hymn to Apollo as a glorification of Augustus, or perhaps we should agree with the poet that it is a hymn to both at once, the glory of Augustus being prefigured in the brilliance of Apollo."; Cairns (1984) 137-9, 166.
[11] Sweet (1972) 171; see also Connor (1978) 5-6.
[12] Cairns (1984) 133.
[13] Williams (1968) 53.

tandem aciem geminos Nereus lunarat in arcus,
armorum et radiis picta *tremebat* aqua 4.6.25-6

[...] totumque instructo Marte uideres
feruere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus. *Aen.* 8.676-7

The water in each case glints with reflected armaments, but whereas Vergil's sea 'seethes' (*feruere*), Propertius' merely 'quivers' (*tremebat*). The showdown is related by Propertius with past tense verbs evocative of stillness, suspense and, in the case of Antony's 'mass of pine', unwieldiness (*huc mundi coiere manus: stetit aequore moles | pinea*, 4.6.19-20), whereas in Vergil the general tumult of the clash is conveyed through hyperbaton and breathless historic infinitives (*una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis | conuulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor*, *Aen.* 8.689-90); Propertius' past tense verbs convert Vergil's evolving present tense narrative into a *fait accompli* (cf. ***astitit**...puppim super*, 4.6.29 ~ ***stans**...in puppi*, *Aen.* 8.680; **flamma | luxit*, 4.6.29-30 ~ **flammas | ...uomunt*, *Aen.* 8.680-1), and his four line description of the battle proper focuses more on the consequences of Apollo's archery (Rome wins and Cleoptara's *sceptra...fracta* float on the waves, v. 58) than on the engagement itself, which in Vergil is related with a simile and a sequence of present tense verbs.

Propertius' lack of attention to the primary action and baroque emphasis on circumstantial detail have been most often ascribed to his adherence to Hellenistic technique,[14] though Cairns proffers the requirements of the rhetorical ekphrasis as a corrective to "the impression of unrestrained Hellenistic mannerism".[15] In that case, however, it would need to be explained why Vergil's account, which is also an *ekphrasis naumachias*, does not stand accused of the same mannerism. That both passages constitute ekphraseis confronts a simultaneous similarity and difference which might in turn explain the broader similarities and differences between the poets' treatments of Actium: what Vergil presents is an ekphrasis in the more common but narrower sense of the term, i.e. a description not of the Battle of Actium *per se*, but of an artistic

[14] See especially Pillinger (1969) 195 who finds, among other departures from Vergil's account, that vv. 61-2 are "a touch of Hellenistic rococo more in the manner of Moschus than of Virgil"; Hubbard (1974) 134 describes 4.6 as "strenuously Callimachean"; see also Williams (1968) 53, 56; Sweet (1972) 171.
[15] Cairns (1984) 155.

rendering thereof; 4.6 is an ekphrasis in the broader sense, i.e. a description of the battle proper, and is signalled as such by the opening ekphrastic marker, *est...portus* (v. 15: see p. 90 above). In Platonic terms, 4.6 is a mimesis of a sea-battle (or more correctly a mimesis of a mimesis of the Form of a sea-battle), whereas Vergil's shield ekphrasis stands at a further remove again down the mimetic chain.

However, although Vergil's introduction of the shield's *non enarrabile textum* (*Aen.* 8.625) into the business of *Aeneid* 8 suspends narrative time with a description of a physically and temporally 'frozen' (hereafter static and synchronic respectively) work of art, in practice he cannot but succumb to the temptation to lapse into a kinetic and diachronic narrative,[16] as Michael Putnam has highlighted: "[w]e may be watching Vulcan's shield but we are also in the hands of another master artisan who animates the still pastness of art through the activity of words."[17] Andrew Laird explains that this is a tendency shared by all textual descriptions of artefacts: "[a]s we try to give an account of the story each picture is supposed to tell, we get nothing but an account of a particular viewing."[18] In other words, any distinction between the ekphrasis of an artefact and the ekphrasis of an event is ultimately collapsed. Many assessments of 4.6 get off on the wrong foot by failing to recognise the ekphrastic fallacy of the text to which it is responding: "What is essential to recognise is that the aims of the two poets were quite different. Virgil does not describe a real battle; instead he has first frozen and conventionalised it by purporting to describe a work of art. Propertius, however, must be taken to be talking immediately of the battle of Actium, yet the impression he creates is infinitely more artificial than Virgil's."[19] On this (mis)understanding, scholars were bound to find 4.6 an inexplicably frigid poem, and either denigrated it or projected onto it theories of the poet's alienation from the Augustan regime.[20] Though it sounds logical, the assertion that Vergil's ekphrasis 'freezes' the Battle of Actium is in fact erroneous; rather, not only has the wordsmith emphatically mobilised the signified (i.e.

---

[16] On 'synchronic' and 'diachronic' representation in visual and verbal 'texts' (i.e. artefacts and ekphrasis), see Sharrock (1996). That the ekphrasis does not entirely halt the narrative was sensed by Heinze (1914), who observed that Aeneas is involved in contemplating the shield and then strides off carrying it (310), and that the description itself becomes narrated action (312).
[17] Putnam (1998) 121. See also *ibid.*, pp. 120, 133, 152.
[18] Laird (1996) 101, and see 100-101.
[19] Williams (1968) 56.
[20] Stahl (1985) 250-255.

the protagonists in the Battle of Actium) in a way that a diachronic verbal description (i.e. the ekphrasis) can, but a synchronic artefact (i.e. a shield) cannot, he has also fused (i.e. collapsed the distinction between) the signifier (i.e. the metal of the shield) and signified (e.g. the metal of the weapons depicted on the shield).[21] The 'artificiality' with which the Propertian description is charged thus reverses the paradoxical 'non-artificiality' of Vergil's ekphrasis, for Propertius achieves in words a stasis which Vergil, though describing something genuinely static, could not (or would not) replicate. In the same way, the glint of weaponry on the sea at 4.6.26 could be taken as a nod to the metallurgical quality of Aeneas' shield, with *picta...aqua* (cf. *pictos...metus*, 4.6.50) functioning as an ekphrastic signpost. When describing the naval *taxis* (***hinc Augusta** ratis...*, 4.6.23), Propertius echoes the adverb employed by Vergil to orient his reader's visualisation of the equivalent image on the Shield (***hinc Augustus**..., Aen.* 8.23).[22] Might it not be the very point of the Propertian ekphrasis, then, to be "artificial" *in stricto sensu*? That Propertius 4.6 has an eye on Vergil's descriptions of physical artefacts can already be corroborated by the allusions in vv. 25-6 to the ekphrasis of the frieze on Dido's temple to Juno in *Aeneid* 1 (see pp. 139-40 above).

This intertextual triangle (4.6, Dido's frieze, Aeneas' shield) can be briefly linked up to a fourth coordinate on the same subject, namely the Battle of Actium embossed on the doors of the temple described in the mid-point proem of the *Georgics* (an identical structural point to Propertius 4.6):

> in foribus *pugnam* ex auro solidoque elephanto
> *Gangaridum* faciam uictorisque arma ***Quirini**,
> atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
> **Nilum** ac nauali surgentis aere columnas.
> addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten
> fidentemque fuga **Parthum** uersisque sagittis;
> et duo **rapta manu** diuerso ex hoste **tropaea**

[21] For a discussion of some examples, see Putnam (1998) 131-2, 139. West (1975-6) 297 emphasises the colour and tactile qualities of the ekphrasis, finding that Vergil has selected "illustrations which would be conceivable and effective on a metal shield."

[22] Cairns (1984) 166 regards this as a purely fortuitous echo occasioned by both poets' engagement with the ekphrastic 'genre'. However, the immediately surrounding details (armour glinting in water; divine support; favourable winds; Augustus on/over his stern with attendant flames) are also identical (as shown in detail above) and mobilise the allusive potential of this lexical similarity.

bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis. *Geo.* 3.26-33

The centre of Propertius 4 has much in common with the centre of the Vergilian *corpus*. It is likely that Vergil is here speaking literally (if loosely) of the temple of Palatine Apollo,[23] the subject of Propertius 4.6, and metapoetically of the *Aeneid*,[24] the object of Propertius' allusive engagement in 4.6. Like 4.6, the georgic ekphrasis describes the battle of Actium, complete with "Ganges' hordes" and a swollen Nile (cf. 4.6.63); both poets mention other *tropaeae* (*Geo.* 3.32; 4.6.82), including those against the Parthians (*Geo.* 3.31; 4.6.79). It has been noted that Augustus is referred to as Quirinus both here and at Propertius 4.6.21 (in the same *sedes*),[25] while the collocation *rapta manu* (only here in Vergil) is echoed at 4.6.22 by *turpiter* ***apta manu***.[26]

4.6, therefore, is intensively ekphrastic, and it seems reasonable on this basis to suggest that it is interested in Vergil's Shield *qua* ekphrasis. Hubbard's comparison of Propertius 4.6 and Vergil's Shield correctly recognised the comparative stillness of the former, which she ascribed to "the disciplining of fancy necessary in a poet attempting to write of Actium after Virgil". Even if she did not go so far as to connect the lack of motion in Propertius' account with the impossible mobility of Vergil's artefact, Hubbard had nevertheless recognised the essential fallacy on which the Vergilian ekphrasis capitalises ("Virgil had sketched a series of scenes which, though possible pictorial subjects, were all instinct with vigorous movement") and contrasted it with 4.6 ("Propertius by contrast aims at stillness, beginning with an epic-style *ecphrasis* of the locale of the battle").[27] R.R. Caston's recent comparison of 4.6 and Aeneas' shield develops Hubbard's sensitive reading to suggest that "Propertius has taken a fundamental feature of ekphrasis – the rivalry with the *visual* artist over motion and stillness – and made it the subject of his competition with the *verbal* artist."[28] Thus, whereas Vergil's ekphrasis eschews the motionlessness of its static subject, Propertius' all but eliminates narrative time, and 'freezes' Actium into a series of stills that more

---

[23] See Drew (1924); Thomas speculates that *Geo.* 3.26 might allude to the illustrated doors of the Palatine temple, also described at Propertius 2.31.12-16.
[24] See Nelis (2004) esp. 80-90; Thomas 36: "the temple clearly represents an epic".
[25] Boyle (1999) 153.
[26] This allusion advocates the (majority) reading *apta* (*NFiLPl*) over *acta* of the *recentiores*.
[27] Hubbard (1974) 135-136.
[28] Caston (2003) 155 (her emphasis).

closely approximate the fixity of the shield. On this reading, it is the narrower rather than the broader definition of ekphrasis that best describes 4.6.

Needless to say, such a definition of ekphrasis does not presuppose the existence of a real *objet d'art*. However, Cairns' "unprovable but fascinating" postulation of a hypothetical (but non-imaginary) visual representation of Actium to which the Propertian and Vergilian ekphraseis both refer,[29] if modified to the more defensible (if less fascinating) suggestion that Propertius is describing the same object as Vergil, whether real *or* imagined, extends Caston's idea of Propertius 4.6 as a 'rival' ekphrasis towards an equation of 4.6 with the Vergilian Shield.[30] In other words, might there might be a sense in which Propertius' ekphrasis, which achieves the stasis resisted by Vergil's artefact, actually *is*, or figures itself as, the very object being viewed in the *Aeneid*, i.e. the shield itself. However, if the postulation of a 'real' artefact could only be proved by a miraculous unearthing of tangible or documentary evidence, it might reasonably be expected that the figurative conflation of verbal and visual text being posited here, presumably dependent on evidence no more concrete than an excursus of theoretical argument, cannot but remain equally unsubstantiated.

Yet a form of 'hard' evidence can be adduced in support of a direct correlation between the central section of 4.6 and the centrepiece of Aeneas' shield. Firstly, in addition to the similarities in content, language and theme considered heretofore, the physical location of Propertius' ekphrasis in Book 4 adopts the same medial position allocated to Actium on Aeneas' shield: just as Vergil reserved the centrepiece of the Shield (*in medio*, *Aen.* 8.675) for Vulcan's rendering of the Battle of Actium, Propertius has reserved the central position of his book (assuming/proving 4.1 is a single entity) for his own ekphrasis of the same

---

[29] Cairns (1984) 153-4 and 165.

[30] Williams (1968) 56 makes a tentative move in this direction in trying to fathom the aforementioned artificiality of 4.6: "There may be a special reason for this [artificiality] if Propertius depended on the passage of Virgil: for his poem reads as if he started, not with the real battle of Actium in mind, but with a conception of it which had already undergone a considerable process of abstraction." However, this view still misrepresents Vergil and fails to consider the possibility that Propertius' artificiality is an attempt to represent the artefact described by Vergil's paradoxically kinetic and diachronic ekphrasis. It is thus difficult to agree with Williams that "[Propertius'] style of treatment [...] cannot but trivialize a subject that, on any reasoning, was a serious and deeply felt event of recent history."

event.[31] Secondly, the central panel of 4.6 in which the battle is described is precisely the same length as its counterpart on Aeneas' shield. This statistic is non-negotiable, as the confines of both descriptive panels are clearly demarcated: Vergil's begins *in medio...cernere erat* (v. 675f.) and ends 54 lines later in v. 728 with a clear resumption of the primary narrative in the following line (v. 729);[32] Propertius' begins after an introductory programmatic sequence with the pronounced ekphrastic marker *est...portus* (v. 15) and concludes in v. 68, also 54 lines later, with the poet's assertion in the following line that the war(poetry) is over (*bella satis cecini*, v. 69). Arranged side-by-side on the page, then, the two ekphraseis turn out to be coextensive with one another.

The textual allocation to Actium on the Shield has been the subject of comment elsewhere. Putnam relates the textual space occupied by the descriptive panels in Vergil's ekphrasis to their spacial allocation on Vulcan's shield, finding in the case of the central Actian panel that "[i]n length of description, which is also to say, metaphorically, in extent of space on the shield itself, it more than exceeds the combination of all the preceding segments. The clear implication is that, as interpreted through both verbal and artistic dimensions, this moment in Roman history and what it anticipates surpass in importance all the past of Rome to which it grants assurance but which it also outshines."[33] Coextensive, then, with the very dimensions of its Vergilian counterpart, and assuming an identical location *in medio* of its work, Propertius' 54 line tableau arrogates the same ontological status. Though ostensibly a description of an event, Propertius' ekphrasis would thus complement a perceived insinuation in ancient ekphraseis of artworks that the texts themselves are detachable ornaments (that is not to say detached and ornamental); as Laird remarks, "[a] *descriptio* of a visual art-work (an ekphrasis), conceived this way, constructs, or rather, constitutes an art-work instead of meekly conveying it."[34] By replicating both the physical

---

[31] This significant parallel has gone unremarked in almost all comparisons of 4.6 and *Aen.* 8 heretofore. A notable exception is Caston (2003) 149, who extends the observation to note that Propertius' battle of Actium comes not only at the centre of the book, but also at the centre of the central poem (4.6.15-68), just as Vergil's depiction of Actium represents not only the centrepiece of the shield, but also begins at the textual centre (with a self-referential *in medio*, v. 675) of his ekphrasis. Moreover, the structural breakdown of 4.6 proposed by Cairns (1984) 133-6 identifies the four line battle description (4.6.55-8) as the "centre-piece" of the elegy, flanked as it is on either side by an equal number of corresponding sections. As pointed out to me by Prof. Stephen Harrison, Horace's *Epode* on Actium (*Ep.* 9) also occupies the central position of its collection.

[32] In the context of a different argument, West (1975-6) also gives 54 lines as the length of this Augustan panel of the Shield.

[33] Putnam (1998) 136.

[34] Laird (1996) 94.

position and size of the Actium panel on Aeneas' shield, 4.6 achieves an unparalleled 'tangibility' in this regard, and so represents a highly innovative development of this pre-existing potential of ekphrasis to reify itself.

Theorists of ekphrasis point out that the act of surveying an artefact is as diachronic an activity as reading a description of it: a visual 'text' is thus 'read' as much as a verbal one.[35] 4.6 reverses this process by requesting, as a verbal text, to be read visually through its appeal to the same static, metallurgical, spacial, and dimensional characteristics evoked, more overtly but less consistently, by Vergil in his description of Aeneas' shield. From the point of view of 4.6, then, it is important that the Vergilian concrete fails in places to set. This 'failure' is of course deliberate, and bespeaks *inter alia* the superiority of the textual over the plastic arts.

Schematising History

While Propertius 'corrects' the narrative dynamism of the Shield, it is equally important for 4.6 that Vergil succeeds in other respects in concretising the Shield. In addition to Putnam's observation of its textual coverage, the Shield description has been seen to draw attention to itself as a described object by itself describing shields. At v. 664-5 of Vergil's shield ekphrasis, Vulcan *lapsa ancilia caelo | extuderat* to represent the shield (*ancile*) which fell from heaven during Numa's reign, the plural *ancilia* reflecting the multiple copies made by the legendary craftsman Mammurius as the talismanic *pignora imperii*: Philip Hardie suggests that "there is a sense in which the Virgilian Shield, guarantee of empire for the descendants of Aeneas, is itself a copy of the *ancile*";[36] Alessandro Barchiesi shows that "the wording collapses the difference between the two levels of narration and description":[37] we see the triumphant Augustus viewing and dedicating the 'gifts' of conquered nations (*dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis | postibus*, *Aen.* 8.721-2); these *dona* would customarily have been shields,[38] and it is likely that the reader is supposed to recognise like Augustus (*dona recognoscit*) that in its

[35] See Laird (1996) esp. 100-101; Sharrock (1996) esp. 106.
[36] Hardie (1986) 75; Gransden (1976) 172
[37] Barchiesi (1997) 276; see also Putnam (1998) 133 on the prominence brought to this image by *extuderat* (v. 665).
[38] Barchiesi (1997) 276

previous occurrence at v. 609 *dona* had referred to the shield gifted to Aeneas by Venus (cf. also *candida*, v. 608 ~ *candentis*, v. 720). A vertiginous regress thus sets in as we watch Aeneas examining a shield only to find him unknowingly watching a depiction on that shield of his familial and typological successor Augustus examining a shield... In this classic case of *mise en abyme*,[39] then, the shield reflects not only its containing work, the *Aeneid*,[40] but has implications for all involved: Augustus becomes an imitator of Aeneas, his forefather, as does the (Roman) reader, for all three are related by their parallel act of reading shields (as well as by consanguinity). Hence "Virgil exploits to the full the potential for prefiguration offered by ekphrastic descriptions."[41] By the same kind of typological symmetry that links Aeneas and Augustus, the entirety of the *Aeneid* and Roman history are collapsed into this *mise en abyme*: Gransden notes that the scenes from the future present "typological analogies" with Aeneas' struggles and the duel of Hercules and Cacus, with the result that "the shield provides a summing up both of book VIII and of the whole poem."[42] Stephen Harrison regards the images presented on the shield as a series of crisis-points, when Rome's future destiny was left hanging precariously in the balance until the restorative intervention of some divine and/or human saviour.[43] The images thus integrate with what Hardie's analysis of the shield as a cosmic icon terms "the Virgilian schematization of history".[44] Despite its culmination with the Battle of Actium, therefore, the Shield presents a sequence of episodes which are essentially identical. This tension between the teleological and the cyclic is also suggested by the physical layout of the shield, as explained by Putnam: "the crucial scene is actually *in medio*, at the centre, with the rest of Roman history, of which the

---

[39] 'Classic' not least because André Gide first formulated the concept by analogy with heraldry. An alternative analogy relates the concept to the Quaker Oats box on which is depicted a figure holding a box of Quaker Oats, on which is depicted a figure holding a box of Quaker Oats, and so on *ad infinitum*. See Dällenbach (1989) 7-19.

[40] For this implication, see Putnam (1998), who views the ekphrasis as "a form of synecdoche" (188) and shows that "[t]he ekphrasis as a whole may reflect the total poem, with the beginning and end of each paralleling each other" (186). Putnam also identifies the shield as emblematic of the whole Vergilian career from the pastoral enclave of the *Eclogues*/the she-wolf's cave to the 'indignation' of Turnus/the river Araxes.

[41] Barchiesi (1997) 279.

[42] Gransden (1976) 161.

[43] Harrison (1997), developing and vindicating an idea mooted first in notional form by Warde Fowler (1918) 103-4 (cf. Harrison, *op. cit.* 70), but subsequently faulted for its "inexplicable residue" (Eden (1975) 164). As Harrison argues, no plausible interpretation of the shield has been able to deny that a consistent theme of the ekphrasis is the "preservation of the city and/or its local or international supremacy in moments of acute danger" (76).

[44] Hardie (1986) 124.

ekphrasis gives us a selection, distributed around it. The circle, as well as the line, must be part of how we see, and "read", the shield."[45] This cyclical interpretation of history can be extrapolated beyond the confines of the Shield and applied to the events of the *Aeneid* as a whole: the rape of the Sabine women and the ensuing war between Tatius and Romulus typologically prefigure (in narrative chronology) Aeneas' conflict with the Latins;[46] in turn, the war in Latium can be seen as an allegory of the civil wars which dogged Italy until the *pax Augusta*.[47] The repetitiveness identified by Quint within the *Aeneid*[48] can thus be projected beyond its textual confines onto the Roman history it foreshadows. The view of history as a cyclic system is identifiable in other ancient writers, Greek and Roman, prior to Vergil,[49] and conditions much of the Livian narrative on which Vergil drew in the Shield ekphrasis. Christina Kraus notes that Livy's cross-references among characters within and without his history resemble Vergil's technique in the *Aeneid*, a schematisation which she terms the "interpenetration among periods of history".[50]

On this analysis, Apollo's appropriation of Augustus' role at Actium might be interpreted typologically, a reading endorsed by an Augustan propaganda which strenuously identified the *princeps* with Apollo.[51] By taking his stand over Augustus' stern (***astitit*** *Augusti* ***puppim*** *super*, 4.6.29) with an accompanying burst of light, the Propertian Apollo pointedly mirrors the position taken by Vergil's similarly illuminated Augustus (***stans*** *celsa in* ***puppi***, *Aen.* 8.680). Comparison of the two texts thus invites a typological equation of the kind found in the *Aeneid* most obviously between Aeneas, Hercules and Augustus.

Apollo's *hortatio*, which directs Augustus, in a quasi-foundational act, to crush the threat to Roman order (4.6.41-6), is itself preceded by a series of allusions to various

---

[45] Putnam (1998) 154.
[46] Gransden (1976) 166.
[47] Camps (1969) 96-7 with chapter 10 (95-104) and Appendix 5 (137-43) detailing 'echoes of history' in the *Aeneid*.
[48] Quint (1993) 50-96.
[49] Cf. Hesiod, *WD* 174-5. For Herodotus' and Thucydides' magnifications of Homeric precedent, see Woodman (1988) 1-8.
[50] Kraus (1994) 14 n.61 and 15.
[51] See Zanker (1988) 49-53.

gigantomachic and ktistic stories derived from Apollo's own mythology. Apollo's arrival at Actium is associated with his anchoring of Delos, formerly a drifting island until his birth there:

> cum Phoebus linquens stantem se uindice *Delon*
> (nam tulit iratos mobilis una Notos) 4.6.27-8

The implication (confirmed by the verbal correspondence between Apollo, *se uindice*, v. 27, and his protégé, *te uindice*, v. 41)[52] is that Augustus' victory at Actium constitutes a similarly stabilising and foundational act. The sense of cosmic disorder conveyed by the notion of careering islands is also present in Vergil's description of Actium, where a simile likens the clashing ships to colliding islands:

> alta petunt; pelago credas innare reuulsas
> *Cycladas* aut montis concurrere montibus altos,
> tanta mole uiri turritis puppibus instant. *Aen.* 8.691-3

The simile suggests, as Hardie puts it, "a conflict not of human forces, but of raw chunks of nature".[53] Both poets, then, use the image of the uprooted Cyclades to convey the disruption of natural order that the Battle of Actium put right. The famous bulk of the Antonine ships here described by Vergil (*tanta* ***mole*** *uiri turritis puppibus instant*, *Aen.* 8.693) is also mentioned in 4.6 (*stetit aequore* ***moles*** | *pinea*, 4.6.19-20). The image of uptorn mountains, to which the massive ships are likened, is identified by Hardie as a motif of gigantomachy, a theme exploited by Vergil in his description of Actium and throughout the *Aeneid*.[54] The struggle between civilised order and barbaric chaos, central to all gygantomachic myths, was often applied allegorically to non-mythic struggles, and readily lent itself to Augustus' victory over the eastern hordes at Actium.[55] In this connection may be seen the simile in 4.6 likening Apollo's wrath at the historical Battle of Actium to his mythical killing of the Python at Delphi. Mader's

---

[52] So Cairns (1984) 157; Caston (2003) 157; J.F. Miller (2004) 78 n.14.
[53] Hardie (1986) 100.
[54] Hardie (1986) 100-102 (for uptorn mountains and rock-throwing in gigantomachy) and 97-110 (on Vergil's application of gigantomachic imagery to Actium).
[55] Hardie (1986) 85-90 (on the tradition of political gigantomachic imagery) and 87 n. 8 for the gradual association of gigantomachic imagery with Augustus in Propertius (comparing 2.1 and 3.9); see also Horace, *Od.* 3.4.

analysis of this simile points to the association of monster-slaying and town-foundation, observing that the myth of Apollo Πυθοκτόνος is here "symbolically associated with the foundation myth of Actium".[56] While in this instance the use of gigantomachic imagery in relation to Actium is not expressly Vergilian, the duplication in both accounts of the uprooted Cyclades motif nonetheless suggests that Propertius was monitoring Vergil's handling of such imagery. Another indication to this effect may be seen in Propertius' description of the rock-throwing figureheads of the Antonine ships:

> quodque **uehunt** prorae **Centaur**ica **saxa** ***minantis** 4.6.49

The conflict of the Centaurs and the Lapiths was a celebrated instance of barbarism versus civilisation, but its application to ships is striking enough to recall the monstrous vessels described by Vergil in the catalogue of *Aeneid* 10:

> ingentem remis **Centaur**um promouet: ille
> instat aquae **saxum**que undis immane ***minatur** *Aen.* 10.195-6

Propertius' allusion to Vergil's Centaur-ship has been noted in two separate discussions by Hardie, in one as an example of the rock-throwing motif in gigantomachy,[57] and, in the other, in support of other internal parallels between the Battle of Actium on the Shield and the ship-race of *Aeneid* 5,[58] where the same Centaur-ship rears its head in a setting ostensibly more festive, yet darkened with ominous foreshadowing and gigantomachic imagery. This passage may also be acknowledged by Propertius -

> [agit] ingentemque Gyas ingenti **mole** Chimaeram
> [...]
> [Sergestus] **Centauro** in**uehitur** magna [...] *Aen.* 5.118-122

- though the echo is not so clear as that to *Aeneid* 10, and may be an accidental result of interaction with a single node in an elaborate nexus of Vergilian imagery. What might be asserted with greater confidence is that Propertius' inclusion in his Actium elegy of so palpable an allusion to the ship-catalogue of *Aeneid* 10 demonstrably recognises that

---

[56] Mader (1990) 329.
[57] Hardie (1986) 102 n.47.
[58] Hardie (1987) 166-7.

the Latin war, for which the ships in *Aeneid* 10 are mustering, itself foreshadows typologically the civil war that culminated at Actium. Thus, Propertius establishes within his own version of Vergil's Shield the connections that in the *Aeneid* extend beyond the confines of the ekphrasis. Perhaps more speculatively, if the Vergilian ship-race is, as Hardie suggests, "both a workout for the serious business of naval warfare at Actium, and a proleptic commemoration of that battle, as type of the regatta at Augustus' Actian games", then it is interesting to note that Propertius' Centaur-ship features in a poem which is a description in the first instance of the Battle of Actium, but which was perhaps also composed for the occasion of the *Ludi Quinquennales* of 16 BC.[59]

A further indication of Propertius' assemblage of Vergilian themes might be witnessed in the conversion of the ship-name 'Centaur' into the adjective *Centauricus* in order to be applied, with some strain, to the *saxa* wielded by those selfsame figureheads: the locution is identical in form to the *Cyclopia saxa* recalled by Aeneas when trying to assure his beleaguered men that they have survived greater perils than the storm which has wrecked them upon the coast of North Africa:

> O passi grauiora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
> uos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis
> accestis scopulos, uos et ***Cyclopia* saxa**
> **experti**: reuocate animos, maestumque **timorem*
> *mittite*; forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit. *Aen.* 1.199-203

Contextual and lexical parallels confirm the impression of an allusion in the Propertian passage:

> *nec te*, quod classis centenis remigat alis,
> *terreat*: inuito labitur illa mari:
> quodque uehunt prorae **Centaurica saxa** minantis,
> tigna caua et pictos **experiere** **metus*. 4.6.47-50

[59] Contrary to this *communis opinio*, Gurval (1995) 120-123 argues against associating the *Ludi Quinquennales* with Actium.

In both cases, the speaker exhorts that fear be dismissed (*nec te...terreat; pictos...*metus* ~ *timorem* | *mittite*) as either a groundless or comparatively minor experience (*pictos* ***experiere*** *metus* ~ *et Cyclopea saxa* | ***experti***). Hardie's two discussions are again relevant to the interpretation of this intertext: the first demonstrates that the storm scene of *Aeneid* 1 is involved in the same nexus of gigantomachic imagery which features in the description of Actium in *Aeneid* 8;[60] the other points out that the stormy and gigantomachic war-games of *Aeneid* 5 serve as "a pivot for the more extensive parallelism between the storm in book one and the battle of Actium in book eight".[61] Therefore, although 4.6 depicts a 'stiller' Actium than *Aeneid* 8, *Centuarica saxa* is suggestive of both the gigantomachic rock-throwing motif alluded to by Aeneas after the tempest in *Aeneid* 1 and of the Centaur ship in *Aeneid* 5 and 10, and therefore hints at the cosmically disruptive forces of storm and gigantomachy present literally in the tempest, metaphorically but also in a nascent and preparatory state in the ship-race, and both allegorically and literally in the culminating political gigantomachy of Actium in *Aeneid* 8.

The typological identification of Augustus with the gigantomachic Apollo offers an explanation for the (aforementioned) prominence accorded to the latter in both accounts, for it implies that, rather than being eclipsed, Augustus is mirrored by (and himself mirrors) Apollo. The incorporation of gigantomachic imagery for the purpose of political allegory necessarily accords to Apollo a prominent role at Actium as champion of order over disorder: as Hardie points out in the case of the *Aeneid*, "it is appropriate that this battle of universal proportions should be decided by a shot from one of the greatest of divine weapons, the bow of Apollo, which assumes a function analogous to the thunderbolt of Jupiter in the defeat of the Giants or Typhoeus."[62] Propertius' amplification of the Vergilian Apollo was further facilitated by the metapoetic appropriateness of Apollo's dual identity and accompanying costume changes to the inclusion of epic subject-matter in the elegiac medium.[63] Indeed, Apollo's split-personality and contrasting roles during and after Actium are also

---

[60] Hardie (1986) 103-110.
[61] Hardie (1987) 166.
[62] Hardie (1986) 99.
[63] DeBrohun (2003) 220-225.

elements in the Vergilian account upon which Propertius might have seen fit to expand: when the battle is over, the Propertian Apollo doffs his armour for *placidos...choros* (4.6.70), leaving the poets to a festival setting of triumphal celebrations, of which 4.6, introduced as a sacrificial act (4.6.1-10), would appear to be a product; after Cleopatra's flight from Actium, the Shield ekphrasis describes the triumphal celebrations and sacrificial inauguration of the *pax Augusta* at Apollo's Palatine temple (*Aen.* 8.720ff.), implying a similar transition from the god's bellicose to peaceable personae.[64]

By projecting the Actium conflict onto gigantomachy, Propertius may be seen to have extended the schematic view of Roman history beyond the confines of the Vergilian shield into the outer reaches of Greek mythology; it may also be said that he has imported into Vergil's shield typologically relevant events, such as gigantomachy and the Latin war, reflected, but not immediately depicted, on the shield. In the case of gigantomachy, Propertius specifies what in the Shield is implicit: Hardie observes that "Virgil, typically, does not present his allegory in a clear-cut, independent form; instead he fuses together the immediate events of the narrative with the structures and motifs from the myths, which thus constitute a kind of internalised allegory of those events."[65] As well as replicating its materiality, therefore, Propertius 4.6 also appears to spell out the ideology of Vergil's cosmic icon. That is not to say, however, that the elegist accepts the implications of this ideology *tout court.*

History Repeating Itself (4.10)

Three's company, four's a crowd

The construction of Actium as a conflict between Augustus and *mulier una* in 4.6 and the feminisation of Hercules in 4.9 are among the deflating strategies that counteract Propertius' swing to the political right in Book 4. Elegy 4.10, however, offers less to appease 'left wing' militants: despite retaining the elegiac metre, *amor* is here entirely displaced by *arma*, Roman imperialism, and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius in which the

---

[64] J.F. Miller (2004) 82-4 argues that both poets recognise that the peace they enjoy has been achieved through Augustus' victory at Actium. Contrast e.g. Connor (1978) 10 who writes of Propertius' "dim and jaundiced" view of Actium. See further p. 89 nn.122-7 above.
[65] Hardie (1986) 90.

spoils of Roman victories were deposited. The exclusion from 4.10 of (Roman) elegiac themes is anticipated at the conclusion of the preceding poem when Hercules, barred from the quasi-elegiac and female-only grove of the Bona Dea, reciprocally excludes female-worshipers from his Ara Maxima: metapoetically, these mutual exclusions might be taken to represent the incompatibility of the "male" genre of epic with the "female" genre of elegy, with epic personified evicting the female from the elegiac text at the close of the poem. 4.10 is consequently the only elegy in Book 4 (and almost the entire collection) which does not either feature a female character or treat the theme of love. Like 4.9, it also celebrates an altar, the *ara superba Iovis* (4.10.48), and so continues the male dominance retrieved by Hercules at the Ara Maxima. That Jupiter's altar and the poem which celebrates it are off-limits to all things female is reflected in Hutchinson's description of 4.10 as "unremittingly martial and masculine".[66]

The proffered motivation of the poem is once again aetiological: the poet will explain the origin of Jupiter's cult-title 'Feretrius' (*nunc Iouis incipiam causas aperire Feretri*, 4.10.1). The temple was said to be the oldest in Rome, supposedly founded by Romulus to house the spoils of an enemy king whom he had single-handedly slain in battle (cf. Livy 1.10.7). Ever since then, any Roman commander who killed an enemy commander in one-to-one combat won the right to repeat Romulus' dedication. By relating the series of successful entrants to this Feretrian canon in chronological order, Propertius 4.10 embraces the schematic view of history more overtly than does his engagement in 4.6 with the implicitly schematic presentation of Roman history in the *Aeneid*. The poem concludes with a definition of the repeated historical paradigm upon which the aetiology of Jupiter's cult title depends: **Fe**retrius is etymologised either from ***ferre***, because the spoils were 'taken' to the temple, or ***ferire***, because it is by 'smiting' the enemy that the spoils are won:

> nunc spolia in templo tria condita: causa Feretri,
> omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem;

[66] Hutchinson 220; cf. Janan (2001) 197-8 n. 13 for the "masculinist poetics" of 4.10; Wyke (2002) 110; Welch (2005) 164.

seu quia uicta suis umeris haec arma ferebant,
hinc Feretri dicta est ara superba Iouis. 4.10.45-8

The essential, trans-historical principle is reduced to the simple formulae of "general strikes down general" (*dux ferit ense ducem*) and "they carried off the defeated weapons" (*uicta...arma ferebant*); the author's uncertainty as to which *causa* to endorse need not necessarily perplex, insofar as variant etymology was an established feature of the aetiological tradition.[67]

As it happened, the dedication of Feretrian spoils was a rare event: *spolia opima* were won only twice more after Romulus' inaugural dedication in 753 BC (4.10.5-22): A. Cornelius Cossus killed the king of Veii in 428 BC (4.10.23-38), and M. Claudius Marcellus a Gallic warlord in 222 BC (4.10.39-44). That there were only three such claimants in all of Roman history is insisted by Propertius' anaphora of cognates of *tres*; indeed, by a kind of *figura etymologica*, the assonance of *tria...Feretri* at v. 45, and in the opening couplet especially, implicitly offers a more stable etymology than that provided by the alternatives *ferire* and *ferre*:[68]

Nunc Iouis incipiam causas aperire Feretri
armaque de ducibus trina recepta tribus. 4.10.1-2

The rarity of the honour inevitably increased the kudos it could confer, even through tangential association: Marcellus' descendant, Marcellinus, had a denarius minted in c. 45 BC featuring, on the obverse, his own name beside a portrait of his ancestor, who appears on the reverse as a togate figure depositing *spolia* in the (apparently tetrastyle) temple of Jupiter Feretrius;[69] the temple was an early beneficiary of Augustus' programme of urban renewal (*RG* 19; Livy 4.20.7; Nepos, *Att.* 20.3), perhaps on account of its potential to confer on its restorer a typological affinity with its founder.[70]

---

[67] See Miller (1992) and (1982) 391-2.
[68] Comparable is the play on Tarpeia and *turpis* at the opening of 4.4. The suggestion of Welch (2005) 163 that *fere tria* lurks as a further etymology would destabilise again (but is compatible with argument presented below).
[69] *RRC* 439/1 with plate 52.18; also reproduced in Welch (2005) 135.
[70] For the date of the restoration, see Flower (2000) 48-9 with n.74, who notes that the temple was rebuilt "probably before Actium and certainly before [Octavian's] return from the East in 29" (48) and therefore "before any general plan for restoring the city was set in motion" (49).

In 29 BC, the right to make a fourth dedication was apparently claimed by M. Licinius Crassus, but disqualified by Octavian on the grounds that, although having slain an opposing commander, he was not commander himself (Dio 51.24.4). Yet according to Varro (apud Festum, p. 204.4ff. Lindsay) and Livy's account of the second dedication of *spolia opima* by Cossus as military tribune (Livy 4.19.1), the only criterion for eligibility was that the enemy, rather than the Roman claimant, should be a commander; but Livy then corrects his record by citing documentary evidence, backed up by Augustus' authority, to the effect that, contrary to his (unanimous) ancient sources, Cossus was in fact consul (Livy 4.20.5-11). Livy, therefore, apparently endorses the consular precedent on which Crassus' claim seems to have been discounted. At issue here, as Gary Miles has put it, is "a question of historical facticity that has important political and ideological implications for the position and policy of Augustus".[71] It is perhaps not without some incredulity that Livy articulates his acquiescence to Augustus' insistence that linen spoils could still bear a consular autograph (*titulus ipsis spoliis impositus*) after four centuries in a dilapidated temple. Through a post-fascist lens, Syme saw a connection between Livy's u-turn and Dio's reference to Crassus' rejected claim, and reconstructed on this basis a pre-emptive intervention by Augustus in history and historiography.[72] Not all have subscribed to this conspiracy theory,[73] but Miles' analysis of the diction of Livy's revision and its relation to his wider historiographical technique has restated the case that the historian's position on history and memory here is "devastatingly subversive".[74]

Stephen Harrison has read the references to the *spolia opima* in the Augustan poets "in the light of this propaganda crisis" and concluded that the Augustan line is endorsed by a consistent presentation of a canonical three dedications by Romulus, Cossus (upon whose disputed consulship Augustus' technicality depended), and Marcellus: thus Propertius' account of the three dedicants clarifies that Vergil's reference to Marcellus' *tertia arma* (*Aen.* 6. 855-9) means *the* rather than *a* third set of spoils (i.e. "that the canon

---

[71] Miles (1995) 41.
[72] Syme (1959) esp. 43-7. On the Crassus controversy in general, see Flower (2000) 49-53, Harrison (1989) 409-11, and Rich (1996).
[73] Rich (1996); Flower (2000) 82; White (1993) 142-5.
[74] Miles (1995) 40 (analysis pp. 40-47); so also Welch (2005) 140-143.

of three dedications is now completed and will not be supplemented"[75]); the apparent reference in 4.10.46 to auspices (*omine...certo*) and the parity of the duel (*dux...ducem*) suggest that consulship was indeed a requisite qualification for the claimant, as Livy's revision specifies (*ea rite opima spolia habentur, quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem nouimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur*, 4.20.6);[76] in Augustan literature, concludes Harrison, the dedication of *spolia opima* is an antiquarian phenomenon of which the third and final instantiation took place in 222 BC.[77] Indeed, the impossibility of there being a fourth (i.e. Crassus') dedication is effectively proved by Propertius' implicit derivation of Fertrius from cognates of the Latin for "three". This apparent fact that there can be no more than three instantiations of the historical pattern resists the more infinite or cyclical kind of historical schematisation suggested in the Shield of Aeneas and reproduced intertextually in 4.6.

Spolia Opima in the *Aeneid*

The winning of spoils through hand-to-hand combat is a central type-scene of the *Aeneid*, and has been linked by Harriet Flower with the *spolia opima* as "a repeated but complex theme" of the epic as a whole.[78] In *Aeneid* 10, Pallas confronts Turnus contemplative of the glory he will derive either from winning *spolia opima* or dying a glorious death (*Aen.* 10.449-50). When his killer fatefully dons rather than dedicates Pallas' opulent *balteus*, together with the nuptial carnage wrought thereon (*Aen.* 10.495-500), he symbolically clothes himself in the fate he has just dealt out to a fellow ephebe. Since it is the vision of these same spoils that motivates the agent of Turnus' karma to dispatch him in his turn, the climactic scene of one-to-one vengeance with which the epic concludes is itself "clearly synonymous with *spolia opima*".[79] A variation on the practice of vowing a trunk of wood arrayed with an opponent's spoils is also envisaged by Mezentius when he vows his son Lausus, clad in Aeneas' spoils, as his victory trophy

---

[75] Harrison (1989) 413; see also Flower (2000) 54-5.

[76] The same formulation can be found in an inscription from the plinth of a statue of Romulus that occupied the upper right-hand-side exedra of the Forum Augustum: *Romulus* [...] *primus* ***dux duce*** *hostium* | *Acrone rege Caenensium* | *interfecto spolia opima* | *Ioui Feretrio consecrauit* [...] (*Inscr. It.* 13.3.86: quoted and discussed by Welch (2005) 138-140).

[77] Harrison (1989) 411-12; see also Hubbard (1974) 131.

[78] Flower (2000) 54; see also Harrison (1989) 413.

[79] Flower (2000) 55.

(*Aen.* 10.773-6). This perverted imagining duly proves its omen when Lausus returns to his proud father, only upon his shield as opposed to with it, a poignant moment perhaps caught in the closing etymology of 4.10:

> seu quia uicta suis umeris haec ***arma ferebant** 4.10.47
>
> at Lausum socii exanimem super ***arma ferebant** *Aen.* 10.841

Though the termination of the narrative prevents our witnessing it, Aeneas may be presumed not to repeat Turnus' hubris or Mezentius' perversion since he is witnessed dedicating the latter's spoils in the correct and pious manner at the beginning of the previous book (*Aen.* 11.5-13), a scene which according to Flower's reading establishes "a powerful prototype for *spolia opima*".[80] Jennifer Ingleheart, however, has recently argued that at the end of the *Aeneid* Vergil exercises his 'right to remain silent' about the accomplishments of Augustus' ancestor, and that the hurried close of Propertius 4.10 follows suit.[81] Such a verdict of *impietas* might (be) endorse(d by) the detection in *arma ferebant* of a concluding echo of Lausus' premature demise. T.S. Welch has also amplified Vergilian resonance in 4.10 to support an argument that the poem's concentration on violence implicitly advocates the etymology of Feretrius from *ferire* rather than *ferre*, and thereby subverts the pious ideology of a monument lately appropriated by Augustus.[82] What will be argued here is that the duel of Aeneas and Turnus, though billed in the *Aeneid* as the duel to end all duels, reappears in the later historical episodes of Propertius 4.10 with increasing clarity, constituting a proto-Roman precedent for the three official declensions the *dux ferit ense ducem* paradigm according to which, on the schematic view of history, any closure of the Feretrian canon is impossible.

---

[80] Flower (2000) 54.

[81] Ingleheart (2007) 79: "I suggest that Propertius 4.10 picks up on and develops these hints, reading the end of the *Aeneid* as a pointed retreat into silence in preference to celebrating the new Augustan age."

[82] Welch (2005) 133-165.

Vergilian Romulus

If Aeneas' dedication at the opening of *Aeneid* 11 is as prototypal as Flower suggests, then it is perhaps to this moment that Romulus' inaugural dedication looks (***imbuis*** *exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae* | *huius, et* ***exuuio*** *plenus ab hoste redis*, 4.10.5-6, cf. *Aen.* 11.5-7: *ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis* | *constituit tumulo fulgentiaque* ***induit*** *arma,* | *Mezenti ducis* ***exuuias***). However, the recurrence of *spolia opima* in the *Aeneid* is such that this parallel serves more to introduce 4.10, via a single instantiation, to a thematic continuum which stretches back to Homeric epic (cf. [*sc. Hector*] *qui redit* ***exuuias indutus*** *Achilli*, *Aen.* 2.275) and achieves its denouement in the final lines of the *Aeneid* (cf. *Aen.* 12.946-8: ***exuuias****que hausit, furiis accensus et ira* | *terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis* ***indute*** *meorum* | *eripiare mihi?*).[83] In view of this (Vergilian) teleology, it is perhaps significant that Propertius devotes some attention to a description of Romulus' *balteus*, an item which in the *Aeneid* serves as the central plot device through which Turnus' duels with Pallas and Aeneas merge in the final lines of the epic:[84]

picta neque inducto **fulgebat** parma pyropo:
praebebant caesi **baltea** lenta boues. 4.10.21-22

et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo 940
coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis **fulserunt** cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, uictum quem uulnere Turnus
strauerat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat. *Aen.* 12.940-4

Unlike the opulent spoils Aeneas wins back from Turnus, Romulus' *balteus* is a functional, rustic appendage. However, *balteus* is a sufficiently rare word for us to attach some significance to its occurrence in both texts in close conjunction with the verb *fulgere* and in association with the theme of *spolia opima*; as seen in the previous chapter, Propertius 4.11 is demonstrably conversant with this passage of the *Aeneid* and the

[83] At a textual level, however, it is perhaps worth noting that the consistent use of *induere* in relation to *spolia* might advocate the emendation of *imbuis* (4.10.5), though in itself neither inelegant nor uninteresting intertextually (cf. *Aen.*7.541-2, *sanguine bellum imbuit*, and 7.554, *sanguis nouus imbuit arma*), to *induis*.

[84] This has now been suggested (though without a verbal parallel) by Welch (2005) 149, who sees the roughness of Romulus' baldric as befitting of his nature as the beauty of Pallas' befits his.

implications of its ekphrastic vignette (p. 171-2 above). Nor is a link between Aeneas and Romulus casual, since both were founders in their own right, as Propertius states in his reference to Romulus as *urbis uirtutisque parens* (4.10.17), and as Vergil implies when Aeneas buries his sword in Turnus' breast (*ferrum...condit*, *Aen.* 12.950, recalling *Aen.* 1.5: *dum conderet urbem*).[85] Moreover, that Romulus did not sport a shining *picta...parma* could be taken in deliberate contrast to the great shield of Aeneas, which Vergil paints in words in its ekphrasis in *Aeneid* 8.[86] A similar contrast was observed at 4.1.27, where the rustic soldier's lack of shining armour seemed to contrast with the *arma...radiantia* (*Aen.* 8.616) brought to Aeneas by Venus. The outward reference to Romulus' primitiveness, then, is perhaps undercut by an allusion to the sophisticated armaments of his ktistic predecessor. Camps' note *ad loc.* is thus more intuitive than perhaps even he realised: "the plain leather is contrasted with the sumptuously decorated sword-belts of later times, such as have influenced the description of the *balteus* of Pallas in Virg. *Aen.* x, 496ff."[87] Comparing the passage to which Camps refers, Propertius might be seen to have conflated his allusion to Aeneas' fateful sighting of the *balteus* at the end of the *Aeneid* with the ekphrasis of that object (cf., again, the ekphrastic signpost *picta*, 4.10.21) supplied at the earlier point when Turnus despoils it:

> [...] rapiens immania pondera **baltei**
> impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
> **caesa** manus iuuenum foede thalamique cruenti,
> quae Clonus Eurytides multo caelauerat auro;
> quo nunc Turnus ouat **spolio** gaudetque potitus. *Aen.* 10.496-500

In Propertius, slaughtered bullocks rather than the ephebic Pallas give up the baldric, yet the interchangeability of bullocks (*iuuenci*) and young (marriageable) men (*iuuenes*) in

---

[85] The statue of Romulus in the top right-hand-side exedra of the Forum Augustum (see n. 76 above) stood in typological alignment with a statue of Aeneas, which occupied the opposite (left-hand-side) exedra (see Galinsky (1996) 198); the statues proper do not survive, but frescoes from the façade of a Pompeian house of a similarly posed and arrayed Romulus (carrying the *spolia opima*) and Aeneas (carrying Anchises) are thought to reflect the typological statue grouping in Rome (see Zanker (1988) 201-3). This would provide a visual counterpart of the link in 4.10 and the *Aeneid* between Aeneas and the first winner of *spolia opima*.

[86] The Greek *pyrop*[*um*?: sic *OLD* s.v.] mentioned in this line is reminiscent of the rare metals of Vulcan's artefact (*liquido...electro*, *Aen.* 8.402; *metallum*, v. 445; *chalybs*, v. 446).

[87] Camps 150.

Roman imagery[88] is such that the premature and tragic death in which Turnus fatefully clothes himself after killing Pallas is present at 4.10.22 *sous rature.*

The killing (and despoiling) of young warriors is itself a typological pattern which punctuates the *Aeneid* as much as 4.10.[89] Romulus' conquest, Acron, necessarily parallels both Turnus and Pallas, thus casting Romulus as both Aeneas and Turnus. It is fitting, then, that Acron's final moments should recall the actions of Pallas and Turnus in their duel, which Vergil relates just prior to the ekphrasis of the baldric's symbolic insignia:

> hic ***spolia*** ex umeris ausus sperare ***Quirini***
> ipse dedit, sed non sanguine sicca suo.
> hunc uidet ante ***cauas*** **librantem** spicula ***turris***
> Romulus et uotis occupat ante ratis:
> 'Iuppiter, haec hodie tibi uictima **corruet** Acron.'
> uouerat, et spolium **corruit** ille Ioui. 4.10.11-16

Initially, Romulus is equated with Turnus, who similarly balances (*librans*, *Aen.* 10.480) his spear before striking down Pallas, who like Acron crashes (*corruit*, *Aen.* 10.488) to the ground; Propertius' anaphora of *corruere* (vv. 15 and 16) draws attention to a word which in Vergil is a *hapax legomenon.* The roles are then reversed by a number of parallels which seem to equate Acron with Turnus: Acron's designs on Romulus' *cauas...turris* (v. 13) repeat Turnus' assault against the enclosed Trojans in *Aeneid* 9 (*armatique* ***cauis*** *exspectant* ***turribus*** *hostem*, *Aen.* 9.46),[90] and the description of his spoils as *non* ***sanguine sicca*** (v. 12) recalls the ensuing simile in which the frustrated Turnus is likened to a slavering wolf (***siccae sanguine*** *fauces*, *Aen.* 9.64) outside a sheepfold; the same phrase also recalls the death of Cacus at the hands of Hercules (***siccum sanguine*** *guttur*, *Aen.* 12.261), the typological duel *par excellence.* Thus Acron doubles as

---

[88] See Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.258.

[89] See Hardie (1994) 14-18.

[90] This similarity is also cited by Camps *ad loc.* and Lucot (1961) 61, who argues that it identifies Romulus, in his first war, with Ascanius, who makes his first killing when the Trojans and Rutulians clash for the first time. This interpretation is flimsy, however, for Ascanius is not singled out at this point in Vergil. Closer to the interpretation offered here is Welch (2005) 147-9, who shows that allusion to *Aeneid* 9 "confounds the easy identification of Roman and enemy" (145), and notes that Romulus' lupine headgear in v. 20 signals the Vergilian passage alluded to in vv. 12-13.

the bloodthirsty Turnus (vv. 12-13) and as the victim on which Turnus later sates that thirst (vv. 13, 15-16).

Propertius' observation that Acron yields rather than wins *spolia* (v. 12) also replicates a pattern of the *Aeneid*: Pallas anticipates that his glory will derive either from winning *spolia opima* or dying a glorious death (*aut spoliis ego iam raptis laudabor opimis | aut leto insigni*, *Aen.* 10.449-50); when Turnus despoils Pallas, the narrator remarks that he will one day rue the *spolia* in which he now rejoices (*Aen.* 10.500-505); Mezentius, too, confides with his horse that they will either win spoils (*aut* ***hodie uictor spolia****...referes*, *Aen.* 10.862-3; cf. perhaps 4.10.15-6: *'Iuppiter, haec* ***hodie*** *tibi* ***uictima*** *corruet Acron.' | uouerat, et* ***spolium*** *corruit ille Ioui*) or die together.

It is consistent with the typological view of this repeated pattern that Propertius should refer to the precedent apparently set by Romulus as an *exemplum* (v. 5) and introduce it with an allusion (italicised in bold) to Vergil's description of Marcellus' dedication of *spolia opima*:

> 'aspice, ut insignis ***spoliis*** Marcellus *opimis* 855
> ingreditur uictorque uiros supereminet omnis.
> hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
> sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
> *tertiaque arma* patri suspendet *capta* ****Quirino***.' *Aen.* 6.855-9

In other words, Propertius alludes to the third (official) dedication of *spolia opima* when describing the first. One effect of this Vergilian language is to raise the stylistic register of the elegy to a level appropriate to the epic subject matter in hand. Yet to have such a sustained allusion specifically to Aeneas' duel with Turnus running parallel to Romulus' with Acron arguably destabilises the idea that there were only three such duels in Roman history. Here, intertextuality opens up the possibility for further historical interpenetrations.

Vergilian Cossus

Likewise, when Cossus resolves on hand-to-hand combat with Tolumnius on open ground in preference to making a forced entry into his city with a battering-ram, he auspiciously repeats the Trojans' cessation of siege operations before the hand-to-hand duel of Aeneas and Turnus:

> dumque **aries murum** cornu **pulsabat** aeno,
> uinea qua ductum longa tegebat opus,
> Cossus ait 'Forti melius ***concurrere campo**.'
> nec mora fit, *plano sistit uterque gradum.* 4.10.33-6

> iam uero et Rutuli certatim et Troes et omnes
> conuertere oculos Itali, quique alta tenebant
> moenia quique imos **pulsabant ariete muros**,
> armaque deposuere umeris. [...] *Aen.* 12.704-7

The Propertian battering-ram strikes the reader with a close reproduction of its Vergilian counterpart, with *aeno* at the end of the line perhaps invoking its provenance from the *Aeneid*. It also clears the way for a series of auxiliary allusions which reinforce the link between the two duels: Cossus' decision to *concurrere campo* (v. 35) recalls how the Trojans uproot Faunus' olive tree to enable Aeneas and Turnus do likewise (and in the same metrical *sedes*):

> sed stirpem Teucri nullo discrimine sacrum 770
> sustulerant, puro ut possent ***concurrere campo**.
> *hic hasta Aeneae stabat* [...] *Aen.* 12.770-2

The parallels ominously cast Tolumnius in the role of Turnus: thus, when his decapitated and exsanguinating head bathes the Roman horses in blood, it fittingly recalls the Vergilian simile (drawn from a non-figurative description at *Geo.* 3.220-236) in which the duelling Aeneas and Turnus are likened to rival bulls exchanging blows and soaking each other in blood:

di Latias iuuere manus, desecta Tolumni
ceruix Romanos **sanguine lauit** equos. 4.10.37-8

illi inter sese multa ui uulnera miscent
cornuaque obnixi infigunt et **sanguine** largo
colla armosque **lauant**, gemitu nemus omne remugit:
non aliter Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros
concurrunt clipeis, ingens fragor aethera complet. *Aen.* 12.720-4

The Propertian bloodbath is a stage more advanced, since Tolumnius' severed *ceruix* (the first word of v. 38) is the source of the gore, whereas in the Vergilian simile the synonymous *colla* (the first word of v. 722) are as yet the object of *lauant*.[91]

Vergilian Claudius

The two official dedications of *spolia opima* examined so far, then, have projected onto them the climactic duel of the *Aeneid*. These allusions resist the official line that there were no more than three instantiations of the commander-despoils-commander paradigm, and suggest that history is capable of infinite rather than limited repetition. Accordingly, the third (but perhaps *not* final) Feretrian duel, that of 222 BC when M. Claudius Marcellus slew the Gallic chief Virdomarus, is linked to the Roman conflict with the Gauls depicted as one of the scenes from the future on the Shield of Aeneas:

Claudius a Rheno traiectos arcuit hostis,
Belgica cum uasti parma relata ducis 40
Virdomari. genus hic Rheno ***iactabat*** ab ipso,
mobilis e rectis fundere **gaesa** rotis.
illi **uirgatis** ***iaculanti*** ab agmine bracis[92]
torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula. 4.10.39-44

[91] Welch (2005) 152 emphasises the violence of this scene, but the intertext suggests that she is a little too sanguine in conjecturing that "for Tolumnius' blood to spurt, the heart must still have been beating at the moment of decapitation".
[92] For v. 43, Barber's OCT reads Postgate's *illi ut uirgatis iaculans it ab agmine bracis*. The reading here is closer to that of Kraffert: *illi uirgatis iaculanti ante agmina bracis*.

aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea uestis,
uirgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla
auro innectuntur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant
gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis. *Aen.* 8.659-62

In both cases, the Gauls sport 'striped' (*uirgatis*) clothing and wield the Gallic spear (*gaesa*). Neither word occurs elsewhere in either poet, such that *parma relata* (v. 40) could be taken to footnote 'the shield referred to' as well as 'the shield brought back' as spoil; more suggestively, the collocation *illi uirg-* at the start of v. 43 jumbles (at least phonetically) the syllables of *Vergilius* himself. There is an anachronism in this allusion, however, for the Gauls in 4.10 and those on the Shield are not historically the same: Vergil describes the Gauls who were repulsed from the Capitol by Manlius in 390 BC, an event some 168 years earlier than Claudius' defeat of Virdomarus. Again, therefore, Propertius undermines the fixity of the three official dedications and opens the closed canon of three to further repetitions and other claimants of the honour. In this respect, the allusion here to the Shield of Aeneas would be especially apposite if, as has been argued above, it was read by Propertius as a *locus* for this kind of historical schematisation.

A second allusion (italicised and in bold) in Propertius' description of Claudius' feat reorients the historical interpenetration to the Latin war in *Aeneid* 10, a conflict described outside the confines of the Vergilian Shield, but typologically identifiable with the history presented thereon. As Aeneas rampages through the Latin ranks, he strikes down a series of Rutulian warriors, including one Pharus, whose death bears a curious similarity to that of the Gallic Virdomarus in Propertius:

immanemque Gyan sternentis agmina claua
deiecit leto; nihil illos Herculis arma
nec ualidae ***iuuere manus*** genitorque Melampus,
Alcidae comes usque grauis dum terra labores
praebuit. ecce Pharo, uoces dum ***iactat*** inertis,
in***torquens iacul***um clam***anti sistit*** in ore. *Aen.* 10.318-323

Both men are boastful (*iactabat*, 4.10.41 ~ *iactat*, *Aen.* 10.322) and have their throats slashed in mid-action (*iaculanti*, 4.10.43 ~ *dum iactat*, *Aen.* 10.322); Propertius' *iaculanti* (v. 43) picks up both *iaculum* and the participle *clamanti* (*Aen.* 10.323), while *torquis* (v. 44) and *intorquens* (*Aen.* 10.323) are cognates. Harrison's commentary notes with Saunders that Pharus is a transliteration of φάρος, a synonym for φάρυγξ ('throat'), a name "doubly appropriate, for Pharus here is not only all talk and no action but also receives a throat-wound".[93] Accepting a connection between the two passages, *gula* (4.10.44) could be taken as a gloss on this rather grotesque Vergilian pun. From the Vergilian passage, too, *iuuere manus* (v. 320) and *sistit* (v. 323) would appear to have migrated to the end of the previous Feretrian duel (*sistit*, 4.10.36; *iuuere manus*, 4.10.37) in which Cossus strikes down Tolumnius, the premier of Veii. Such a redistribution of vocabulary blurs the distinction between the separate historical episodes of Aeneas' duel with Pharus, Cossus' with Tolumnius, and Claudius' with Virdomarus, once again eliding apparently discrete historical episodes into a schematic format.

Namesakes

Just as Virdomarus is identifiable with the Vergilian Pharus, so too does Tolumnius, his unfortunate predecessor, have an analogue in the Latin war, only more obviously so, for they share the same name: the Vergilian Tolumnius is a Rutulian augur who is killed in an asyndetic sequence of Trojan-Latin duels which articulates in identical form the historical paradigm (*dux* ***ferit ense*** *ducem*, 4.10.46) with which the Propertian elegy ends:

> [...] **ferit ense** grauem Thymbraeus Osirim,
> Arcetium Mnestheus, Epulonem obtruncat Achates
> Vfentemque Gyas; cadit ipse **Tolumnius** augur,
> primus in ad*uersos* telum qui torserat hostis. *Aen.* 12.458-61

It could be that both poets are availing of a third source in which the rule governing the winning of *spolia opima* used the formula *ferit ense* (a collocation which occurs only here in Vergil and Propertius), just as the polyptoton of *dux* occurs in the *elogium* of Romulus' Feretrian statue in the Forum Augustum (see n. 76 above) as well as in the

[93] Harrison (1991) *ad loc.*

accounts of Livy and Propertius. If this be so, then Vergil could be said to have projected the duels of the Latin war onto their counterparts in later history; while this remains conjecture as far as interpretation of Vergil is concerned, it would be possible to argue that Propertius has read the *Aeneid* with this idea in mind, having reversed the projection by constructing the historical Tolumnius of 4.10 in terms of his legendary namesake in *Aeneid* 12.

Acron, Romulus' inaugural Feretrian victim, also crops up in the *Aeneid* as a Greek exile slain by Mezentius,[94] who spots him fighting in conspicuously effeminate raiment (***hunc*** *ubi misce***ntem** *longe media agmina* ***uidit***, | *purpureum pennis et pactae coniugis ostro*, *Aen.* 10.721-2), just as Romulus (in conversely austere attire: 4.10.18-22) later sights another Acron attacking Rome (***hunc uidet*** *ante cauas libra***ntem** *spicula turris*, 4.10.13). However, the manner in which the Propertian Acron meets his demise also partakes of Mezentius' own death in the *Aeneid*: Propertius' Acron is levelled on top of his routed horse (*tempore quo* ***portas*** *Caeninum Acrona petentem* | ***uictor*** *in euersum cuspide* ***fundis*** ***equum***, 4.10.7-8), inverting the crushing of Mezentius under his (*ef***fusum***que* ***equi****tem super*, *Aen.* 10. 893). The echo might suggest a hint of karma for one of the chief villains of the *Aeneid*, though it should be noted that Acron himself cannot escape victimisation in either text. In fact, the principal intertextual karma operative here seems to be visited upon Acron first and foremost, for *fundere* also recalls the wooden horse of *Aeneid* 2 that spills forth its Greek warriors (*armatos…* | ***fundit equus uictor****que Sinon incendia miscet* | *insultans.* ***portis*** *alii bipatentibus adsunt*, *Aen.* 2.328-30): in Propertius, however, Greek fortunes are now reversed (and the horse correspondingly *euersum*). Perhaps for a moment, then, Romulus becomes a version of Mezentius, who vicariously gets to inflict a macabre parody of his own undoing on a second Greek named Acron. Mezentius' obsession with spoils in the *Aeneid* makes him a fitting, though not unproblematic, parallel for the founder of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. However, any identification with Mezentius is diluted by Romulus' participation in a wider scheme: as has been shown, he is aligned with several other conquering combatants, both victors and

[94] This parallel and the allusion in v. 13 (*hunc uidet*) to *Aen.* 10.721 (*hunc…uidit*) are also noted by Ingleheart (2007) 72, who offers a subversive reading of the resultant connection between Romulus and Mezentius.

vanquished, friends and foes, in the second half of the *Aeneid*, where the *spolia opima* is a recurrent intertext.

To add a final example to the catalogue of parallels, Camilla's aristeia in *Aeneid* 11 features martial prowess not unlike that displayed by Romulus (*Buten **auersum cuspide** fixit | loricam **galeam**que inter, qua colla sedentis | lucent et laevo dependet **parma** lacerto*, *Aen.* 11.691-3 ~ *e**uersum cuspide***, 4.10.8, ***galea**...**parma***, 4.10.22-3), whose rustic masculinity she shares (*Aen.* 7.803-817; 4.10.18-22). Yet if, as Alison Keith has shown, the description of her desire for spoils as feminine (*femineo praedae et spoliorum amore*, *Aen.* 11.782) serves less to answer the unanswered speculation as to whether she is motivated by piety (*siue ut templis praefigeret arma*, v. 778) or hubristic retail-therapy (*captiuo siue ut se ferret in auro*, v. 779) and more to interrogate epic preconceptions of masculinity,[95] then her qualification for honour among the all-male cast of 4.10 could be taken to offer the same deconstruction, and to raise the same questions as are operative on the parallel level of genre, where the engagement of 'feminine' elegy with the 'masculine' subject matter of epic demands a re-evaluation of generic prejudices (see p. 106-108 above).

Dedicating the Poem

While intertextual kinship with Mezentius does not necessarily condemn Romulus, the elegiac poet would appear to have complicated the official record of three dedications of *spolia opima* by linking each one to a central type-scene of the *Aeneid* in which a pair of warriors fights to the death. Despite the poem's apparent endorsement of a closed canon of three dedications in support of Augustus' vested interest in the matter, Propertius appeals to precedents from Roman legend which undermine the fixity of the three Feretrian dedications. In a possible case of 'subversion by intertextuality',[96] then, this outwardly 'masculine' poem advocates a sympathetic hearing for the man 'under erasure', the historical Crassus, whose grandfather of the same name is addressed, also not without sympathy, at the end of 4.6 in connection with the Roman Standards lost

---

[95] Keith (2000) 27-31.

[96] This phrase is borrowed from Lyne (1994), who raises the possibility that intertexts "may also offer hints of ideology that agree with the new text – or disturb it" (194).

to Parthia but subsequently retrieved by Augustus through diplomacy and temporarily deposited in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. That Augustus' own Feretrian honour (however putative) cannot be excluded from a canon opened up to typological interpenetration also makes available a less subversive reading for anyone interested to find it.

If Propertius' exploitation of the typological dimension of Vergil's *Aeneid* can in this way either challenge or endorse contemporary politics, there are perhaps several levels at which his opening expression of ambition can be read: the poet's ascent of a *magnum iter* in pursuit of poetic glory (vv. 3-4) signals metapoetically his departure from the traditionally narrow path of elegy:[97] to be sure, the concerted engagement with Vergilian *arma* certainly makes an appropriate accompaniment for a theme which, as DeBrohun has shown, excludes *amor* and 'neutralises' the erotic value of elegy's traditional metaphors.[98] Yet, insofar as that engagement reopens the canon, Propertius also champions the cause of a figure whose erased presence looms large, and so revives a stance more identifiable with his elegy of old. Metaphorically, the opening image might even suggest that Propertius is climbing the Capitoline to make an epic dedication of his own,[99] thus himself instantiating the kind of repetition that denies closure to the Feretrian canon.

Propertius' engagement with Vergil in 4.10 thus gives rise to a stance that can be recuperated to both epic and elegiac agendas. The *incipit* appropriately initiates the poem's intertextual engagement with Vergil by pinpointing a moment of the *Aeneid* that is remarkably suitable to this generic dualism:

> *__nunc Iouis i__ncipiam causas aperire Feretri
> *__arma__que de ducibus trina recepta tribus. 4.10.1-2

[97] See Hubbard (1974) 128 and 131 on the "special preface in which the poet emphasises the difficulty of his task" (131); Welch (2005) 160-162; DeBrohun (2003) 198; Miralles (1970) 377-8.
[98] DeBrohun (2003) 154-155, 198-99 and 238-9 (for the use of 'neutralise' in this connection).
[99] So Welch (2005) 162 and Ingleheart (2007) 66, who finds the idea "faintly comical".

*__nunc Iouis i__mperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
ergo eadem supplex uenio et sanctum mihi numen
*__arma__ rogo, genetrix nato. [...] *Aen.* 8.381-3

Announcing his theme, Propertius here echoes Venus' words at the very moment she requests her consort to fashion Aeneas' shield: in the preceding lines she reminds Vulcan of the many occasions when, though she had reason, she chose not to seek his services; now (*nunc*), for the first time, she asks for *arma*. The allusion is appropriate at many levels: it anticipates the poem's engagement with Vergil's icon of Rome's typological history, while the commissioning by Venus, goddess of love, of a martial artefact, is as paradoxical as the composition by Propertius, poet of love, of a martial poem.

Shielding Tarpeia again (and again) (4.4)

Although *amor* is absent from the two historical poems considered thus far, the treatment of historical subjects does not necessarily require a de-eroticisation of elegy. A comic example of this was observed in 4.9, which recognises the Vergilian Hercules' typological affinity with respected figures from later Roman history while at the same time endowing him with an unedifying gargantuan sexual appetite. A more sobering example of the same combination can be seen in 4.4, where the Vergilian *amor* of *Aeneid* 4 emerges as an intertextual constituent in the historical episode of Tarpeia's treacherous support of Tatius' retributive campaign against Rome after the rape of the Sabine women. Propertius (re)introduces the erotic motive of the female protagonist 'erased' by Vergil from his vignette of the Romano-Sabine war as depicted on Aeneas' Shield. To consider the material presented in Chapter 3 from the perspective of the present discussion, Dido might be said to serve as a fitting 'historical' analogue for a Tarpeia whose passion similarly threatens the security of Rome. Tarpeia articulates her potential for schematic interpenetrability by comparing herself to Scylla, who likewise had betrayed her father and fatherland to an invader with whom, according to the version endorsed by Tarpeia, she was in love (as in Callimachus' *Hecale*, fr. 228 Pf.); in other versions, however, the enemy bribes her (cf. Aeschylus' Minos, *Choephoroe* 612-622; Livy's Tatius, 1.11: cf. 4.4.21, 32 for traces of this version), and in some versions

so abhors her treachery that he puts her to death – a conclusion that Tarpeia would have done well not to overlook when postulating the comparison:[100]

> *__quid__ mirum in patrios **Scyllam** *saen*__isse__ capillos,
> (*)__candida__que in saeuos **inguina** uersa **canis**? 4.4.39-40

There is in fact a double-interpenetration operative here which might at first appearances suggest that Propertius has nodded like Vergil in confusing Scylla, Nisus' treacherous daughter, with Scylla, the sea-monster whose loins were girt with savage dogs. Upon scrutiny, however, the conflation looks far from careless, for the couplet alludes with lexical precision both to Vergil's alleged confusion of the two Scyllas in the *Eclogues* and to his correct version of the treacherous and patricidal Scylla in the *Georgics*:

> *__Quid__ loquar aut **Scyllam** Nisi, quam fama secuta est
> (*)__candida__ succinctam *latrantibus* **inguina** *monstris* 75
> Dulichias *uex*__asse__ rates et gurgite in alto
> a! timidos nautas **canibus** lacerasse marinis; *Ecl.* 6.74-7
>
> apparet liquido sublimis in aëre Nisus,
> et pro purpureo poenas dat **Scylla** *__capillo__: *Geo.* 1.404-5

From the *Eclogues*, Propertius has borrowed the interrogative **quid*, the **candida …inguina*, an accusative *Scyllam* with a perfect infinitive (Propertius' *saeuisse* perhaps correcting the tamer *uexasse* for which Vergil was criticised in the ancient commentaries),[101] and *canes*, which in the same *sedes* as Vergil's *monstra* perhaps glosses the periphrasis of 'barking monsters'; from the *Georgics*, which describes the Scylla with whom Tarpeia is primarily identifiable, Propertius has transferred *capilli* (though frequent in elegy, it occurs only once elsewhere in Vergil) to the same *sedes* of 4.4.38. As well as defending Vergil's credentials as a mythographer, Propertius' conversion (cf. *uersa*, v. 40) of the 'correct' *Georgic* Scylla into her hybrid counterpart from the *Eclogues* establishes a suitable paradigm both for a Tarpeia who is as monstrous as she is treacherous and for a poetic practice which transforms an existing text into an original

---

[100] See Hollis (1970) 32-35 for the different traditions of the Scylla and Minos legend.

[101] See O'Hara (1996) 94. If this be so, then the majority MS reading *saeuisse* (**Ω**)wins out over the less well attested *secuisse* (**ς**).

creation of which the full significance is nonetheless dependent on its previous incarnation.

Margaret Hubbard has speculated that Propertius 4.4 exploits the erotic version of Scylla's treachery apparently favoured by the Hellensistic poets in order to construct a version of the Tarpeia legend more congenial to elegy.[102] Particularly important from the point of view of historical typology is Hubbard's observation that a similar story adheres to the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 BC: Plutarch (*Romulus* 17.5) quotes four lines of an elegiac poem by Simylos in which Tarpeia falls in love with the Gallic chieftain Brennus.[103] Hubbard hypothesises that this tale had been "decanted backwards in time" to the Sabine assault against Romulus' settlement in the eighth century BC by a Roman tradition which was reluctant to contemplate the notion that the Capitol had actually been captured by the Gauls.

Further evidence of this recension of Roman history can be traced in Vergil's description of the same Gallic assault on the Shield of Aeneas. The ekphrastic narrator makes no mention of the offending Tarpeia, but that is not to say she is not in some way present on the shield: although describing the sacred geese that roused the Romans to self-defence and ultimate victory, Vergil has been variously suspected of hinting between the lines at a version of the Gallic sack in which that the Capitol did in fact fall to the invading horde:

> in summo custos **Tarpeiae** Manlius ***arcis**
> stabat pro templo et **Capitolia celsa tenebat,**
> (*)**Romuleo**que recens *horrebat* regia *culmo.*
> atque hic auratis uolitans **argenteus** anser
> porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
> Galli per *dumos* aderant **arcem**que tenebant
> defensi tenebris et dono *noctis* opacae. *Aen.* 8.652-8

Especially controversial from the point of view of a breach of Roman security is the imperfect *tenebant* (v. 658): Eden labels it as 'conative', and so avoids its problematic

[102] Hubbard (1974) 119-120.
[103] See Hollis (1970) 34 for this and other appearances of the theme in historical events.

ramifications, but Gransden acknowledges that "the usage is strange, coming as it does only four lines after *tenebat* in its normal sense of 'held', and it seems likely that this is a covert reference to the alternative version of the story, according to which the Gauls did take the Capitol."[104] Putnam suggests that Vergil here implicitly adduces Tarpeia's name in the adjective *Tarpeius* to hint at the involvement of Tarpeian treachery in this later crisis-point of Roman history.[105] Certainly Propetius' poem implies that the Capitol was taken as a result of Tarpeia's treachery (*limina capta Iouis*, 4.4.2), whenever it occurred. The clustering of a number of allusions to Vergil's ekphrasis of the Gallic sack in as many lines of Propertius 4.4 offers intertextual recognition that the Tarpeia story, as Hubbard conjectures, properly belongs to the occasion of the Gallic assault; Propertius' reception of the Shield thus endorses the less jingoistic reading of Vergil's ekphrasis offered by Putnam and Gransden:

saepe tulit blandis **argentea** lilia Nymphis,
(*)**Romula** ne faciem laederet hasta Tati:
dumque subit primo ***Capitolia** nubila fumo,
rettulit *hirsutis* bracchia secta *rubis*,
et sua **Tarpeia** residens ita fleuit ab ***arce** 4.4.25-29

Several lexical coincidences suggest that Propertius has homed in on Vergil's allusion to Tarpeia's treachery: both poets anachronistically juxtapose the Tarpeian Rock (4.4.29, *Aen.* 8.652) with the Capitol (4.4.27, *Aen.* 8.653) and draw attention to the rough undergrowth to emphasise the primitive rusticity of the scene (4.4.28, *Aen.* 8.654, 657); Romulus is mentioned retrospectively by Vergil (*Aen.* 8.654) and as a contemporary protagonist by Propertius (4.4.26); the action unfolds in both accounts by night (4.4.27, 63-5, 85-6, *Aen.* 8.658); both poets provide their only use respectively of *argenteus* (4.4.25, *Aen.* 8.655): the *argenteus anser* whose honking warns Manlius of the Gallic onslaught becomes the *argentea lilia* offered by Tarpeia as a votive to the Nymphs in exchange for their preservation of her beloved Tatius. Propertius' 'silver lilies' make for a fittingly poetic accompaniment to the suggestion of moonlight in the preceding couplet, yet there is a certain incongruity in this recasting of Vergil's "explicit evocation

[104] Eden (1975) *ad loc.*; Gransden (1976) 171; See also Woodman (1989) 139; Skutch (1953).
[105] Putnam (1998) 129.

of the metal-worker's art"[106] in the pastoral world of Tarpeia. Since the talismanic benefit of Manlius' goose is in Propertius reallocated to Rome's aggressor, the point of the allusion may be to fashion a counter-ekphrasis, an icon not of survival and supremacy, but of destruction and uncertainty. Once again we find Propertius recycling the materials of Vergil's ekphrasis to fashion his version of events. In view of Putnam's definition of the Vergilian Shield as "an icon not only of Roman splendour but also of history's repetitiveness",[107] its Propertian counterpart might be said to hijack history's repetitiveness so as to subvert Roman splendour.

The same doubts about Roman security might be raised in relation to Propertius' reworking in 4.6 of Vergil's Actium, which as Hardie observes is triumphantly prefigured on the Shield in the repulse of the Gallic invasion: "[i]t is [...] in keeping with the Virgilian schematization of history that the miraculous preservation of the Capitol, the seat of the gods, from the monstrous barbarians of the north should be a foreshadowing of the preservation of Rome through the alliance of Augustus and the gods from the barbarians of the east."[108] The superimposition of the Gallic episode upon that of Tarpeia's treachery recognises the typological interpenetrability of the events depicted on Aeneas' shield, but also discloses a pessimistic view of this cyclic historical scheme by raising the spectre of defeat which haunted the historical record. The occurrence of this disaster on Rome's birthday (4.4.73-78) reinforces the ominous idea of repeated (and repeatable) destruction: it is ironic indeed that the ktistic festivities themselves facilitate the city's downfall by providing Tarpeia with a slackly guarded city to betray:

> Romulus ex**cubias** decreuit *in otia* ***solui**
> atque intermissa castra **silere** tuba.
> hoc Tarpeia suum tempus rata conuenit hostem 4.4.79-81

---

[106] West (1975-6) 229; see also Putnam (1998) 130-131 on Vergil's *argenteus anser* as an inanimate object paradoxically taking to flight. Servius' report *ad loc.* that a commemorative silver goose was placed on the Capitol need not detract from the sense that Vergil's ekphrasis reflects the material composition of Vulcan's shield: cf. ***aurea** caesaries ollis atque **aurea** uestis* (8. 659). Even if we knew Servius to be correct, it would be sensible to admit both interpretations simultaneously (so Eden (1975) 173).

[107] Putnam (1998) 155.

[108] Hardie (1986) 124.

A reminiscence here of the slumbering Rutulians in *Aeneid* 9 perhaps recalls the infiltration and wiles to which such vulnerable camps fall prey:

> cernis quae Rutulos habeat fiducia rerum:
> lumina rara micant, *somno uinoque* ***soluti**
> pro**cubuere**, **silent** late loca [...] *Aen.* 9.188-90

Though a comparison of Propertius 4.4 and the Shield of Aeneas amplifies some disquieting details in the latter's description of the Romano-Gallic war, it is radically at variance with Vergil's take on the Romano-Sabine war, in which the mind's eye is led swiftly from the rape of the Sabine women to Tatius' subsequent war on Romulus (*subito*, *Aen.* 8.637), and thence to the reconciliation of the two sides. However, although Tarpeia is erased from this more immediately relevant passage of the Shield, its intertextual presence in 4.4 would also serve to cement the poem's conflation of discrete historical episodes and reintroduce the spectre of Tarpeia to her proper place on the Shield. Tarpeia's reference in her soliloquy to the rape of the Sabine women necessarily employs vocabulary identical to the depiction of the same act on Aeneas' shield (*raptas...Sabinas*, *Aen.* 8.635; *raptae... Sabinae*, 4.4.57), and the occurrence of Propertius' *Sabinae* in the same metrical *sedes* as Vergil's *Sabinas* cannot in itself be sufficiently remarkable to constitute an allusion. Nevertheless, the shared historical theme invites the comparison, whereupon it can be noted that both passages in their immediately preceding lines refer to the she-wolf and her suckling of Romulus (and Remus):

> o utinam magicae nossem cantamina Musae!
> haec quoque *formoso* **lingua** tulisset opem.
> te toga picta decet, non quem sine **matris** honore
> nutrit inhumanae dura ***papilla*** **lupae**.
> dic, hospes, pariamne tua regina sub aula?[109] 55
> dos tibi non humilis prodita **Roma** uenit.
> si minus, at **raptae** ne sint impune ***Sabinae**:
> me rape et alterna lege repende uices! 4.4.51-8

[109] Hutchinson's reading; cf. the similar sentiment and diction of Dido at *Aen.* 4.327-330 (esp. v. 328). Less convincingly, Barber prints *hic, hospes, patria metuar regina sub aula?*

fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in antro
procubuisse **lupam**, geminos huic ***ubera*** circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere **matrem**
impauidos, illam tereti ceruice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora *fingere* **lingua**.
nec procul hinc **Romam** et **raptas** sine more ***Sabinas**
consessu caueae, magnis Circensibus actis,
addiderat, subitoque nouum consurgere bellum
Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque seueris. *Aen.* 8. 630-8

Again, a cluster of verbal resonances (most notably *formoso lingua*, 4.4.52 ~ *fingere lingua*, *Aen.* 8.634)[110] and synonyms (*papilla*, 4.4.54 ~ *ubera*, *Aen.* 8.631) suggests that Propertius is influenced by the depiction of the *lupa* on Vergil's Shield of Aeneas. Tarpeia effectively uses Romulus' hardy upbringing as depicted on the shield to convince herself of Tatius' greater suitability as a lover: she denies the she-wolf's maternal qualities (v. 53) and declares that Romulus was nourished on the hard dug of a non-human wolf (v. 54). Yet by divorcing the feral Romulus from such trappings of civilisation as the triumphal *toga picta* (again a suitably ekphrastic object), which she treasonously claims would befit Tatius instead (v. 53), Tarpeia firstly contradicts the implicit aetiological ascription of Roman bellicosity to the lupine milk upon which the race was initially suckled, and secondly misdiagnoses the tone of the Vergilian shield (despite retaining its sequence of thought): Vergil passes uncompromisingly from the tender scene of the twins hanging playfully from their attentive mother's lupine udder to the *raptas sine more Sabinas* (*Aen.* 8. 635) and the war triggered thereby; Tarpeia, by contrast, having assured herself of Tatius' softer, more elegiac nature in contradistinction to Romulus' unfamiliarity with maternal love, invites a Sabine violence upon herself (*me rape*, v. 58). The tragic irony of this misreading of the situation (and Vergil's shield) is that Tarpeia will at the poem's close be crushed to death at Tatius' orders. It was observed in Chapter 3 that the 'Didoesque' Tarpeia is fittingly erased by Vergilina *arma* (4.4.91: see p. 87-8 above); it is tempting now to contemplate a further irony in the fact that, according to the tradition, she was crushed by the Sabines'

[110] That *fingere* and *formosus* are mutually suggestible is perhaps reflected in Aulus Gellius' anecdote (via *Vita Donati* 22) that Vergil used the metaphor of a bear licking her cubs to describe the act of poetic composition: *namque ut illa bestia fetum ineffigiatum informemque lambendoque id postea quod ita edidisset conformaret et fingeret* [...] (*NA* 17.10.2).

shields.[111] It has also been observed above that the grove in which Tarpeia conceives her fatal passion, though somewhat generic in its adherence to the requirements of the ekphrasis of a *locus amoenus*, is nevertheless similar in certain non-generic details to the grove to which Aeneas retreats prior to his presentation with the shield (pp. 84-5).

In this way, a further historical vignette from Vergil's Shield can be see to have been functionally recycled in Propertius 4.4. The intrusion of the *toga picta* into this context is another instance of the sort of anachronism that inevitably results from the interweaving of diverse historical episodes. Properly, the toga came much later, and Romulus wore only a wolf-skin (cf. 4.10.20), as Jupiter specifies in *Aeneid* 1 when he unfurls the linear destiny of the Roman race to disclose how Romulus, nurseling of the she-wolf, will take up the Trojan line and found Rome, whose toga-wearing denizens will enjoy even Juno's favour:

> inde **lupae** fuluo **nutri**cis tegmine laetus
> **Romulus** excipiet gentem et Mauortia condet
> moenia **Roma**nosque suo de nomine dicet.
> his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:
> imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,
> quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
> consilia in melius referet, mecumque fouebit
> **Roma**nos, rerum dominos gentemque **toga**tam. *Aen.* 1. 275-82

This represents the only other appearance of the she-wolf in Vergil, and the only reference to the *toga*, here correctly worn by the Romans rather than by Romulus. Propertius 4.4 is intertextual with this passage too, for both texts feature *lupae*, Romulus, and the cognates *nutricis* and *nutrit*, *togatam* and *toga*. Moreover, the ekphrasis

---

[111] Varro, *LL* 5.41 also has Tarpeia crushed *armis*. However, as Butler and Barber (1969) 350 comment, "**armis** = *scutis*; the sole trace of Tarpaia's bargain and death" (for other traces, see however vv. 21 and 32); in Livy, *arma* and *scuta* occur in quick succession: *obrutam* ***armis*** *necauere* (1.11.7); ***scuta*** *illi…congesta* (1.11.8). Cf. also Plutarch, *Rom.* 17.4; Dion. Hal. 2.40. Iconographic depictions of Tarpeia's execution (the frieze of the Basilica Aemilia and the denarii of L. Titurius Sabinus (c. 89-87 BC), *RRC* 344/2c, and P. Petronius Turpilianus (19 BC), *RIC*² 1 p. 63 no. 295) clearly show her being crushed under shields: for useful discussion and reproductions, see Evans (1992) 119-132. Both *arma* and *scuta* are intertextually functional, then, and it seems reasonable to suggest that a reader familiar with the traditional means of Tarpeia's demise will actively supply *scutis* for *armis* at 4.4.91.

of Roman history on the Shield also has identifiable verbal and thematic links with this section of Jupiter's chronologically linear prophecy.[112] Vergil thus implies that the Shield resumes *in ordine*[113] the annals (or *Annales*)[114] of Roman destiny, beginning with Romulus and culminating as it does with Augustus' victory at Actium; yet we have also seen that the Shield depends on a countervailing cyclic scheme. Propertius' synthesis in 4.4 of both Jupiter's Prophecy and the Shield of Aeneas bespeaks a recognition of Vergilian historiographical technique, but the ostensibly teleological drive of this history, though apparently endorsed by the orientation of Book 4 from the perspective of Augustan Rome (cf. 4.1.1), is tempered by his exploitation of cyclic interpenetrations which offer the potential for less favourable repetitions.

In 4.4 there is no mention of the peace which according to Vergil was negotiated between Romulus and Tatius (*Aen.* 8.639-41). Instead, Tatius appears to be gearing up for a duel akin to those discussed above in 4.10 and the *Aeneid*. His preparations (*uidit* ***haren****osis Tatium* ***proludere*** *campis*, 4.4.19) recall the simile of the bull that describes Turnus arming for battle in *Aeneid* 12 (*ad pugnam* ***proludit harena***, *Aen.* 12.101-106): *proludere* is used only here by Propertius, and just once elsewhere by Vergil, where, ostensibly to counsel farmers to guard their animals against the destructive powers of *amor*, he describes in almost identical words the duel between two bulls for lordship of the herd (*Geo.* 3.232-4).[115] Both Vergilian passages, one a military simile, the other an erotic actuality, are equally pertinent to Propertius 4.4, in which *militia* and *amor* are finally confronted as opposites rather than conflated in *militia amoris*. This georgic bullfight makes a second appearance in *Aeneid* 12 when Aeneas and Turnus finally

---

[112] *lupae* (*Aen.* 1.275) ~ *lupam* (*Aen.* 8.631); *nutricis* (*Aen.* 1.275) ~ *ubera circum* (*Aen.* 8.631); *Mavortia* (*Aen.* 1.276) ~ *Mavortis* (*Aen.* 8.630); *Romanos* (*Aen.* 1.277) ~ *Romam* (*Aen.* 8.635). On the shared historical background to Jupiter's prophecy and Aeneas' shield, see Grimal (1989).

[113] *Aen.* 8.619. Cf. Hardie (1986) 347: while chronological order is not essential in ekphrasis, it "*is* essential to create an impression of growth and expansion on both the historical and cosmic levels" (his italics).

[114] For parallels between the Shield and what is known of Ennius' *Annales*, see Eden (1975) 164-5. Servius *ad Aen.* 8.632 remarks *sane totus hic locus Ennianus est.* Ennian material has also been uncovered in Propertius 4.4 (see Boyd 1980), perhaps reflecting a recognition on Propertius' part of the annalistic nature of Vergil's Shield. On Vergil's historiographical technique in the Shield, see Woodman (1989), who argues that the chronological ordering of the images of the ekphrasis is imposed by Vergil, who thus "wishes to be recognised as writing in the manner of an historian" (132).

[115] On the relationship of these two passages, see Briggs (1980) 49-50.

come to blows and bathe each other in blood, a passage to which 4.10 has already been shown to allude (above p. 201-2): one thing that Cossus and Tolumnius, as Aeneas and Turnus, have in common with the bulls is their unwillingness to compromise. The same is true in 4.4 of Tatius and Romulus who, unlike their counterparts on Aeneas' shield, seem unwilling to settle for diarchic rule; in their case, moreover, there is further relevance in that the source of their rivalry, like that of Aeneas and Turnus and the bulls, is a female. Such at least appears to be the interpretation favoured by Tarpeia, through whom the allusion is focalised (*uidit*, 4.4.19): by casting Tatius as a Turnus-bull figure, she attempts to play the role of a Lavinia, the virtuous and chaste daughter who is to be the victor's reward and through whose willing acquiescence a treaty can be struck. Her emphatic use of words such as *dos*, *lex*, *foedus*, and cognates of *nubere* (cf. 4.4.58-60) recall the concentration in the second half of the *Aeneid* on the theme of the Aeneas-Lavinia marriage and alliance (cf. e.g. *Aen.* 12.821-2: *conubiis* [...] *leges* [...] *foedera*), which itself is an inverted repetition of the failed Dido-Aeneas alliance in *Aeneid* 1 and 4.[116] However, Tarpeia is once again misapplying Vergilian intertextuality, for she is typologically identifiable not with Lavinia, but with Dido. While she fantasises about Tatius' gallant passion for her, he harbours no such designs on her, and is at war with Romulus with the sole purpose of avenging the rape of his womenfolk.[117]

Maria Wyke finds that 4.4 "does not look forward beyond the bounds of the *Aeneid*'s fourth book," and she identifies a shift in Propertius' interest in Vergilian *Roma* in 4.1 to Vergilian *amor* in 4.4.[118] While this is broadly true, the breadth of Vergilian intertextuality in this poem suggests that Propertius is seeking to accommodate both Vergilian *Roma* (through the allusions to Jupiter's Prophecy, Aeneas' Shield and the War in Latium) and Vergilian *amor* (through the Tarpeia-Dido equation, which in any case becomes another example of the schematisation of Roman history). It is difficult to say which, if either, of these is privileged, and ultimately their interconnectedness collapses

---

[116] See Monti (1981) 83. Cf. also *Aen.* 4.213-4; 11.321-3; 11.355-6; 12.190-2; 12.314-5.

[117] The reference to Tatius' *praetoria* (4.4.31) perhaps tells us more about his priorities, and his prospects, if it echoes Vergil's only use of the word, again in the *Georgics* (4.75: see p. 227 below): there the bees swarm in battle formation about their king and his *praetoria* to oust his inferior rival, for like the bulls they too know no compromise. Like Tatius, but unlike the rival bulls, the bees are not subject to *amor*, and are motivated instead by a sense of civic duty; and perhaps Tatius, like the king bee, had a better chance to oust his rival than the official histories record.

[118] Wyke (1987) 164.

the polarity: in a cyclic, schematised history interpenetrated by recurring archetypal figures, Tarpeia's passion for Tatius and the threat posed to Rome thereby become a repetition of Dido's passion for Aeneas, and a further, failed or inverted repetition of the virtuous Lavinia's place in history as the general's daughter over whom Trojans and Italians went to war.

The Making and Breaking of Nations (4.1, 4.4, and 4.10)

heu Veii ueteres

The view of history as a sequence of fundamentally similar episodes must necessarily accept as an inevitable consequence of its own logic the replication of the same patterns into the future. This extrapolation also holds in the parallel field of aetiology, which would not be ill-defined as the repetition of (some version of) the past in the present.[119] Annette Harder has shown that the end of Callimachus' *Aetia* moots the concept of "the present as the past of the future" as the culmination of a generally positive view of time's progress towards ever increasing civilisation.[120] The *Aeneid*, too, can be seen to subscribe to an equivalent view, but any straightforwardly 'optimistic' reading is fraught with obfuscation of the counterargument, with the end of the epic in particular standing as a locus of disputable (and disputed *ad infinitum*) amelioration.[121] Contrary to the progressive teleology apparently offered by Callimachus' *Aetia*, then, the duel of Aeneas and Turnus in *Aeneid* 12, recast by Propertius in 4.10, and the dubious military successes presented on Aeneas' Shield, represented yet more dubiously in Propertius 4.4, set an ominous precedent within a historical scheme based on cyclic repetitiveness: if Rome fared less well against the Sabines and Gauls than previously acknowledged, how secure, for example, is the new Golden Age which attended the aftermath of the Battle of Actium? The destruction and foundation of cities is an essential theme of the *Aeneid*:[122] as the *aition* for Trojan Rome, the epic encapsulates through a mixture of analepsis and prolepsis both the destruction of Troy (ironically related to Dido during

---

[119] The same could also be said for etymological aetiology (cf. O'Hara (1996) 104).
[120] Harder (2003) 302 and *passim*.
[121] Contrast e.g. Galinsky (1988) and Putnam (1995) 152-171.
[122] See Morewood (1991).

her foundation of Carthage) and the foundation and re-foundation of Rome under Romulus and Augustus respectively, not to mention the *ktiseis* of numerous other Trojan settlements in the Mediterranean. The *periegesis* of *Aeneid* 8 interposes, along its rustic itinerary through proto-Rome, anachronistic glimpses of the Augustan city with an archaeological survey of the monuments of bygone ages (*reliquias ueterumque uides monumenta uirorum*, *Aen.* 8.336); similarly, during his tour of the underworld in *Aeneid* 6, Aeneas learns of the sequence of cities, culminating in Rome, to be founded by his descendents: after **Alba** Longa (v. 770)

> hi tibi Nomentum et **Gabios urbem**que **Fidenam**,
> hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
> Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque;
> haec *tum nomina erunt*, *nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.* *Aen.* 6.773-6

The irony of this list is that each of these places had by Vergil's day ceased to command the awe accorded to them by Anchises. As Feeney has observed, the words *tum nomina* play ironically on the name of Nomentum, which in the high Empire became "a by-word for an out of the way backwater":[123] while for Aeneas Nomentum was 'a name to be', to Vergil's reader it truly was 'a nameless place'. Yet in a cyclic rather than teleological reading of history, this reflection on the rise and fall of cities also implies that Nomentum might enjoy ascendancy again, and that, conversely, Rome herself, despite her present grandeur, is not immune to time's vicissitudes.

Propertius, at any rate, would appear to gesture towards such an interpretation of the *Aeneid*. It has been argued above that the opening poem of Book 4 reworks the scenario of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 to link the rise of Rome's fortunes to the decline of Propertius' Umbrian homeland (pp. 81-2). In the same poem, Propertius includes a roll-call of towns in Rome's hinterland which, as Camps observes, were all "later extinct or reduced to mere hamlets":[124]

> quippe suburbanae parua minus **urbe** Bouillae
> et, *qui* ***nunc*** *nulli*, *maxima turba* **Gabi**.

[123] Feeney (1986) 7-8. See also O'Hara (1996) 177.
[124] Camps 55.

et stetit **Alba** potens, albae suis omine nata,
ac tibi **Fidenas** longa erat isse uia. 4.1.33-6

The Vergilian resonance is unmistakable. Gabii and Fidenae feature only here in Vergil and Propertius, and their occurrence in close proximity in each case secures the allusion; the thematic context is equally close, with Propertius' *nunc nulli, maxima turba* rephrasing Vergil's *tum nomina...nunc sine nomine*, while a possible allusion in *maxima turba* to those slain for adultery in Vergil's underworld (*maxima turba*, *Aen.* 6.611) anchors the defunct Gabians in the relevant book of the *Aeneid*.

Although 4.1 orients itself from the reverse temporal perspective to Anchises' prophecy by looking backwards in time, it is by now clear that Propertius recognised Vergilian chronology as a cyclic as much as a linear scheme, with the result that the once *maxima turba* of Gabii can easily be seen to presage the fate of the *maxima Roma* of 4.1.1, a connection aided by the intervening description of Romulus' original settlement, though primitive, as *maxima regna* (4.1.10). Indeed, Propertius' inversion of the *Aeneid*'s temporality could itself be said to enter into (rather than to miss) the dialogue which the Vergilian passage invites.[125] Further evidence of this may be seen in an allusion (underlined) to the same passage in 4.10.[126] Once again Propertius is contrasting past and present: the Rome of Cossus' era[127] had not extended her campaigns beyond the Tiber:

Cossus at insequitur Veientis caede Tolumni,
uincere cum Veios posse laboris erat;
necdum ultra Tiberim belli sonus, ultima praeda
Nomentum et captae iugera terna Corae.
heu Vei ueteres! et *uos tum regna fuistis*,
et uestro posita est aurea sella foro:
nunc intra muros pastoris bucina ***lenti***
cantat, et in uestris **ossibus arua** metunt. 4.10.23-30

---

[125] See, however, Jenkyns (1998) 611, quoted p. 29 above.
[126] The connection (though excluding the Vergilian intertextuality) between 4.10 and 4.1 is noted by Rothwell (1996) 850, Janan (2001) 198, and Welch (2005) 167-170.
[127] Worried historians often transpose 4.10.25-6, which render Cossus' Rome anachronistically underdeveloped, to follow v. 22 and so refer to Romulus' more primitive era (so Barber's *OCT*). That this would disrupt the continuity of the allusion highlighted here might be taken to vindicate its retention by Camps 150 *ad loc.*

The references to Nomentum and Cora select the first and the last mentioned backwaters from Anchises' underworld prophecy: as there, Nomentum and her counterparts are effectively 'nameless', though not because they have yet to ascend, but because they have already fallen to Rome. But it is for 'Veii of yore' that Propertius reserves full articulation of this theme (vv. 27-30): apostrophising the town itself, Propertius transposes the cerebral irony of *Aeneid* 6 into the pathos of elegy: Vergil's *tum nomina...nunc sine nomine* is amplified into a contrast between a kingdom (*tum regna*), which once enjoyed the trappings of civilisation and empire (v. 28), and its ruined walls (*nunc intra muros...*), home now to a solitary shepherd who, perhaps like Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 (***lentus*** *in umbra*, *Ecl.* 1.4 ~ *pastoris...**lenti***, 4.10.29) or his dispossessed companion (*dulcia linquimus **arva***, *Ecl.* 1.3 ~ ***arva*** *metunt [sc. alii]*, 4.10.30), makes pastoral song. His *bucina* recalls the one which summoned the agro-pastoral *prisci Quirites* of 4.1 to parley (4.1.13), a passage which alludes to the scene in *Aeneid* 7 where Allecto perverts the same bucolic symbol into a clarion with which to summon the *prisci Quirites* conversely into battle (see pp. 70-71 above). As in 4.1, then, Propertius restores this bucolic symbol to its indigenous context, except here he does so only *after* the havoc of war. While elegies 4.1, 4.4 and 4.9 were seen to follow Vergil in presenting the collapse of the pastoral world under the pressure of Rome's expansion, here Veii has suffered a reversal of her fortunes, and has ceded her forum and golden throne to a rustic wilderness.[128] Propertius thus continues his reflections on the transience of empire by tracing the inverse evolutions of Rome and Veii, the former from the primitive rusticity of Romulus' time to Augustan superpower, the latter from sophisticated civilisation back to anonymous rusticity.[129]

In Veii's chilling return to an agro-pastoral economy, the farmers of the present plough over the bones of the burghers of the past (*in uestris **ossibus** arua metunt*, v. 30), an image which brings to mind the end of *Georgics* 1, where the farmers of the future will unearth the rusting weapons and bones of the soldiers of the present who fell at

[128] It is perhaps worth observing that a ***sella regni*** features among the riches pledged by Latinus in his treaty with Aeneas (*Aen.* 11.334, *sella* occurring only here in Vergil).
[129] For a slightly different view of the role of nature here and in Propertius 4 generally, see Rothwell (1996) 845-53.

Philippi (*grandiaque effossis mirabitur* ***ossa*** *sepulcris*, *Geo.* 1.496).[130] Propertius 4.10 and *Georgics* 1 thus occupy a single timeline which illustrates that the effect of past Roman militarism is no different to that of the present and will be no different to that of the future. In this way, Propertius offers a disquieting reading of the end of *Georgics* 1 by suggesting a cyclic interchange of foundation and destruction in which the focus is on the disadvantages for the defeated rather than on the advantages for the survivors. The sympathetic treatment of Veii thus challenges the means by which Roman peace is achieved (i.e. *pax paritur bellis*) and exposes the Augustan Golden Age for what it is: a post-apocalyptic Arcadia created through desertification. Not idly, therefore, does Propertius' description of Romulus as a rustic soldier (*fuit aptus* ****aratris***, | *et* ***galea*** *hirsuta compta lupina iuba*, 4.10.19-20) equip him both with the weapons which Vergil's future farmers find and the farming implements with which they find them (*agricola incuruo terram molitus* ****aratro*** | *... aut grauibus rastris* ***galeas*** *pulsabit inanis*, *Geo.* 1.494-6, and note the prayer specifically to Romulus (*et al.*) from v. 498). In the figure of Rome's founder (and precursor of Rome's second founder), Propertius brings together the agricultural and martial skills which in a true Golden Age cannot coexist, and thus invokes the "unsettling suggestion" detected by Monica Gale in the parallel finale of *Georgics* 2 that it is precisely the bellicose toughness of the seemingly peaceable farmers of old to which Rome owes her present *imperium*.[131] There, *caesi iuuenci* (*Geo.* 2.537) signal the definitive end of the Golden Age; here, the fashioning of Romulus' sword-belt from *caesi boues* (4.10.24) might denote his own decidedly postlapsarian estate.

Propertius 4.10 thus shares with the *Georgics* both a yearning for a Golden Age, but also the disillusion that in this Golden Age lurk the seeds of its own perversion. 4.10 documents expansion and desertification/'rurification' as a reciprocating partnership of all eras in Roman history: from proto-Roman *rus* sprouted a Roman *urbs* which, with ominous implications for her own future, transforms other *urbes* back into *rura*. In this way, Propertius resists the teleological trajectory of Roman history ostensibly constructed by his elegy by suggesting a cyclic, anti-teleological scheme which is as applicable to Rome as it is to Veii. Veii's interchangeability with other civilisations is

---

[130] The parallel is noted by Hutchinson *ad loc.*, and (in passing) by Lucot (1961) 66; Welch (2005) 153; Ingleheart (2007) 73 n.48.

[131] For this "unsettling suggestion", see Gale (2000) 247.

underscored by an echo in *regna* ***fuistis*** (4.10.27) to Aeneas' acceptance of Troy's relegation to the past (***fuimus*** *Troes,* ***fuit*** *Ilium et ingens | gloria Teucrorum*, *Aen.* 2.325-6), a passage to which Propertius more obviously alludes in the Romulus-Acron duel of the same poem (pp. 205) and, in a more metapoetic context, in the fall of Cynthia's erotic dominion in 4.7 (pp. 152). Given Rome's own designation as a second Troy in both the *Aeneid* and Propertius (cf. 4.1.47, 87), we are invited again to wonder whether Rome too may suffer the fate she here inflicts on Veii (for the inevitable answer to which, see the reflections of Gibbon on p. 66 n.61 above).

Further interpenetration is to be observed in the fact that Propertius has deviated from the historical record by transposing the siege of Veii, which took place in 406-396 BC (see Livy 4.31), onto Cossus' duel with Tolumnius in 428 BC, which according to Livy (4.17-20) took place not at Veii, but at Fidenae. For Lucot, the effect of this "transposition poétique" is to exalt Cossus' victory by association with a moment of greater historical import: "Properce, au mépris de la chronologie, pour une sorte de grandissement, place la scène à un moment plus marquant et plus glorieux de l'histoire de Rome, à la fin du long siège de Véies".[132] Hutchinson similarly notes that Fidenae is forgotten, and suggests that Propertius "deliberately conflates events, in order to dwell on the fall of Rome's one-time rival Veii".[133] Indeed, as in the Vergilian passage to which these lines allude, Fidenae, having been erased from the historical record, is quite literally *sine nomine*. Only knowledge of the (e.g. Livian or Vergilian) historical record will guarantee Fidenae's survival *sous rature*. At the same time, by suggesting in this way the interchangeability of Veii and Fidenae, Propertius reinforces the central idea that a civilisation's rise and fall is an indiscriminate typological pattern to which not even Rome can consider herself immune. Veii's fate, in other words, could also be Rome's: Livy 5 records that it nearly was, for Rome almost relocated to, precisely, Veii after being brought to the brink of annihilation by the Gauls in 390 BC after the defeat at the river Allia; it is this *dies atra* that lurks behind the *limina capta* of Propertius 4.4, a resonance that belies the poem's transposition of Tarpeia to the mythical Sabine war (so also Livy 1.11), and reveals her erased presence in the relevant vignette on the Shield of Aeneas.

---

[132] Lucot (1961) 61-2.
[133] Hutchinson 23-38n.

Bees, *bougonia*, and *sphragis*

The *nunc-tum* juxtapositions of 4.1, 4.4 and 4.10 thus offer a more reflective and ambiguous view of Rome's development than a straightforward rise from pastoral simplicity to epic grandeur: they speak of cities falling as much as of cities rising. Accordingly, the view over Rome offered by the opening elegy takes in not only Aeneas' *periegesis* through proto-Rome in *Aeneid* 8 (pp. 64-6 above), but also the sight in *Aeneid* 1 of Dido's Carthage, a city more obviously destined for destruction. From the vantage point of a hill over the rising city (*iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi | imminet, Aen.* 1.419), Aeneas marvels at the present size of what were once mere huts (*magalia quondam*, v. 422) and witnesses the birth of political and cultural institutions:

> iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque **senatum**.[134]
> hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta ***theatris**
> fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
> rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris. *Aen.* 1.426-9

Propertius 4.1 assumes a similar vantagepoint,[135] contrasts the simple housing of the past with its grander equivalent in the present (4.1.6, 10), imagines nascent civic institutions, and notes, conversley, that in the more austere proto-Rome the theatre has yet to be invented:

> bucina cogebat priscos ad uerba Quiritis:
> centum illi in prato saepe **senatus** erat.
> nec sinuosa cauo pendebant uela ***theatro**,
> pulpita sollemnis *non* ***oluere*** *crocos*. 4.1.13-16

The absence of the scented theatre from the austerity of the proto-Roman state discreetly inverts the conclusion of the ensuing simile in *Aeneid* 1, in which the industrious Carthaginians are likened to bees, busy with the *labor* of building and protecting their hive (*Aen.* 1.430-436): whereas the bees' honey is scented with thyme,

---

[134] This allusion might militate against Campbell's transposition of *Aen.* 1.426 to follow v. 368. The anaphora of *senatus* in 4.1.11 also replicates its Vergilian *sedes*.
[135] For an attempt to pinpoint the location on the Capitoline (with other locations also considered), see Van Sickle (1974-1975) 127-9.

there were no saffron-reeking stages in early Rome (*pulpita sollemnis non* ***oluere*** *crocos ≠ red****olent****que thymo fraglantia mella*, *Aen.* 1.436). The absence specifically of saffron infers a lack of oriental decadence: in *Aeneid* 9, Remulus Numanus lambastes the Phrygian invaders for wearing *picta* ***croco****...uestis* (*Aen.* 9.614, also a passage of significance for 4.1: see pp. 74-5 and 77 above); it may also be of relevance to Propertius 4.1.16 that Vergil's only other use of *crocus* occurs in his treatment of apiculture in the *Georgics* (*Geo.* 4.182), a passage which the bee similes of the *Aeneid* de-allegorise as "a powerful image for the traditional Roman state, in its impersonal and collective character".[136] In that passage, *crocus* is sublimated as the food on which the exhausted worker bees revivify themselves at the day's end. As with the allusion in 4.10 to the duelling bulls of *Aeneid* 12 and *Georgics* 3, the intertextual bees that hover in the background to 4.1 may be freighted with implications for interpretation: this cross-pollination between *Georgics* 4, *Aeneid* 1 and 9, and Propertius 4.1 might imply that the early Romans imagined in 4.1 differed from their Tyrian and later Roman counterparts at least in one regard, namely their unfamiliarity with luxury and corruption, as signalled by the absence of a theatre that reeks specifically of saffron.

The description of proto-Rome at 4.4.9-16, which reworks that of the introductory elegy (see p. 85 above), also features an allusion to Dido's Carthage (thereby complementing the intratextual links between 4.1 and 4.4 and their respective intertextuality with *Aeneid* 1). When Venus describes the flight of Dido to the place where Aeneas now sees her new city rising, she makes a past-present juxtaposition of the kind found in *Aeneid* 8 and Propertius 4.1 and 4.4:

> deuenere locos ***ubi nunc** ingentia cernis
> *moenia* surgentemque nouae Karthaginis *arcem *Aen.* 1.365-6
>
> atque **ubi nunc** terris dicuntur iura subactis,
> stabant Romano pila Sabina Foro.
> *murus* erant montes: ***ubi nunc** est Curia saepta,
> bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat equus. 4.4.11-14

[136] Griffin (1985) 173, with further bibliography. See further Nelis (1992) for the transposition of the narrative/metaphor of *Georgics* 4 into the simile of *Aeneid* 1. For ways in which the bees are also unlike humans, see Gale (2000) 227-9.

ubi nunc occurs only here in Propertius; its anaphora replicates in the second instance its Vergilian *sedes* at *Aen.* 1.365, and advertises an allusion to Dido's Carthage that complements the many other parallels between Tarpeia and the doomed queen (see pp. 124-131 above). As Aeneas marvels at the Carthaginian construction site, he counts as fortunate those whose walls now rise (*'o fortunate, quorum iam moenia surgunt!'*, *Aen.* 1.437), a confidence on the Carthaginians' behalf that is wholly (if not so sorely) misplaced. Yet the interpenetration of Rome and Carthage in Propertius 4.4 extends the ominous implications to Rome herself.

Similarly, the presence of precisely the same passage (as underlined) behind Propertius' insistent references in 4.1 to the rise of Rome (and the tandem rise of his Roman elegies and native Assisi) might suggest a less reassuring view of Roman expansion:[137]

> *scand*entis quisquis cernit de uallibus *arces,
> ingenio *muros* aestimet ille meo!
> Roma, faue, tibi surgit opus [...] 4.1.65-7

In a cyclic historical scheme, can Propertius' confidence in the rise of Assisi, Rome, and his Roman elegies enjoy the assurance of a durability greater than that ascribed to Carthage in *Aeneid* 1? Horos' intervention in 4.1b provides one answer to that question.

Aeneas' misplaced *makarismos* of Carthage follows the aforementioned bee simile, of which Propertius' *non oluere crocos* is faintly redolent. There is otherwise no precise allusion in Propertius 4.1 to the bee simile, but the non-allegorical treatise on apiculture in *Georgics* 4, from which *crocos* is arguably derived, is quarried with infinite subtlety: like Dido's workers, Propertius' proto-Roman *Quirites* (***priscos...Quiritis***, 4.1.13) de-allegorise their apian counterparts in the *Georgics* (***patuosque Quirites***, *Geo.* 4.201), but appropriately retain their sense of civic responsibility (cf. 4.1.11-14; *Geo.* 4.153-169 and 202-205), their rustic habitat (their assembly ***in prato*** (4.1.14) might recall the ghosts which flit around the river Lethe like bees ***in pratis*** (*Aen.* 6.707)) and, insofar as 4.1

[137] Poetry as construction in Propertius: Macleod (1976) 143-4.

endorses Vergil's erasure of females from early Rome (see Chapter 3), their freedom from the tyranny of *amor* (a vice taken over by Evander's kine, if the text is secure: *Evandri profugae* ***concubuere*** *boues*, 4.1.4; cf. *neque* ***concubitu*** *indulgent*, *Geo.* 4.198).[138] One Propertian stone here kills two Vergilian birds, for the *prisci Quirites* also owe something to Vergil's only other use of *Quirites* at *Aen.* 7.710, where the Latin rustics are swarming for battle (see above pp. 70-1 and 221).[139] In 4.1, however, the *bucina* summons the *rustica* ***corda*** (4.1.12) of the earliest senators to parley, an inversion both of *Aeneid* 7 and what may sometimes happen in the hive when, with a clarion-like din, the *trepidantia...* ***corda*** of the bees sally forth to war (*Geo.* 4.69-72).[140] However, Propertius' early Romans soon follow the bees into the fray:

> (*)**miscebant** usta proelia nuda sude.
> prima galeritus posuit ***praetoria** Lycmon 4.1.28-9
>
> et circa regem atque ipsa ad ***praetoria** densae
> (*)**miscentur** magnisque uocant clamoribus hostem. *Geo.* 4.75-6

Propertius here follows Vergil in sense as well as *sedes* for, just as the bees rally to their king's defence against his rival, so does the Etruscan captain Lycmon succour Romulus against the Sabine king Tatius;[141] *praetoria*, a *hapax legomenon* in Vergil, occurs elsewhere in Propertius only at 4.4.31, further securing the Vergilian focus shared by 4.1 and 4.4, and perhaps (since it now belongs to Tatius: see p. 84 n.104 and p. 217 n.117 above) suggesting with them a less stable vision of Roman security.

It has been argued that the *bucina* and *usta sudis* in this passage have been functionally drawn from Vergil's description of the mustering Latin farmers at *Aeneid* 7.519-524 (see pp. 70-1 above); moreover, their occurrence in the context of an allusion to the

---

[138] Barber's *OCT* reads *procubuere*; the less often favoured (though majority MSS) reading *concubuere* gives the animals an anthropomorphic touch reminiscent of Vergil's cattle at *Geo.* 3.130 (*ubi* ***concubitus*** *primos iam nota uoluptas | sollicitat*): see Thomas *ad loc.* for Vergil's novel application of this word to animals.

[139] Thomas (1988) 160 sees a reminiscence of the bees' swarming *Aeneid* 7.585 when the Latins are preparing for war.

[140] The use of *cor* in this quasi-metonymical way is unusual. Camps 51 *ad loc.* compares *Aen.* 10.87 (*cur grauidam bellis urbem et corda aspera temptas?*), but *rustica* might be intended to specify a more georgic intertext.

[141] See the extensive note of Camps 54 *ad loc.*

Carthaginian construction site in *Aeneid* 1 also reveals the signature of Propertius' exhaustive tracking of the intratextual association in the *Aeneid* between the construction and destruction of cities, for Vergil's only other use of *bucina* occurs at *Aeneid* 11.475 (in the same *sedes* as at 4.1.13) where, in preparation for imminent siege, the Rutulians dig trenches in front of their gates and carry up rocks and (once again) stakes (*praefodiunt alii portas aut saxa* ***sudes****que* | *subuectant*, *Aen.* 11.473). Propertius does not replicate this last phrase, but it is a clear inversion of the peacetime construction of Carthage witnessed in *Aeneid* 1 (*pars…subuoluere saxa… portus alii effodiunt*, *Aen.* 1.423-7) to which 4.1 otherwise does allude. In the description of Rome's beginnings in 4.1, therefore, there is a phantom allusion to the destruction of Latium in *Aeneid* 11 via the mirror destruction of Carthage in *Aeneid* 4: as in 4.10, the *bucina* heralds a chorus of further voices which insinuate that the birth of the eternal city is twinned not only with that of the doomed Carthage, but with the death of Latinus' city too.

In the context of a universally experienced and cyclical 'making and breaking of nations', the allusions to Vergil's bees represent an especially apposite intertext. Monica Gale has shown how the death of the beehive in *Georgics* 4 and its subsequent rebirth from the decomposing corpse of a slaughtered and pummelled ox (*caesis…iuuencis*, *Geo.* 4.284) embodies the georgic cycle of birth and death.[142] The violent yet restorative practice of *bougonia* is thus the georgic equivalent of the mutually reciprocating urbanisation and desertification suggested by the references in 4.1 and 4.10 to cities whose heyday was curbed by the rise of Rome. The interchangeability of Troy, Carthage, Fidenae, Veii, and Rome in this interpenetrative cycle has its counterpart in the fact that, as Gale observes, "[t]he *bougonia* does not really bring [the bees] back to life: rather, it *substitutes* a new hive […] one group of bees is *interchangeable* with another."[143]

Llewelyn Morgan equates the ugly and guilt-ridden yet paradoxically restorative sacrifice of the ox in *Georgics* 4 with Rome's civil wars, a sequence of internecine bloodshed

[142] Gale (2000) 56, 231, 269, and Chapter 1 *passim* on the cycle of birth and death in the *Georgics*.
[143] Gale (2000) 184 (my emphasis).

which was yet a prerequisite for the restoration of social order:[144] put reductively, the Egyptian *bougonia* has its counterpart in the necessary evil of Actium. The *icta iuuenca* (4.6.2) with which Propertius introduces his Actian elegy thus makes a fitting prelude to the battle itself as a repellent act which nevertheless permits the poem's (ostensibly) celebratory conclusion. Within a wider intertextual framework, this imagery may be part of an Actian representative strategy that had as its epicentre the very monument commemorated in elegy 4.6, the architectural complex of Palatine Apollo, where internecine bloodshed and animal sacrifice constituted an iconographic centrepiece, as we know from Propertius 2.31.[145] On a literary level, the sacrificial imagery in the programmatic opening of 4.6 is also (and perhaps most immediately) connected with the act of writing poetry and with poetic inspiration itself: here Propertius sets out to write a vatic elegy (*uates*, 4.6.1) worthy of his elevated theme. The literary and ideological implications of this imagery do not operate in isolation of one another, however: just as the *bougonia* in *Georgics* 4 brings the didactic poet closer to both the subject matter and stylistic register of his next epic project, so too might the sacrifice and ensuing description of Actium in 4.6 be seen to have a regenerative effect on Propertian elegy as well as on Rome. Thus, in sacerdotal guise, the poet announces that elegy now embarks on a *nouum iter* (4.6.10); at the close of the poem, it would appear that the Battle of Actium has provided Propertius' literary circle with new martial themes to sing, and a conducive environment in which to sing them (4.6.77-86).

The final lines of the elegy, however, make it clear that the political and poetic implications of the theme are in confrontation – with each other, with the poet, and with the reader. Crassus is asked to rejoice ***nigras***...*inter* ***harenas*** (4.6.83), a phrase which recalls the provenance of the Vergilian *bougonia* from where the Nile *Aegyptum* ***nigra*** *fecundat* ***harena*** (*Geo.* 4.291).[146] As well as giving rise to *bougonia*,[147] then, the

---

[144] Morgan (1999) 105-149. See also Nelis (1992) 15f. on the regeneration of Aristaeus' bees as an allegory for the renewal promised the Roman race by Octavian's victory at Actium. For parallels between the bee-war, the storm, and civil war within the *Georgics*, see Gale (2000) 267-9.

[145] See further Platner-Ashby (1926) 7. That Vergil specifies the sacrifice of four oxen in Aristaeus' inaugural *bougonia* (*Geo.* 4.538, 550: *quattuor...tauros*) suggests a link with the iconographic programme of the *area Apollinis* in front of the temple of Palatine Apollo, where there was an altar around which stood sculpted sacrificial oxen, four in number (Propertius 2.31.7-8: *quattuor...boues*).

[146] This Vergilian passage, which itself admits of a metapoetic reading (see pp. 45-6 above), offers other lexical similarities with 4.6 (***luxit*** *in* ***obliquam*** *ter sinuata facem*, 4.6.30 ~ *quattuor a uentis*

fructifying properties of the Egyptian river have infused Romano-Alexandrian elegy and nourished its growth beyond the poet's conception of Callimacheanism hitherto (as also in 4.9: see pp. 45-6 above): the assertion at the end of this hymn to Apollo that it is now permissible to *ire per Euphraten* (4.6.84) is apparently celebrative, but it also pointedly overturns the close of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, where, metapoetically speaking, a fountain's spray is ranked as a preferable kind of poetry to the silted Assyrian river. Although having commenced 4.6 with the pure water of cerebral Callimacheanism (*et Cyrenaeas urna ministret aquas*, 4.6.4; *spargite me lymphis*, 4.6.7),[148] the Callimachus Romanus concludes in the unCallimachean context of wine-drinking poets (*uina funduntur prelis elisa Falernis*, 4.6.73; *sic noctem patera, sic ducam carmine, donec | iniciat radios in mea uina dies*, 4.6.85-6), having in the interim surrendered to Bacchic inspiration and its epic poetics (4.6.75-6).[149]

While ostensibly celebratory of Actium, therefore, and at ease with the oxymoronically Bacchic form of Callimacheanism envisaged at 4.1.59-64,[150] it is difficult not to sense in the crepuscular conclusion of 4.6 the gloomier note of despondency detected by many critics: as with sacrifice and *bougonia*, there lingers a residual trace of regret as the poet contemplates, both poetically and politically, whether the end justified the means. Now composing war-poetry as Augustus triumphs in the East (4.6.81-2), Propertius does not seem to enjoy the apparent detachment claimed in the *sphragis* of the *Georgics* where, in contradistinction to Caesar, who *ad altum | fulminat Euphraten* (*Geo.* 4.560-1), Vergil reaffirms his (albeit temporary) status as an agro-pastoral singer with a recapitulation of the opening line of his first *Eclogue*. It is well known that Vergil's positioning of

---

obliqua luce *fenestras*, *Geo.* 4.298; *tigna*, 4.6.50 ~ *tignis*, *Geo.* 4.307 (only here in Vergil); **Parthum*, 4.6.79 ~ **Parthi*, *Geo.* 4.314) and 4.9 (see p. 45-6).

[147] On the aptness of the *bougonia*'s origins on the Nile, see Morgan (1999) 134-149.

[148] See Pillinger (1969) 198: "if we admit that for the general shape and artistic conception of this poem Propertius appears likely to have found a pattern in the Callimachean hymn, it seems equally plausible that he intended to reproduce in some manner the famous σφραγίς of Callimachus – not at the conclusion of the poem, however, but at the beginning."

[149] It is accepted that the opposition between Callimachean water-drinking and non-Callimachean wine-drinking poets was developed at least in the reception of Callimachean poetics (see Knox (1985)) if not in Callimachus himself, as Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 448-449 prefer, but as Cameron (1995) 364-366 prefers not; see however Murray (2004) 212-214 (building on work by Müller) for a convincing demonstration that the opposition is operative in Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* (I thank Dr M. Cuypers for this reference).

[150] See Gale (2007) 71-2 for a similar collapsing of the water-wine (and *ars-ingenium*) dichotomy in Lucretius.

Euphraten six lines from the end of the poem, as also in *Georgics* 1 and *Aeneid* 8, replicates its position at the end of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*[151] (also a passage which, intriguingly, contains bee-symbolism). Propertius does not follow this numeration, but his positioning of *Euphraten* three lines from the end of the elegy may recognise its position three lines from the end of the shield ekphrasis in *Aeneid* 8, the physicality of which we have already seen him replicate in this poem. As Apollo doffs his armour (4.6.70) and Aeneas dons his (*Aen.* 8.731), we might begin to wonder how sincerely Propertius is rejoicing with the dead Crassus (***gaude**, Crasse, nigras si quid sapis inter harenas*, 4.6.83) in the assurances brought by the *pax Augusta*, for he has exposed the artefact in which Aeneas ignorantly rejoices (*rerumque ignarus imagine* ***gaudet***, *Aen.* 8.730) as an icon of cyclic destruction and reconstruction, the two extremes which, as the *Georgics* teach us, are inextricably interrelated.

*****

This analysis suggests that Propertius' historical elegies expose an alternative perspective on the apparent certainties of Roman history. Despite the epic pretension which these elegies advertise, they retain an affinity with the genre's more familiar stance of resistance. That this close reworking of epic often colludes with Vergilian themes already conducive to this agenda suggests, in a way to be explored further in the next chapter, that Propertius 4 adopts an elegiac approach to reading Vergil. In replicating the physicality of the Shield of Aeneas, 4.6 illustrates to good effect how Propertius 4 strives to set the elegiac and epic genres on a par in this way.

In the *Aeneid*, the schematic strategy of the Shield of Aeneas is such that it operates as an emblem of all Roman history and of the *Aeneid* itself; unlike Vergil's artefact, however, Propertius 4.6 does not constitute such a *mise en abyme* of the poetry book in which it is embedded. Rather, it might be accorded the status granted to the song of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, which, as Lucien Dällenbach explains, is not properly *en abyme* since it does not reflect the *Odyssey*, but rather has the ambition to become a separate and complete epic, namely the *Iliad*, thus exalting to the status of that *maius*

[151] See Scodel and Thomas (1984) 339: "the programmatic passage is a natural object for such a delicate allusion".

opus both its embedding work and its creator, Homer.[152] Similarly, Propertius 4.6 can be seen as a homage to Vergil's Shield, and it exalts elegy to an equivalent, coextensive status; the same process, of course, cannot avoid the consequence of simultaneously demoting epic from its generic pole position, or knocking it from its pedestal. This reciprocity is a potential latent in any allusive engagement, but the intertextual levels at which 4.6 operates make for a particularly competitive interaction. As Stephen Hinds has shown, when an allusion is exactly identical to the text to which it alludes, it is no longer an allusion, but a quotation – text rather than intertext.[153] 4.6 achieves this on a 'spatial' rather than textual level, as perhaps in Borges' *Del rigor en la ciencia*, where a zeal for cartographical exactitude leads to the generation of a map of the Empire on a scale of 1:1, with the result that the distinction between the map and the mapped is collapsed. Propertius 4.6 attempts to replicate the central panel of the Vergilian Shield in a similar way, and cannot therefore be its miniature version, or a *mise en abyme*, whatever it may suggest about Propertius' wider agenda in this book. That role, as the next chapter will argue, is played by Vertumnus.

---

[152] Dällenbach (1989) 86-7.

[153] Hinds (1998) 120 explains in Contean terms that, as an analogical figure, "an allusive relationship [...] is built upon a perception of similarity and a perception of difference [...] If difference completely crowds out similarity, the figure vanishes – end of intertextual story. If similarity completely crowds out difference, the intertextual relationship moves from a partial and figural iteration to repetition *pure and simple*."

CHAPTER 5

tot in uno corpore formae: Vergilian structures in Propertius 4

> "The design or intention of the author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of a work of literary art." [1]

In search of structure

SOMETIMES, remarkable coincidences of theme and structure can be discerned between works of art which, in every other respect, are unrelated. A case in point is Propertius 4 and Shostakovich's Fourteenth Symphony (Op. 135), premiered in Leningrad, as it then was, in 1969. The qualities that earned the symphony its cool reception (though not official condemnation) from the Soviet authorities are those which lead musicologists now to acclaim the work as one of the composer's most deeply-felt and significant creations: in this his penultimate symphony, the ailing Shostakovich abandoned the conventional four-movement symphonic format to score for small orchestral and vocal forces a total of eleven poems, each on the subject of premature death, from the works of Lorca, Apollinaire, Küchelbecker, and Rilke. The lament of a suicide for her beloved or of a girl for a young soldier awaiting death in the trench are redolent of the Propertian themes discussed in Chapter 3 above; politically, an anti-Augustan reading of Propertius 4 might find a fitting analogy in the view that the poems selected by Shostakovich for the symphony bear some parallel to the composer's struggle with an oppressive regime:[2] Stahl's assessment of Propertian elegy as "the last, though weak, bastion of the individual for defending himself against the homogenizing forces of an authoritarian rule" is comparable to Solomon Volkov's controversial presentation of Shostakovich as a secret dissident;[3] thirdly, if there were plausible grounds for positing

---

[1] W. R. Wimsatt and Monroe Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry* (1954) 3.

[2] See e.g. Wilson (1994) 411: "through careful ordering of the texts, the composer conveys a specific message of protest at the arbitrary power exercised by dictators in sending the innocent to their deaths."

[3] Stahl (1985) 147 and Volkov (2004) and (1979) xxi: "Whether consciously or not, Shostakovich became the second (Mussorgsky was the first) great *yurodivy* composer. [...] The *yurodivy* has the gift to see and hear what others know nothing about. But he tells the world about his insights in an intentionally paradoxical way, in code. He plays the fool, while actually being a persistent exposer of

a direct flow of influence from the poet to the composer, then the fact that both the symphony and the transmitted text of Propertius 4 comprise the same number of poems would surely be taken by critics to be a meaningful structural parallel serving to anchor the thematic and political correspondences otherwise perceived (the disputed numerical status of 4.1 would not be at issue since these critics would be concerned with the text of Propertius only as it was received by Shostakovich).

Of course, there are no sensible grounds for positing such a flow of influence. Yet it makes for an interesting and perhaps instructive analogy that both artists produced late works on the subject of death and broke away from the conventional structural formats for their respective media: eleven is as unusual a complement for the movements of symphony as it is for the poems of an Augustan poetry book.[4] This sense of novelty need not be diminished by the fact that neither ensemble was unprecedented in comprising an unorthodox number of 'units': to continue the analogy, just as Berlioz in his *Symphonie Fantastique* and, more recently, Mahler in several of his symphonies had preceded Shostakovich in breaking what had become the accepted structural mould for

---

evil and injustice. The *yurodivy* is an anarchist and individualist, who in his public role breaks the commonly held 'moral' laws of behaviour and flouts convention [...]". The flawed pro- and anti-Augustan dichotomy among Latinists (for a critique of which, see Kennedy (1992) and (1993) 35-7) maps with some similitude onto ongoing debate in Shostakovich studies as to the composer's political loyalties: the controversial *Testimony*, which purports to be the memoirs of Shostakovich "as related to and edited by Solomon Volkov", thus corresponds to the 'Harvard' school in its extreme, while pro-Augustan interpretation finds its musicological counterpart in so-called 'anti-revisionist' writings, most notably those of Laurel Fay, author of 'Shostakovich versus Volkov: whose Testimony?' (*The Russian Review*, xxxix/4, October 1980) and *Shostacovich: A Life* (Oxford 2000). A reviewer of the similarly anti-revisionist *Pages from the Life of Dmitri Shostakovich* by Dmitri and Ludmilla Sollertinsky (London, 1981) surmises that "[t]he cynical might conclude that, the CIA having brought off a coup with Volcov, the KGB have retaliated with the Sollertinskys. The contrast between the volumes is so great that the scholar cannot hope to synthesize them into a picture of the composer: a choice has to be made" (M. Barry, *Music & Letters* 62 (1981) 431). Shostakovich's son, Maxim, has attempted to move the debate beyond this reductive polarisation, without at the same time discarding the revisionist interpretation of his father's career: "It's true there is protest in the music... But I want to avoid politicizing too much every bar of his music... Because with Shostakovich, it's music about our time and maybe about our future time. It's a philosophical picture of humanity" (in conversation with Chris Pasles, *Los Angeles Times* Calendar Section, November 29, 1998: http://www.symphony.org/sms9899/shostakovich.html). See P.A. Miller (2004) 130-159 for a recent discussion of the contradictory political dimension in Propertius.

[4] Shostakovich himself was not immediately sure how to classify the work: in a letter dated 17 February 1969, he wrote "Yesterday I finished the piano score of my new work. I am not going to call it an oratorio – one can't, as an oratorio calls for a choir. My work doesn't include a choir; just two solo singers – soprano and bass... one probably shouldn't call it a symphony either. For the first time in my life, I remain perplexed as to what name to give a composition of mine" (quoted by Wilson (1994) 411).

a symphony, so too, for example, had Horace in *Odes* 1 and Tibullus in his second collection already ignored the contemporary preference for composing poetry books in multiples of five and ten poems.[5]

Abandoned Structures (i): the Death of the Author?

Many scholars, however, will insist that their poets and composers operate according to some principle of organisation which conspires towards the achievement of a satisfying structure, the perceived absence of which is consequently ascribed with equal insistence to the denial of the artist's *ultima lima* by some calamitous interruption such as death or exile. This assumption is often reasonably made, as with Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and in some cases with certainty, as for Mahler's tenth symphony, but a spectrum of diminishing assurance can be traced in the scholarship concerning such 'loose ends' as the hemistichs of Vergil's *Aeneid*, the abrupt (but not artless) ending of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, and the 'missing' half of Ovid's *Fasti*.[6] So too has Propertius 4, with its apparently hotchpotch content and 'defamiliarisation' of Propertian elegy, found itself located at various points along this spectrum: it has even been claimed, though it is an extremist position, that the entire book is an interpolation: "Dans le Livre IV de Properce, toutes les élégies sans exception sont apocryphes et sont l'oeuvre de Passennus Paullus Propertius, qui les a conçues sous Titus".[7] That the poems are authentic, but the book a haphazard assemblage of unpublished pieces released

---

[5] On poetry books exhibiting a preference for multiples of five and ten poems, see Fraenkel (1957) 112. The Propertian corpus itself exhibits a conformist tendency, though uncertainties in the manuscript tradition regarding poem and book division (on which see Heyworth (1995b), esp. 121-122 on poem divisions on ancient papyri; Davis (1977) 16-17 n. 15 assembles a "frighteningly long" list of poems of uncertain division) make anything more than speculation in this area a hazardous occupation: however, it seems fairly clear from the cogent thematic and numerical analysis of Skutsch (1963) that the *Monobiblos* should consist of twenty elegies (1-19, with elegy 8 divided into two poems) capped with a coda of three poems; unsurprisingly, no confident assertion has been made regarding the structure of what we call Propertius 2; for Propertius 3, the oldest manuscript *N*, seconded by *Vo*, transmits a conformist 25 elegies, but in the younger *FLP* manuscripts the final two elegies are conjoined, resulting in a nonconformist book of 24 elegies (for an appraisal of the case for and against division, with a decision in favour of *N* on grounds other than attaining a conformist total, see Richardson 408-409).

[6] See now O'Hara (2007) for a more integrative treatment of inconsistency, contradiction, and apparent artlessness in Latin epic.

[7] Herrmann (1951) 168; see also Herrmann (1961) 530-34 for the theory in practice. The inaccuracy of the numismatic evidence furnished by Hermann in support of his thesis is exposed by Celentano (1956) 39.

posthumously by the poet's friends, has been a more common position, proposed at least as early as 1777 by Barth[8] and espoused by a succession of heavyweight scholars: an impression that several of the poems were "in ceras temere coniecta, rudia quidem illa et indigesta" led Lachmann to adopt this view;[9] for Postgate, only such a theory could fit the fact of the book's irrational structure, as a prime example of which he cited the apparent resurrection of Cynthia in 4.8, the poet having encountered her ghost in 4.7;[10] Postgate was followed (and translated verbatim into Latin) by Damsté, who agreed that Propertius would never have bequeathed to posterity such a book as we have in his fourth: "ille libri concentus [...] me latet, immo miram carminum farraginem liber exhibet, quem ab ipso poeta dispositum emissumque esse nemo umquam mihi persuadebit";[11] posthumous publication and non-Propertian editorship were later endorsed by Fedeli's commentary, which saw Propertius 4 as the remnants of an intended cycle of aetiological elegies that had been curtailed by the poet's untimely death and fleshed out afterwards with poems from "un' epoca anteriore", to which he dates 4.5 and 8.[12] Crucial to any assessment of the conception of Book 4 is the status also of 4.1, or rather 4.1.71-150 (i.e., 4.1b), the appendage of which to 4.1a, as per the manuscripts,[13] confronts the reader with a Latin elegy of unprecedented length in which the poet is apparently admonished for aspiring to write a 'Roman *Aetia*'. In Fedeli's hypothesised cycle of aetiological elegies, 4.1 is a single unit in which Horos' rejection of the aetiological project announced in 4.1.1-70 serves to satirise the poet's

---

[8] See Fedeli xiv-xix for a history of the debate: Fedeli records Barth's view via C. T. Kuineol, *Sexti Aureli Propertii opera omnia*, London 1822: 49f. [*non uidi*].

[9] Quoted from Fedeli xv, n.1; Lachmann held to this view despite recognising that the poems were metrically consistent with those of the earlier books: "quod in hoc poeta non mirum, quem durum ad verba numeris includenda in prioribus libris iam perspexeris".

[10] Postgate (1881) lv (see further below).

[11] Damsté (1928) 216-217, who goes on to adopt (and translate into Latin) the position taken by Postgate (1881) liv-lv; see also Campagna (1923-4) and the introduction to Fedeli's commentary, which includes a survey of critical opinion on this matter and lent substantial authority to the view of posthumous publication.

[12] Fedeli xvi-xviii: in endorsing this view, Fedeli opted to disregard the interim judgement of Butler and Barber xxiii, who (probably in response to Postgate) had acknowledged the anachronism of 4.8, but also observed the poetic maturity it shares with 4.7: "both poems are in his later style and may be retrospective; it would be rash to place their composition within the period covered by Bk. III" (also quoted by Fedeli xxviii-xxix).

[13] That 4.1a and 4.1b are not divided in *N* is a fact of little value, since it declines to divide anywhere between 4.5 and 4.11: see Sandbach (1962) 269, Kidd (1979) 171, Murgia (1989) 260 n.5.

detractors:[14] had Propertius lived to complete the cycle, 4.1b would have read as a deliberately unfulfilled *recusatio* of 4.1a.

Abandoned Structures (ii): the Failure of the Author?

Without a date for Propertius' death, and in view of the fact that the text of Book 4 is not notably more problematic than its precursors, the theory of posthumous publication requires of its proponents an intellectual leap which others, though equally convinced of the book's inconsistencies, have felt unable to attempt. More reasonably, then, but also more pessimistically, they ascribe the difficulties presented by the book to Propertius' inability to sustain the stamina necessary to bring his aetiological cycle to completion. For Butler and Barber, as for Fedeli, 4.1 is a single poem, but it was written "to excuse his abandonment of the task" they see fulfilled only in 4.2, 4.4, 4.9 and 4.10;[15] seeing Horos' intervention as "a whimsical explanation of the hybrid character of the book", Butler and Barber resist thereafter any temptation to seek unity in the collection: beyond the possible legitimacy of 'balancing paragraphs', Richmond's stanza theory is denounced as "an unprofitable amusement", and, while some clear cases of grouped elegies are recognised, it is felt that "[t]o seek further is as unprofitable as stanza-hunting".[16] Unable to discern a unifying scheme, but unwilling, one suspects, to allow that Propertius might not have had the last word on the book as we know it, Butler and Barber are ultimately forced to retreat to an agnostic position on the circumstances of the book's composition, in which they have been followed more recently by Günther.[17] Hubbard finds no reason to doubt Propertian editorship, duly pointing out that the *terminus post quem* of 16 BC provided by 4.6.77 and (less securely) 4.11.65-6[18] does not equate to a date for the poet's death; yet her view of Book 4 as a mixture of commissions (4.6 and 4.11), reworked elegies, and new compositions, does

[14] Fedeli xxi; so also Courtney *BICS* 16 (1969) 73-80.
[15] Butler and Barber lxvi; Romussi (1940-41) 178: "Properzio si scusa, non ricusa stavolta"; Campagna (1923/4) reconstructs an elaborate biography ("è necessario scendere alla congettura", p. 262) in which 4.1b was produced after a final but brief reconciliation with Cynthia temporarily distracted the poet from the aetiological project he had promised to Maecenas in 4.1a ("se vede subito che è appiccicata e adattata alla prima [...] L'elegia non potò essere concepita così", p. 266), to which he returned after her death but never published in his own lifetime.
[16] Butler and Barber, xv and xvii.
[17] Günther (2006) 353 (see further below).
[18] See Hutchinson 2-3 and *ad locc.*

not get beyond the view of the book as something of a failure: "[i]f in particular Propertius had attempted an *Aetia* and found it unworkable, he may have been at an impasse, or simply got bored, or married, or engaged in the business of managing an estate".[19] Richardson guardedly accepts the arrangement of elegies as "almost certainly" that of Propertius, but finds in them "no uniformity of effort, but a collection of experiments", for which 4.1, defined as "a combination of the program poem and the *recusatio*", was composed as an introduction.[20]

In sum, it is primarily on account of a perceived absence of artistic coherence in Propertius 4 that scholars have either doubted Propertian editorship entirely or else assumed a failure of his creative (rather than vital) strength; accordingly, 4.1b takes on the appearance either of a *recusatio*, insincere if not in earnest, or, given that aetiological poetry is not entirely eschewed in the ensuing collection, an apology subsequently appended to 4.1a for the perceived abandonment of that programme. Whether 4.1b was conceived retrospectively or in tandem with 4.1a, the whole is on this view an artificial composition intended to unify and explain the disparity of an unfinished or failed collection of poems. Some 'intentionality'-bound critics, then, have been forced by the evanescence of an intending subject in Propertius 4 either to deny or reduce the involvement of same – a position ironically close to the intention-free approach of New Criticism (represented by the opening quotation of this chapter).

Imposing structures

The expectation that an Augustan poetry book should demonstrate unity and structure, on which are based the theories of Propertius' non-involvement in, or abandonment of, the composition and/or editing of Book 4, is not entirely unreasonable, not least in the light of the remarkable thematic (and numerical) structures uncovered in the *Eclogues* by Maury in 1944, in the Propertian *Monobiblos* by Skutsch in 1963, and in Horace's *Odes* by

---

[19] Hubbard (1974) 117-118.

[20] Richardson 12, 16, 414; *recusatio*: Rothstein *ad loc.*; Lejay, *Journal des Savants* (1915) 495-508 [*non vidi*]; Ciaffi (1978) 156-160 argues that 4.1b was written retrospectively as a *recusatio* of the *recusatio* at 4.1.61-4 of Ennian in favour of Callimachean poetry; on this paradox, see now Hutchinson 59: "Instead of epic being the genre from which the Roman poet is persuaded, it is aetiological elegy".

Santirocco in 1986.[21] It is well that there are sceptics to put such theories on trial,[22] but there is a general tolerance in the wider scholarship for the premise on which they are based, namely that 'unity and design' can be perceived in conjunction with the cumulative meaning that is built up in the sequential reading of a poetry-book.[23]

And so, just as some musicologists resolve Shostakovich's fourteenth symphony into a conventional four 'movement' scheme, so too have those intent on proving the artistic integrity (and intending subject) of Propertius 4 sought to minimise its anomalies by dividing the opening elegy in order to yield a neater book of twelve poems: so Goold, though he remains doubtful as to the validity of any structure in Book 4;[24] Sullivan maintains that Book 4 is "as carefully organised as the Monobiblos" but finds its eleven elegies "a difficult number to accept as a structure", and accordingly resolves the "overlong" 4.1 into two separate elegies to produce a structure "consonant with the practices of Roman poets";[25] for Günther, the division of 4.1 creates a book of twelve

---

[21] Maury's thesis (germinally anticipated by E. Krause in 1884) was refined, perhaps not without some distortion, by Skutsch (1969): "Now it is no good saying "I don't believe in numbers" and burying your head in the sand. These are facts and they have to be faced" (159). Further 'tweaking' was made by Otis and Van Sickle (1978); for an appraisal of the scholarship, see Rudd (1979). Skutsch (1963) and numerical architecture are discussed separately below.

[22] A sceptical Williams (1968) rejects the likelihood of balanced poems at the beginning and end of a papyrus roll, yet advances the somewhat contradictory theory that Propertius 1-3 were published as a collection evidencing general planning from its inception and with balanced poems at the beginning and end (480-495). Skutsch's student A. Woolley (1967) makes an unconvincing attempt to find panels of paired elegies in Propertius 3 (for a critique of this 'static' reading of so transitional and dynamic a book, see Courtney (1970)).

[23] Santirocco (1986) 5-11 presents the evidence for book design in Hellenistic and Roman poets; see also Van Sickle (1980) for the bearing of the papyrus roll on the architecture of the book it contains; Hutchinson (1984) 100 discusses instances of internal evidence in the Roman poets for composition and reading in terms of books rather than individual poems. More successful than Woolley (1967), Putnam (1980) reads Propertius 3 "through two complementary and inseparable patterns, the concentric and the linear, whose diverse energies play in different ways upon individual poems to enrich our understanding" (97); ever sensitive to the visual/formal, Putnam detects a chiastic arrangement of elegies in the book: "[t]his pattern of concentric balances constructs for the reader a design of mental space which holistically counteracts any linear dwindling" (cf. Putnam (1998) for similar interplay of the linear and circular in the arrangement of the historical vignettes on the Shield of Aeneas). More cautious is Hutchinson (1984), who uses the example of Propertius 4 to urge that poetry books be interpreted based on sequential reading in which "natural, pointed, and striking" relations between far-sundered poems are permissible, but not the "devious and tangential" (105-106).

[24] Goold (1989) 115: "Book structure disappoints as a deciding factor. On very general grounds twelve long poems in Book 4 seems more likely than eleven [...]".

[25] Sullivan (1984) 32-33 (more opinionated than Sullivan (1976) 141). Cf. Kidd (1979) 178: "One consequence of treating this as a separate poem is that Book 4 will now contain 12 elegies, which is

poems in which 4.6 (now 4.7) neatly marks a new programmatic beginning.[26] Cogent arguments can indeed be marshalled against the unitary view of 4.1, not least among which are signs of ring composition in 4.1a and 4.1b respectively, the weakness of the unitarian connection of Propertius' projected *Aetia*, which pertains to the past, with Horos' condemnation of Propertius' desire to *di[s]cere fata*, which seems to pertain to the future, and the absurdity of Horos' divining in 4.1.121-2 what Propertius himself revealed at 4.1.63-4:[27] for separatists, 4.1b relates an entirely isolated episode in which Propertius has his fortune told,[28] and is no more connected to 4.1a than any two contiguous elegies.[29] On this view, the notion of 4.1b as a *recusatio* weakens, and with it the view of Book 4 as an 'abandoned structure'. Certainly, twelve is a number considerably less odd (in both senses of the word) in the wake of the twelve books of Vergil's *Aeneid*, and raises possibilities that cannot be disregarded in an investigation of Propertio-Vergilian intertextuality (see below). But we might alternatively accept 4.1 as an elegiac monolith of 150 lines, and note that it is counterbalanced by the sum total of the final two elegies in the collection (i.e. 4.1 = 4.10 + 4.11 = 150 lines). On this analysis, the book rests in equilibrium with 10 poetic 'blocks', numerically equivalent to Vergil's *Eclogues*, the 'Augustan' poetry book *par excellence*. As observed in Chapter 2, the total of 150 lines was shown by the Maury/Skutsch analysis to signal an important structural feature in the *Eclogues* (see further below).

---

perhaps a more likely number than 11 for an Augustan book of verse. Another is that all the elegies are more alike in length, with a range comparable to that of Virgil's ten *Eclogues*."

[26] Günther (2006) 354-5, 358.

[27] See Sandbach (1962) 264-271 who rebuffs all arguments in support of unity, though less cogently that of W. Otto, *Hermes* 20 (1885) 569, who salvaged *dicere fata* (4.1.71) as a link between the two halves by reading *sacra diesque canam* (4.1.69) as a reference to Propertius' poetic future; Marr (1970) 163 similarly points out that 4.1.73-4 also "refer unmistakably to future *poetry*" (his emphasis), thus reinforcing the metapoetic implications of v. 71; on ring composition, see Goold (1967) 92. The apparently dislocated 4.1.87-8 pose further embarrassment to the unitary view, perhaps less so if relocated to the end of 4.1a: see Camps 45 n.1 for a concise assessment of the problem in favour of relocation to the end of 4.1a, and Murgia (1989) for strong arguments in favour of adopting Mueller's transposition to follow 4.1.52.

[28] Requiring the minority reading *discere* ς: see Sandbach (1962) 269; Kidd (1979) 174; Murgia (1989) 266.

[29] The subtle interplay arising from contiguity is the only concession allowed by Murgia (1989) 260 n.11; Goold (1989) 114-115 favours division but retains the view of 4.1b as, "to some extent", a *recusatio* of 4.1a.

Thematic Architecture

Yet the fact remains that, on any reading, Propertius 4 will present themes and a structure as unexpected and unpredictable as those discerned in any hearing of Shostakovich 14.[30] The most recent commentary on Propertius 4 emphasises its dynamic interplay of continuity and discontinuity, perceptible only on a sequential reading of the text.[31] Instead of reconfiguring the eleven poems of Propertius 4, then, many scholars have thought it better to embrace rather than correct the book's numerical and thematic heterogeneity. While some have rejected the possibility of Propertius' involvement in the final edit, others have posited competing forms of artistic design in the *textus receptus* (i.e. based on the unitary view of 4.1).[32] The oldest of these theories was advanced seminally in 1884 by Marx, though it was more famously evolved by Pierre Grimal (generally credited with its invention), who argued (not without some misrepresentation of the elegies concerned) that the aetiological and erotic poems anticipated in 4.1 are evenly distributed across the two halves of the book and paired chiastically around the Augustan 'summit' of 4.6, "un *aition* qui n'est pas légendaire, une élégie de sujet contemporain, qui n'est pas amoureuse".[33] A less rigid pattern was proposed in 1900 by Dieterich, who found the aetiological and erotic elegies to alternate first singly (4.2 – 4.5 or 4.6)[34] and then in pairs (4.7 & 4.8, 4.9 &

---

[30] See, for example, the apparently abandoned attempt by Kay (1970) to resolve Shostakovich 14 into a symphonic scheme: "Obviously, the composer's use of the texts is not restricted to straightforward settings for his two singers – soprano and bass. On the contrary, the eleven short movements make up an overall shape which, in outline at least, is the kind of form which Shostakovich would produce for a purely instrumental symphony. [...] The whole piece [i.e. the setting of texts 2-4] takes on the ternary shape of a symphonic slow movement. The rest of the work is perhaps less symphonic in layout..."

[31] Hutchinson 1-2, 16-21. See further below, p. 244-5 with n.50.

[32] In support of this unitarian view, see nn. 20 above and 44 below. Though sceptical as to book-structure, Butler and Barber 322 also see "no adequate reason to divide".

[33] Grimal (1952) 446. For Marx's earlier formulation, see Fedeli xvi. The main difference between the two versions pertains to the status of 4.1, which Grimal is not concerned to divide, whereas Marx sets aside 4.1a as a proem to the book, and pairs 4.1b only with 4.11.

[34] Some feel the need to qualify the designation of 4.6 as an aetiological elegy since it concerns a contemporary monument: see e.g. Fedeli xiii.

4.10);[35] in some versions of this scheme, elegies 4.1, 4.6 and 4.11 are taken to provide a central axis of elegies of fundamental importance.[36] The two schemes are synthesised by Nethercut,[37] but it is Dieterich's that has proved the more enduring.[38] Grimal's hypothesis was swiftly attacked by those who felt that the *fallax opus* of Propertius 4 is resistant to the imposition of inflexible schemes. Celantano argued that the duality of 4.1 should alert us to a pervasive ambivalence in Propertius 4 that militates against the straightforward ethical and political links between elegies as construed in Grimal's pyramidal structure: "La coerenza di questo poeta è infatti nella sua incoerenza, nel gioco contrastante di svariati motivi, di opposte idealità morali, politiche, letterarie, nell' estrema versatilità del suo spirito. [...] Vano sarebbe cercare nel libro un'architectura qualsiasi, perche ogni schema da noi concepito sarebbe ragionato, *a posteriori*, e uterebbe contro l'intuitivo *a priori* della poesia. Nella disposizione delle elegie nel libro IV, che sfugge ad ogni ordinamento troppo logico, sentiamo la mano dell' artista, la mano di Properzio."[39] Others take this coherent incoherence to be the poet's fulfilment of the Alexandrian stylistic desideratum of *poikilia*,[40] i.e., an artificial rather than spontaneous heterogeneity.

Irrefutable though the idea of affected *poikilia* is, it would be facile and imprudent to abandon on its account the quest for artistic design, structure being as important a criterion in the Alexandrian poetry book as is its concealment: *ars adeo latet arte sua.* The delicacy of this balance is appreciable in Davis' study of paired elegies in Propertius and Ovid: on the one hand, he proceeds on the basis that "these poets were at least as concerned with the structure, proportion, and balance of the whole book of poetry as they were with the structure, proportion and balance of the individual poems"; on the other, he discovers that the *Gedichtpaare* cannot be distinguished as a genre since "there

---

[35] Dieterich (1900) 220, modifying the pattern proposed by Otto (*Hermes* 20 (1885) 568: *non uidi*), on which see Fedeli xvii.

[36] Burck (1966) 408, combining Dieterich (see previous n.) and Camps 2-3.

[37] Nethercut (1968), endorsing the Marx-Grimal 'pyramid' with some plausible verbal correspondences between the paired elegies.

[38] Dieterich has been seconded by La Penna (1977) 99, Ciaffi (1978) 154, Camps 3, Hutchinson 2 (with qualification); Goold (1990) 307 and Günther (2006) 354-355 argue for a similar scheme but in a book of twelve poems.

[39] Celentano (1956) 68. Grimal is also critiqued by Fedeli xviii for his portrayal of "un supino adattamento di Properzio alla politica Augustea".

[40] Fedeli (1974) 37; Pillinger (1969) 171.

are as many ways of linking two poems thematically as there are thematically linked poems".[41] Thus whatever can be constructed on the basis of paired elegies can just as readily be deconstructed; and yet this does not mean that any structures perceived are entirely arbitrary. This is borne out in Propertius 4, where any structure founded on the interlacing of aetiological and erotic elegies very quickly breaks down: it is now well appreciated that the aetiological and erotic themes of the book are not mutually exclusive (the ostensibly aetiological 4.2, 4.4, and 4.9 have palpable erotic undercurrents, while 4.3, 4.7, and 4.8 variously complement the book's Roman aetiological interests), such that the pairings on which the Dieterich and Marx-Grimal schemes depend are in the final analysis untenable.[42] DeBrohun's book-length study of this interplay identifies a number of ambivalent elements, or 'thirds', for which the dual poetics of the book compete.[43] This reading of Book 4 takes the opening elegy as an organic whole serving to inaugurate the opposition between aetiological and erotic poetics played out between as well as within the ensuing elegies: for Conte, 4.1 is "a dramatized representation of his [i.e. Propertius'] own generic awareness".[44] Indeed, the notorious crux of 4.1's duality may be taken as a strategic ambivalence serving to alert

---

[41] Davis (1977) 13 and 17. See also Santirocco (1986) 11-12 on balancing the search for a single principle of arrangement with an awareness of a collection's heterogeneity of metre (not applicable to Propertius), theme, addressee, internal structure, imagery, and (contentious though it is) tone.

[42] See now Hutchinson 2 for 'crossings' such as 4.4 ("ancient love") and 4.6 ("modern aetiology"); Wyke (2002) 83: "cross-references and overlaps abound"; O'Neill (2000) 259-261; Butrica (1996) 146-7, 152, 156-7; Goold (1990) 307: "Here and there Propertius softens the stark contrast between antiquarian and contemporary material by emphasising the erotic in the one and the traditional in the other"; Pillinger (1969) 171-172; Sandbach (1962) 268. Symptomatic of this synthesis too is how earlier commentators hedge their designation of aetiological/erotic elegies, e.g. Fedeli xiii counts "*almeno* quattro elegie etiologiche" (my italics); Camps 3 describes 4.3, 4.5, 4.7, and 4.8 as "a miscellany, but all in varying degrees related to the love theme which was the poet's earlier preoccupation".

[43] DeBrohun (2003) 22-4 on the collapse of aetiological and erotic categories and *passim* for the combination/competition of these poles for 'thirds' such as *arma*, the *patria*, the *limen*, clothing/props, and Actium.

[44] Conte (1994) 123, styling 4.1b as a *haesitatio* (rather than *recusatio*) that reinforces generic codification; see also Hutchinson 16 (but with qualification, see n.47 below) and succinctly at 61: 4.1 is "a microcosm of the larger whole"; Wyke (2002) 83; Butrica (1996) 146: "one hardly imagines that Propertius would write a poem of 150 lines (his longest, in fact) merely to explain the disparate contents of a poetic miscellany. Scholars have failed to find the "answer" to the question posed by 4.1 for the simple reason that Propertius deliberately avoids giving one. [...Propertius] allows the answer to emerge from the remainder of the book, where aetiological and erotic themes compete"; Macleod (1976) esp. 145-146 and (for links between 4.1a and b) 148-149; in further support of unity, La Penna (1977) 99 (and *Orazio e l'Ideologia del Principato* (Turin, 1963) 141-3 [*non vidi*]) observes that Propertius 4.1 and Horace *Od.* 4.1 are alike in that both announce and reconcile (at least structurally) the erotic and civil agendas that recur in their respective books.

the reader to the possible confrontation (or fusion) of aetiological and erotic material within individual poems.

This interplay means that the perception of book structure is ultimately at the reader's discretion: thus while Goold dismisses Grimal's "superficially attractive" scheme for its dependence on tendentious argument,[45] Wyke allows Dieterich's theory of alternation to exist "superficially";[46] and while both of those schemes depend on a book of eleven elegies, others requiring a book of twelve seem equally valid; that ambivalence, contingent as it is on the disputed division of 4.1, is equally sustainable, and, where not recognised as such, it manifests nonetheless in the polarisation of scholarly debate.[47] Identifiable substructures, then, can be formed on the basis of either the unitary or separatist view of 4.1 and the subsequent elegies' prevailing themes, but the structural duality of 4.1 and the thematic duality in each of the ensuing elegies has the effect of 'softening' these substructures and rendering them susceptible to restructuring. As Santirocco finds in his analysis of Horace's *Odes*, the existence of one pattern or cycle of poems does not preclude the possibility of another being overlaid upon it.[48] A collection's tolerance of coexisting patterns has obvious aesthetic advantages: as Courtney observes in the case of a structurally requisite but thematically weaker pairing in the *Monobiblos*, "to carry [symmetry] out with perfect exactitude would impose an intolerable straight-jacket".[49] Too pervasive a structure would also eclipse the more subtle effects derived from sequential reading: thus Hutchinson acknowledges a "rough

---

[45] Goold (1989) 115.

[46] Wyke (2002) 83.

[47] Some scholars reconcile the polarity of opinion on 4.1 by ascribing the uncertainty over division to its effectiveness as a poem; Hutchinson prints 4.1 as a singularity, but notes in his commentary that "connection [...] does not necessarily entail one poem. There are various gradations" (61). Cf. La Penna (1977) 92 n.10: "Anche se le elegie fossero due, sarebbero cosí connesse fra di loro che fra lo stamparle come due o come una sola la differenza sarebbe insignificante"; Butler and Barber 322: "The two sections are so intimately connected that, parted, they still cohere." These scholars' 'both...and' position is more useful than the more confusing 'neither...nor' stance taken by Camps 46: "They are neither (in the ordinary sense) a single elegy, nor two completely separate elegies, but a pair, related by a certain common function in their respective conclusions, and linked by a formal device at the point of transition." For a possible metapoetic hint that the division of 4.1 is paradoxically an integral part of the poem, see the suggestion of DeBrohun (2003) 21 n.52 that Horos, read as ὅρος ('boundary'), might be taken as "a personified marker of the boundary between his [*sc.* Propertius'] two programs."

[48] See e.g. Santirocco (1986) 87 for the overlapping of one cycle in *C.* 2.1-12 with another in *C.* 2.7-13.

[49] Courtney (1968) 254 on the weak link of 1.1 and 1.19.

underlying pattern", but emphasises that the 'shape' of the book is appreciated by tracing continuity and discontinuity within the different thematic strands that evolve across the book.[50]

The disadvantage of coexisting schemes is that the concomitant weakening of structural integrity makes it difficult to argue cogently for the principle of poetic structuring in the first place. Thus Santirocco detects at least three competing structural arrangements (concentric framing, interlocking patterns, and division into halves) in the Roman *Odes* that are each paralleled in the *Eclogues*, only to concede that "[t]here is, however, another and more sobering parallel with that collection: no one scheme is entirely satisfactory, and any attempt to harmonize them by allowing for their overlapping or simultaneous operation raises serious doubts, for the credibility of schematic arrangements seems generally to be in inverse proportion to their number and complexity."[51] Once again, intentionality ironically self-de(con)structs, for the very pursuit of an intended structure appears to have led unwittingly to an evanescence of the intending subject.

Numerical Architecture

One ramification of a text's receptiveness to polymorphous structuring, then, is that 'intentionality' remains a futile quest. Some scholars, however, have sought what they perceive to be unassailable evidence of the poet's (rather than the reader's) stamp in a book's numerical rather than merely thematic design. Skutsch buttresses his potentially unstable thematic architecture for the *Monobiblos* with a more concrete numerical scheme, and concludes on its basis that "[a] symmetry such as that shown here arises neither by accident nor even by careful arrangement of matter created previously: a certain amount of writing must have been done to meet the demands of the symmetry intended."[52] Quests of this kind are often more valiant in the attempt than convincing

---

[50] Hutchinson 2 and 16-21; for linear readings of Propertius 4, see also Celentano (1956), Johnson (1997) 177-8 (witty), and Günther (2006) 358-95.
[51] Santirocco (1986) 115.
[52] Skutsch (1963) 239; Skutsch's scheme was modified by Otis (1965), and supplemented by Courtney (1968), to yield tighter numerical exactitude.

in their conclusions,[53] but even stern judges have been swayed by Skutsch's elaboration of Maury's numerical analysis of the *Eclogues* to confess that "one cannot simply turn one's back on the figures, saying 'I don't like that sort of thing'."[54]

In the case of Propertius 4, Woolley endorsed the Marx-Dieterich scheme by observing that the axial poems 4.1, 4.6, and 4.11 segregate the intermediary 4.2-4.5 and 4.7-4.10 into two blocks of almost equal size (308 and 306 lines respectively);[55] Courtney subsequently showed that "exact numerical equality" can be "restored" (some may prefer to say "achieved") by the deletion of 4.5.55-6, a couplet that most editors treat as spurious.[56] Thus, just as the *Eclogues* have been subjected to textual adjustments by those intent on finding in them precise numerical balance, so too have the even greater uncertainties in the textual tradition of Propertius been exploited in the engineering of ambitious architectural structures. Equally, a minor imbalance can also be justified on the precedent of the marginal numerical misalignments usually tolerated in analyses of the *Eclogues*: "La pyramide arithmétique se complète donc quelque peu, sans jamais obtenir un équilibre rigoureusement exact – comme dans les *Bucoliques*."[57]

Alternatively, instead of corroborating thematic structures with numerical symmetries, some textual critics will attempt to justify their version of the text by seeking numerical structures that seem to endorse their editorial decisions: "In order to arrive at a precise numerical pattern for the book structure in book I only one single textual operation is

---

[53] In Vergilian studies, one thinks, for example, of Duckworth's endeavour to demonstrate that the *Aeneid* was composed micro- and macroscopically according to the mathematical ratio known as the 'Golden Mean' (for a criticism of which, see Clarke (1964)) or of the correspondences between thematic and numerical structures detected in the *Eclogues* by Van Sickle (1978) with a tenacity that goes beyond a point most scholars would be prepared to follow. In Propertian studies, ambitious is Meillier (1985), whose analysis of Propertius 3 includes nine pages of diagrams of baffling complexity and the hypothesis that the sum of the numerical values of Κυνθία in the nominative (490) and dative (500) matches the total number of lines in the book, which thus encodes "le titre et la dédicatrice: Cynthia (le livre) en l'honeur de Cynthia (la femme)"; no less farfetched is the proposal of Dion (1997) that each book constructs a calligram of the letter H, thereby encoding the initial of Cynthia's 'true' name, Hostia.

[54] Rudd (1976) 139 on Skutsch (1969). A sterner Williams (1968) 480 condemns the Skutsch/Otis analysis of the *Monobiblos* as one which "treats sophisticated poetry with mechanical contempt"; see however n. 22 above for inconsistencies in Williams' scepticism.

[55] Woolley (1967) 80-81.

[56] Courtney (1968) 257, taking 4.5.556-6 as an "indubitable instance" of interpolation (on which, see p. 134 n.118 below). So confident is Courtney of these findings that he dismisses on their basis any editorial lacunae that would disrupt the numerical symmetry.

[57] Tordeur (1988) 106, n. 13.

necessary. One may doubt whether the five textual operations considered by me above can be justified with the numerical result achieved. In book III my numerical scheme appears to rest on the assumption of two lost poems but a system of precise symmetries for part of the book arises already from eight minor operations (five deletions and three lacunae). In book IV a precise numerical symmetry for part of the book is achieved by one single deletion about which there is no doubt anyway; my scheme rests on four interpolations only in the whole book."[58] Here Günther integrates the Woolley-Courtney scheme for Propertius 4 with three further deletions of his own to produce "[a]n even more remarkable pattern", the visibility of which, however, is not immediate. One suspects, rather, that even those sympathetic to the possibility that numerical structure can provide "an important check for both transpositions and deletions" might take the unaesthetic complexity of the emergent schemes and the post-operative scarring of Günther's text to evidence a troubling amount of unnecessary surgery. Ultimately there is no limit to the amount of numerical schemes that can be devised for a text which is taken to be as fluid and renegotiable as that of Propertius. This approach must contend with the further objection that little faith can be placed in an inert structural scheme that does not enhance or guide the reader's appreciation of the book's thematic preoccupations: it is precisely because it is not redundant in this way that the numerical structure of the *Eclogues* is as plausible as it is.

'deconstruction'?

The diversity of scholarly opinion as set out above verifies Fedeli's reflection in his 1965 commentary that the question of the composition of Propertius 4 represents "una delle questioni più scabrose della critica properziana".[59] Indeed, less than a decade later, Fedeli retracted the position adopted in his "commento giovanile" that Propertius 4 was a posthumous collection incorporating poems dating to an earlier phase of poetic activity, and advanced instead the possibility that the book's structure could be justified through its deliberate striving for an effect of *poikilia* such as is apparent in the

[58] Günther (1997) 155-6. The ensuing quotations are derived from pp. 152 (misattributing in n. 8 Courtney's numerical refinement of Woolley (1967)) and VIII (where Günther declares himself "perfectly aware that many (probably most) scholars will be appalled by this approach a priori").
[59] Fedeli xiii.

Monobiblos.[60] Although Fedeli's earlier position no longer holds sway, it nevertheless lingers as a spectre from which Propertian scholarship has never quite managed to escape. This can be evidenced by the synthesis, in a publication as mainstream and recent as *Brill's Companion to Propertius*, of the theories of posthumous publication and of unified artistic design: agnosticism thus reigns again with an appreciation for the artfulness of the elegies' arrangement that does not exclude the possibility that artfulness can be the product of editorial design by someone other than the poet.[61] Precedent for the sensitive anthologising of another's or others' work is offered by Meleager's Garland, though its reader is aware of the circumstances of the book's composition.[62] In the case of Propertius 4, there is no reason to suspect the poems have not been arranged by the poet, who names himself at 4.1.70, quotes himself (assuming the lines are genuine) at 4.5.55-6 (=1.2.1-2), and in 4.7 and 4.8 provides a sequel to his long-running liaison with Cynthia. It seems unnecessarily agnostic, therefore, to allow that any discernable architecture in the book might be ascribed to a hand other than the poet's own.[63] And yet the impasse remains: even if arguments for the non-involvement of Propertius in the editing and publication of Book 4 are based on the book's disparity and apparent lack of artistic design, the detection of concerted book structure would not necessarily prove to the most sceptical or scrupulous that the book was edited by the poet himself.

Ironically, then, the question of who edited Propertius 4 no longer hinges on the book's ability to exhibit artistic coherence, even though it was its perceived shortcomings in this regard that cast doubt on Propertian editorship in the first place; and even if artistic coherence were to be taken as acceptable proof of Propertian editorship, there remains the difficulty that book architecture can only exist in the eye of the beholder, since most of the elegies are so duplicitous that they lend themselves to whatever structure one cares to construct. The fragility of thematic schemes is compounded by the uncertainties of the textual tradition, not the least of which is the problematic numerical status of 4.1. The lacunae and interpolations which plague the text have also

---

[60] Fedeli (1974) 37. That the book's unity could be established on the basis of an aesthetic of deliberate irrationality had been dismissed in the earlier commentary (i.e. Fedeli (1965)) as facile.
[61] Günther (2006) 353; so too Sullivan (1984) 31-32.
[62] So Santirocco (1986) 9.
[63] So La Penna (1977) 99.

undermined all attempts hitherto to find a unifying numerical scheme that is also convincing, and the failure of all existing proposals to take theme into consideration is such that the burden of proof works very much in favour of those who are sceptical of such an approach. All things considered, the author might as well be dead.

Reconstruction

It was argued above and in Chapter 2 that there might be correspondence of some kind between the length of 4.1 (150 lines), the combined length of 4.10 and 4.11 (48 + 102 = 150 lines), and certain structural pairings in the *Eclogues* (1 + 9 = 150 lines; 3 + 6 = 149 lines). That 4.1 is 150 lines in length invites us to view 4.10 – 4.11 as a numerical unit; equally, that 4.10 and 4.11 are two poems invites us to recognise the bipartite nature of 4.1. Hence, it is possible to construe the eleven poems as a collection also of ten or twelve individual units, corresponding to the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid* respectively. As an isolated example, this coincidence would be unlikely to suggest further significance, but it does have the virtue of complementing the poet's concern with Vergilian poetics: Propertius' ascent to a more elevated conception of elegy in Book 4 could be said to recognise Vergil's ascent from a lower to a higher form of epos. As a numerical phenomenon, therefore, the coincidence is neither inert nor redundant. Nor indeed is it an isolated example, for several such 'coincidences' have been observed in the previous chapters: it was also pointed out in Chapter 2 that 4.6 occupies the same position (i.e. the sixth, taking the unitary view of 4.1) and is of the same length (i.e. 86 lines) as *Eclogue* 6, with which it shows significant programmatic and lexical links: Vergil's Callimachean *recusatio* of *reges et proelia* becomes Propertius' Callimachean commitment to sing of Augustus and Actium (see pp. 89-90 above). 4.6 was shown to be the forum for further parallels of this nature in Chapter 4: embedded in this 'counter-*Eclogue*' is an *ekphrasis* of the Battle of Actium that replicates both the medial position and dimensions (54 lines) of Vergil's ekphrasistic 'panel' of the same event in the centre (*in medio*) of the Shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8 (see pp. 182-4 above); 4.6 also recalls the ekphrasis at the centre of the *Georgics*, which, like the Shield of Aeneas, might have affinities with the Temple of Palatine Apollo, for which 4.6 provides the aition (see pp. 180-1 above). It is as if Propertius 4.6 has taken up the project Vergil announced for

himself at *Geo.* 3.16: *in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit.* As always, midpoints are precisely the structural *loci* for programmatic statements of this kind.[64]

If Propertius 4 had been structured otherwise, none of the observations in the previous paragraph could have been made. In other words, it is difficult to consider these possibilities without also confronting again the question of Propertian 'intentionality'. However, healthy scepticism in these matters is an imperative. Even if we were to accept that, in obviously Vergilian places, Propertius could be replicating Vergilian line numbers and structural arrangement, it would not prove that these are anything more than isolated examples, or that some connections have not merely been triggered as an accident of Vergilian design rather than Propertian imitation: after all, programmatic material naturally gravitates to beginnings, middles, and ends. Thus, even if we accept the validity of one parallel, say that of the ekphraseis in 4.6 and *Aen.* 8, the concatenation with *Geo.* 3 may be an effect of intratextuality within the Vergilian corpus only, rather than intertextuality between it and its Propertian counterpart. Without these supporting structures, a single coincidence becomes an overloaded keystone around which the whole edifice cannot but collapse. There may here be an emergent sense of architecture based on the Vergilian model, but it is not yet sufficiently buttressed to prove beyond reasonable doubt either that Propertius designed Book 4 on the blueprint of the entire *corpus Vergilianum*, or, for those who doubt it still, that no one other than Propertius could have arranged the book as we have it. Moreover, even if these parallels are attractive because they seem to justify themselves on literary and thematic grounds, there remains the issue of their visibility: to what reader would it occur to compare line numbers to see if passages are of equivalent length? In short, we have not yet accumulated a critical mass of coincidences, or sought the kind of programmatic direction we might expect of Propertius if indeed he were encouraging us to look for Vergilian structures in his text.

---

[64] See Conte (1992).

Ekphrastic *monumenta en abyme* and *ne pas en abyme*

Visibility and textuality merge in the phenomenon of ekphrasis, as was shown in the discussion in Chapter 4 of Propertius' replication in 4.6 of the Actium panel on Aeneas' shield. It was argued that the Propertian ekphrasis capitalises on and surpasses the ekphrastic conceit of a text constituting rather than simply conveying the artwork it describes: whereas in Vergil this fiction disintegrates when the description of static images inevitably becomes narrative, Propertius 4.6 bypasses the schism between the word and the verbally-represented object by conveying suggestively the shield's static properties and replicating its textual dimensions. In effect, the Propertian ekphrasis conceives of itself as something substantial as well as textual.

Through the *mise en abyme* of an artwork described by and within an artwork, ekphrasis assumes a self-reflexive dimension[65] which often accommodates some kind of programmatic statement: this literary reflexivity can comment on the limits of representational media[66] and, as Dällenbach has shown, on the related idea of the viewer's/reader's reception and interpretation of art: "inasmuch as it implies a producer and receiver, the inserted work of art can actualize the famous literary triad [of author, text, and reader] and reflect not only the fiction that conceals it, but also the way in which the narrative conceives of its relationship to the author and the reader."[67] Thus as Aeneas contemplates his mother's gift (*dona*, *Aen.* 8.609, 617, 721) of the shield, and on it the miniaturised replicas of the talismanic shield that fell from heaven in Numa's reign (*lapsa ancilia caelo*, 664)[68] and the image of Augustus himself contemplating further *dona* (721)[69], we find that we ourselves are *en abyme* in the analogous act of contemplating Vergil's shield, and must ask ourselves whether or not we can still rejoice

---

[65] See the preliminary definition of Dällenbach (1989) 8: "a 'mise en abyme' is any aspect enclosed within a work that shows a similarity with the work that contains it".

[66] Laird (1996) 86: "No ekphrasis is innocent of reflexivity: no ekphrasis fails to raise the problematic issue of how visual art can be translated into writing. [...] As language draws attention to the medium of art-work, it also draws attention to *itself* as a medium."

[67] Dällenbach (1989) 74.

[68] On this instantiation of the *mise en abyme*, see Barchiesi (1997) 276; Hardie (1992) 75 and (1986) 367 suggests an identification between Aeneas'/Vergil's shield and the prototype of Numa's replicas.

[69] *dona* *recognoscit* implies Augustus' recognition of the intratext; it is tempting also to connect the *dona* with the 'Shield of Virtue' (*Clupeus Virtutis*) with which Augustus was presented by the Senate (cf. *RG* 34.2).

with Aeneas in the images when we don't share his ignorance of them (*ignarus imagine gaudet*, 730).[70] Vergil's shield offers the reader a lesson in reading and interpretation not just of the shield, but of the *Aeneid*, and even of Vergil's entire oeuvre, in which it is embedded (see p. 185 n.40 above). It does not matter that the shield is a shield and the *Aeneid* is a literary text: as Dällenbach has shown, "reflexion, in order to 'take off', has to work in alliance with a reality similar to that which it is reflecting: a work of art";[71] indeed, it is as much the difference between the representational media as their similarity that brings the analogy to life, since, to put it theoretically, the closer embedded and embedding works were to approximate each other, the less they could be distinguished, until such time as their convergence would deny their individuation entirely. Thus the 'problem' seen by Dallenbach in "the transposition by the *mise en abyme* of one art form into another" is in fact a *sine qua non*.

In so close a reworking of so self-reflexive a *mise en abyme*, Propertius 4.6 might be expected to reflect programmatically on the replication of Vergilian structures (of all kinds) within itself and the book in which it is contained. 4.6, however, cannot activate the same degree of self-reflection as Vergil's shield: paradoxically, in going beyond the limits of conventional ekphrasis to assume quasi-ontological status, it effaces the threshold between text and art-object that would ordinarily invite us to tease out programmatic implications. If Propertius wished to draw us into a similar contemplation of his work via an embedded artefact, he would have to do so elsewhere. However, there is no shortage of possibilities, for there is in Book 4 much to behold as well as to read. As recent work has shown, Propertius 4 is obsessed with monuments, bringing before our eyes a statue (4.2), two temples (4.6, 4.10), and various other features of Roman topography.[72] Moreover, in a move with good precedent in Augustan poetry, the book implicitly conceives of itself as a *monumentum* right from its *incipit*: before revealing the panorama of *maxima Roma*, the opening *Hoc quodcumque uides* seems not to look beyond the confines of the papyrus roll and a possible allusion to

[70] Similar issues arise when Aeneas 'reads' the frieze of Juno's Temple at *Aen* 1.446-495 (and beyond), on the 'paradigmatic' and 'normative' potential of which, see Fowler (1991) 33. See also Putnam (1998) 23-54, and 3: "all the ekphrasis of the *Aeneid*, even the shorter descriptions in however circumscribed a capacity, represent the poem itself and afford us deeper ways of reading which we may plumb only through the actuation of sight into insight".
[71] Dällenbach (1989) 71.
[72] Welsh (2005); see also Edwards (1996).

Catullus' diminutive *quidquid hoc libelli | qualecumque* (*C.* 1.8-9).[73] Even the adversarial Horos colludes with Propertius' creation of a poetic monument when he bids the poet *finge elegos, fallax opus* (4.1.135), with which may be compared (intriguingly) Horace's *operosa parvus | carmina fingo* (*Od.* 4.2.31-2): as Hardie points out in a discussion of Horace's monumentalisation of his work, "*fingo* means literally 'to make by shaping' a malleable material, such as the sculptor's clay or molten metal, or the bee's wax."[74] Support for this can be found at Propertius 4.1.5, where the cognate *fictilis* describes the rustic effigies in the shrines of yore, long since replaced by more deluxe representations.

The text draws attention to its own materiality in other ways too. It has been argued above that 4.6 achieves this by collapsing the distinction between ekphrasis and art-object, a collapse that ultimately obfuscates the elegy's reflexive potential. Elsewhere in Propertius 4, object and text become one and the same in a very real sense: Arethusa's letter draws attention to its materiality from its opening lines (4.3.1-6: see p. 102 above), if not its opening *Haec*, which perhaps underscores how the opening demonstrative of the book (*Hoc*, 4.1.1) might be taken to gesture to the textual artefact its reader is holding: for the theoretical reasons outlined above, the convergence of Arethusa's letter and Propertius 4 as written media might make them less ideal analogical partners.

A couplet destined for inscription on the Porta Capena closes Arethusa's letter with the promise of further visual words, but this time on a monument (potentially more analogous) as well as a letter; similarly, 4.7.85-6 will be Cynthia's epitaph, if she has her way. These allusions to elegy's origins in epigram see out their literary destiny in 4.11, an extended epitaph for the tombstone of Cornelia, which bears comparison with the historical *Laudatio Turiae*. In a discussion of how text brings what is absent *ante oculos*, Philip Hardie observes how funerary epigram constitutes "a double absence, as the text now substitutes for the absent (or fictitious) monument, itself a substitute for the presence of the once living person." That 4.11 purports to be an inscription for all of its 102 lines elides the absence more completely than the examples embedded within 4.3 and 4.7, since "[e]pigrams become still further detached from an original unique

---

[73] So also DeBrohun (2003) 36 n.4. On Propertian elegy as a form of construction, see pp. 109-110, 225-6 above.
[74] Hardie (1993a) 132.

physical location when they are quoted within another text";[75] the absence/presence dichotomy is blurred even further in 4.11 as the epitaph is spoken by the deceased herself (see Chapter 3) – traditional in epigram, of course, but the length of the poem and Cornelia's personal address to Paullus might be said to evoke her presence much more vividly than conventional 'speaking' tomb-inscription does. Yet 4.11 merely evokes the conventions of an epitaph, without explicitly purporting to be one: the text is not ostensibly reconfigured, and so the programmatic reflection for which we are searching is unlikely here to 'take off'.

Vertumnus *en abyme* (4.2)

4.2, on the other hand, enjoys the best of both worlds: not only does Vertumnus' statue, as subject of the poem, constitute a monument within the metaphorical monument of the book, but the poem itself has been shown, like 4.11, also to construct itself as an inscription for all of its sixty-four lines, and not just its more obviously inscriptional final six.[76] Thus 4.2 both reconfigures and maintains the textual medium of Book 4, offering the possibility of a relationship with its containing work based on both analogy and convergence.

Vertumnus is an upwardly mobile artwork like the onetime clay effigies of 4.1.5:[77] this wooden statue informs us that it was recast in bronze by no less a smith than Mamurius, copyist of the aforementioned shield that fell from heaven during Numa's reign (see 4.2.59-64). 4.2 can be instructively compared with several statuary poems in Callimachus' *Aetia* and *Iambi*:[78] Acosta-Hughes' survey of three of the iambic examples observes that in each case a poetic trope is playfully extended: the ekphrasis in *Iambus* 6 (where the narrator describes Pheidias' chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia to a prospective tourist), the speaking votive object in *Iambus* 7 (a Herm gives his aretalogy

---

[75] Hardie (2002) 17. Ultimately any written word combats absence: "Words fixed on the page stand in for the immediate but transient presence of the spoken word."

[76] Hutchinson 87 (discussion), 1n. ("an inscriptional start"), 55-6n., 57-64n., 57-8n; see also Suits (1969).

[77] Welch (2005) 53 suggests that at 4.2.21-22 Vertumnus plays on the etymology of *figura* from *fingo* (cf. Varro *LL* 6.78): the statue can thus be seen as a poetic monument wrought by the elegist (*tu finge elegos*, 4.1.135): see the discussion above, pp. 251-4.

[78] See Pillinger (1969) 180-1; Miller (1982) 390; Hutchinson 87 and *ad* 4.2.3-4, 57-64, 59.

and relates the circumstances of his transportation from the Troad to Thrace), and the *aition* in *Iambus* 9 (a Herm disabuses a presumptuous *erastes* with a non-erotic explanation of his ithyphallic condition).[79] The statue of Vertumnus unites all three by exploiting the epigrammatic convention of addressing a passer-by in the first person to describe itself and explain how it ended up in Rome. By doubling as both an epigram delivered by the object and an ekphrasis of that object, Vertumnus' statue surpasses the realism which conventional ekphrastic writers typically protest (cf. e.g. *credas*, *Aen.* 8.691) by telling us *itself* how lifelike it is (*iurabis*, 4.2.26; *clamabis*, 4.2.30):[80] the *spirantia signa* of *Geo.* 3.34 find elegiac embodiment here in the *signa Vertumni.* As a monument placed within the larger encompassing 'monument' of Book 4, then, Vertumnus' statue is qualified to comment, through its *mise en abyme*, on the artifice within which it is set.

Dällenbach's analysis shows how both the artist as well as the artwork can be projected *en abyme*.[81] Numerous parallels linking Vertumnus with Propertian poetics and/or 'Propertius' have been detected. Generally, Vertumnus has been seen as an ambassador for Propertian style and themes. Pinotti, for example, argues that the changeful statue serves as a figure for the *poikilia* achieved by Propertius 4.[82] The opening line, *Qui[d] mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas?*, is similarly interpreted as an expression of the poem's and/or book's successful synthesis of the aetiological and erotic themes announced schismatically in 4.1:[83] the antiquity of Vertumnus' historical arrival in Rome and the speculation over the etymology of his name, both in 4.2 and elsewhere,[84] make him a fitting subject for the Roman aetiological project announced in 4.1a.[85] His Etruscan provenance and pride in his new *patria* of Rome also link him with Propertius' own

---

[79] Acosta-Hughes (2002) 265; on Vertumnus as an iambic figure, see Newman (1997) 277.
[80] See Hutchinson *ad loc.*
[81] Dällenbach (1989) 15-18 on 'twinning' or 'narcissistic doubling'; see also p. 46, and Ch. 6, 'Narration Revealed'.
[82] Pinotti (1983) and Dee (1974a).
[83] Boldrer (1999) 27-29; Lucot (1953) 79-80; Hutchinson *ad* 4.2.1; Fox (1996) 154-8 somewhat differently suggests that 4.2.1 draws attention to the new territory into which elegy has now moved. On the synthesis of *amor-Roma* in the poem as a whole, see Wyke (2002) 84-5; O'Neill (2000) 270-272 and *passim*; Deremetz (1986); DeBrohun (2003) 169-175 argues that Vertumnus' successful transvestism and transsexuality represent a fusion of the bipartite epic and elegiac poetics that, e.g., Hercules and, in general, the book 'indecorously' fail to achieve; for Coutelle (2005) 572-573, Vertumnus is an emblem of elegy in all its versatility.
[84] Antiquity: Varro, *LL* 5.46; etymology: Horace, *Sat.* 2.7.13014.
[85] On Vertumnus' Etruscan origins and name, see especially Marquis (1974).

naturalisation and espousal of patriotic poetry (cf. 4.1.59-60).[86] Vertumnus' literary history, however, qualifies him for the erotic poetry projected by Horos in 4.1b: the Callimachean Herms represent the graphically sexual aspect of the iambic genre,[87] Romanised e.g. in Horace's Priapus (*Sat.* 1.8), who can also have a tamer erotodidactic agenda, as in Tibullus 1.4. As an ithyphallic and rustic statue, Vertumnus has marked affinities with Priapus: the former condition is exhibited in one of the metamorphoses Vertumnus claims to be able to effect – a "hyperelegiac" gender inversion from *non dura puella*, modelling Coan raiment, to a *uir*, exposing his manhood *sumpta...toga* (4.2.23-4).[88] Vertumnus' eye for ladies' fashion cannot but recall earlier descriptions of Cynthia (cf. *Coa ueste*, 1.2.2; *Cois fulgentem*, 2.1.5), while the phrase *sumpta toga* was used of Propertius himself as recently as 4.1.132. Other intratexts deepen the affinity between Vertumnus and the poet:[89] limited self-quotation is identified by Dällenbach as one of the features whereby the 'substitute' or 'proxy' is revealed as the author.[90] The quirkiness of Vertumnus' cult and the 'liminality' of his situation at the edge of the forum (4.2.6), "an outsider looking in",[91] entitle Vertumnus to express both the exocentric perspective of the Propertian *amator* and the esoteric interests of Callimachean aetiology. The location of the *signa Vertumni* on the Vicus Tuscus, a notorious 'red-light' district that was also home to book-dealers, is appropriate to these erotic and scholarly interests. The latter trade neatly reminds the reader of 4.2 that Vertumnus is both a literal and literary statue.[92]

The relationship between Vertumnus and Propertius 4 has also been scrutinised for parallels of closer exactitude, especially in a noteworthy study by Chris Shea, which discusses various instances of metapoetic language (e.g., *corpus*, v. 1; *forma*, v. 1; *signa*, v.

---

[86] On the parallel between Propertius' and Vertumnus' 'naturalization', see Suits (1969) 486 n. 40; Marquis (1974) 500; Welsh (2005) 36, 42; Hutchinson 87 and *ad* 4.2.3-4; Cairns (2006) 281-2. Conversely, Lucot (1953) detects in Vertumnus "un portrait de Mécène".

[87] Acosta-Hughes (2002) 301.

[88] So Hutchinson *ad loc.*; see *ibid.* 87-88 and Suits (1969) 477-479 for Vertumnus' priapic associations.

[89] Boldrer (1999) 55-56 provides a list of intratexts prefaced with the observation that "in 4.2 emerge la sua tendenza all'autocitazione ed autoimitazione, emblematica dell' individualismo del poeta".

[90] Dällenbach (1989) 76.

[91] Welch (2005) 36.

[92] On the former, see O'Neill (2000). The precise location of the statue is much debated: see now Welch (2005) 38-40.

2; *index*, v. 19; *figura*, v. 21; *acernus*, v. 59; *opus*, v. 64), and is seen to err perhaps only in concluding that the poem is "the author's apostrophe to his book" rather than to his reader;[93] perhaps more accurately again, 4.2 might be seen as the *book*'s apostrophe to the author and/or reader. Vertumnus' catalogue of protean stunts (4.2.23-40) anticipates many of the ensuing poems, such that they can be taken as a virtual *index* (4.2.19) of the book's contents as well as of the god's eponymous versatility, as Shea argues;[94] indeed, one way of resolving the contradictory announcement of *sex superant uersus* (4.2.57) at eight rather than six lines from the end of the poem is to allow the meaning of *uersus* itself to shift from 'lines' to 'changes', indicating the six major characters still to be introduced in the book (Arethusa, Tarpeia, Acanthis, Cynthia, Hercules, Cornelia).[95] That *uersus* also means poetic 'verses'[96] suggests a further etymology of the god's name that more closely aligns him to the poetry-book and (via the device of the 'occupational connector' identified in Dällenbach's analysis of *mise en abyme*)[97] the poet he represents, but his apparent lack of numeracy is an oddity that remains to be explained (see further below).

Wyke recognises Vertumnus as a "symbol of a changeful yet unified Propertian book", but also widens the field of reference to include "past and present subjects of Propertian poetry".[98] A retrospective as well as prospective focus would be fitting if the poem represents a book which, at least outwardly, exhibits a marked departure from its

---

[93] Shea (1988) 67 and *passim*. See Boldrer (1999) 52 for the correction. Horace's address to his *liber*, personified as a *puer*, in *Epistles* 1 (where Vertumnus features as the first word) gives some legitimacy to Shea's reading (on the relevance to 4.2 of Horace's Vertumnus, see O'Neill (2000) 264-267); Shea comes closer to the *communis opinio* in seeing Propertius' Vertumnus as "the personification of Augustan verse" (65), for which see n. 83 above.

[94] Shea (1988) 67-8.

[95] Shea (1988) 70; The idea is attractive, but requires the exclusion of other personages, including Apollo and the Bona Dea, not to mention the persona of Propertius himself; conversely, as DeBrohun (2003) 171 points out, not all of Vertumnus' personalities reappear in the book. Moreover, the *OLD* does not suggest an equivalent for *mutatio* in *uersus*, though the association in 4.2 of *uertere* with the statue's mutations allows the connection.

[96] So (tentatively) Suits (1969) 484 n.31 and (less tentatively) Shea (1988) 64. It is curious that in her commentary Boldrer (1999) 139 should reject this as an "ipotesi eccessiva" when in her introduction (p. 51) she suggests that *pedes* in the previous line (4.2.56) could also refer to metrical 'feet'.

[97] Dällenbach (1989) 76.

[98] Wyke (2002) 84 (without her italics).

predecessors.[99] Wyke's idea that Vertumnus has affinities with figures beyond those of Book 4 alone may be supported by some possible connections at the beginning and end of 4.2 to the beginning and end of the wider corpus within which it is contained, particularly if 2.1.1 be taken as the *incipit* of a new collection conceived separately to the *Monobiblos*:[100]

Quaeritis, unde ***mihi*** **tot*iens*** scribantur *amores* 2.1.1

Qui[d] mirare ***meas*** **tot** *i*n uno corpore *formas* 4.2.1[101]

---

[99] 'Outwardly', since there is also teleology in the collection: the path to Propertius 4 is prepared dramatically in the evolution of the relationship with Cynthia (see Camps 1-2), while elegy is politically engaged *ab initio* (see Romussi (1940-41)).

[100] Any contribution to this vexed issue must recognise that ancient publication practices are a grey area; it may be reasonably supposed that books designed as part of a collection were also released individually. The principal question here is whether or not the *Monobiblos* circulated as a separate entity: much hangs on, yet cannot be resolved by what (if anything) is meant by *liber alter* at 2.3.4 and *tres...libelli* at 2.13.25, taken by Lachmann (1816) xx-xxvii to evidence the conflation of two originally separate books (i.e. Books 2 and '3') in the anomalously long Book 2 that has been transmitted; the citation of 3.21.14 by Nonius Marcellus as *elegiarum libro III°*, which complicates Lachmann's thesis, was reconciled with the view of five Propertian poetry books by Theodor Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1882, 413-426), who argued that the transmitted Book 2 comprises the original Books 1-2 of a separate collection of four books (in which the transmitted Book 3 was also originally Book 3) by showing that of the eleven known Propertian citations in the ancient grammarians, none come from the *Monobiblos*, with 2.1.2 providing the earliest reference (Birt's evidence is reproduced in Enk (1946) 26-27, whose preference for the incorporation of the *Monobiblos* results in the weak supposition that Book 2 was more popular and therefore consulted more often (p. 27); against other weak refutations of Birt, see Butrica (1996) 94-95); in support of Birt's view of a *Monobiblos* followed by a 'tetrabiblos', see B.L. Ullman, *CP* 4 (1909) 45ff., who rejects the quite compelling evidence he himself compiles for an archetypal reading of Nonius' citation as *elegiarum libro IIII°*; Ullman is followed by Skutsch (1975) and now (with new argument) Nelis (2005). Heyworth (1995a) 177-181 reappraises and accepts the emendation Ullman rejected (so now Fedeli (2005) 25-27), arguing that the *Monobiblos* is "inconceivable" as an isolated publication and refers to a unitary collection of five books; Lyne (1998), Günther (1997) 6-14, and Murgia (2000) also accept a collection of five books. For Butrica (1996), 2.1 marks the start of a 'tribiblos' rather than a 'tetrabiblos'; see also Hutchinson (1984) 106 in favour of a unified Book 2; Williams (1968) 479-495 denounced Lachmann's division as "one of the greatest disservices" done to the text of Propertius, and argued that Books 1-3 were planned and published as a collection (Barsby (1974) accepts this structure but not its prior conception as such) displaying ring-composition with elegies to Tullus at the start of Book 1 and the end of Book 3: the ring-composition and farewell to Cynthia construct attractive unity, but this could be a dramatic ploy in which a break with the past is made by Book 4 only to be frustrated by the return of Cynthia in 4.7 and 4.8; also problematic to this view, as pointed out by Fedeli (2005) 23, is Birt's observation that 1.1 (and the *Monobiblos*) is addressed to Tullus, whereas 2.1 (and its collection) is addressed to Maecenas. For other aspects of the debate, see P.A. Miller (2004) 261-2 n.44. The evidence presented here (*pace* n. 105 below) suggests (with Birt, Ullman, Skutsch, Butrica, and Nelis) that 2.1 began a separate collection uniting our Books 2-4 in either a 'tribiblos' or 'tetrabiblos' (in support of the latter, see pp. 123-4 above).

[101] Barber's *OCT* prints *Qui* at 4.2.1.

In both of these opening lines, the reader is apostrophised apparently in reply to a question (*Quaeritis* ~ *Quid mirare*); in each case, the question pertains to the plenitude (*totiens* ~ *tot*) of the poet's (*mihi* ~ *meas*) output; although the poetics are more ambiguous in 4.2, in that *corpus* and *formae* must be interpreted metapoetically once the reader realises that the speaker is a statue rather than the poet,[102] a similar ambiguity arises in 2.1 with the implication that the *puella* (v. 4) of which the poet speaks is also his *liber* (v. 2): *siue illam Cois fulgentem incedere † cogis †, | hac totum e Coa ueste uolumen erit* (2.1.5-6);[103] the opening question, then, is answered in both poems in terms of the diverse guises the subject in each case is given: both the *puella* in 2.1 (and *passim*) and the statue in 4.2 are made to put on at the poet's whim different demeanours and costumes (note the reiteration of *seu*, 2.1.5-16; cf. 4.2.23-40),[104] starting in each case with the Coan silk (2.1.5-6, 4.2.23) definitive of Cynthia since 1.2.2.[105] The range of guises Vertumnus is made to adopt pertains to a wider range of poetics than has been accorded to Cynthia proper heretofore: indeed, a further connection between 2.1 and 4.2 could be seen in the admission to Book 4 of the Augustan themes eschewed in the *recusatio* of 2.1. However, the same ambition is arguably implicit in the earlier catalogue: for James Zetzel, "[t]he list of Cynthia's endearing and inspiring activities [...] becomes an oblique and riddling set of poetic genres beginning from Propertius' own elegy, through encomiastic poetry, lyric, etiological poetry, epic, and history. Propertius is suggesting

---

[102] As Shea (1988) 66 points out, the (first-time) reader of 4.2.1, not yet accustomed to the shifting personae of Book 4 (Horos in 4.1b is the first example, and he is evidently an interlocutor with the Propertian 'ego' of 4.1a) is more likely to take the first person to represent the authorial voice, whereafter the disclosure of Vertumnus' *signa paterna* in 4.2.2 might be read metapoetically as 'the author's seal'. Similarly, *Quid mirare* is both inscriptional (see Hutchinson ad 4.2.1) *and* part of the metapoetic discourse.

[103] On 2.1, see especially Zetzel (1983) 91-2; see also Wyke (2002) 11-45; Gold (1993) 88.

[104] Vertumnus' and Cynthia's similarity in this regard is discussed by O'Neill (2000) 270-272, who points out how for L. Irigary the male 'gaze' turns women into statues, and how, for Greene (1998) 37-66, the sleeping Cynthia of 1.3 is objectified as the poet's mannequin and dressed up according to his whim; as O'Neill notes, "the passive statue of Vertumnus is adorned with fruit and other offerings like the feminine figure in 1.3" (272).

[105] Those who prefer a collection that includes the *Monobiblos* may wish to construe a countervailing link between 4.2 and 1.2, which is in the same position in its book (however, not being an opening poem like 2.1, 1.2 is no more prominent than, say, 2.2 or 3.2) and like 4.2 opens with a question: ***Quid*** *iuuat ornato procedere, uita, capillo* (however, the addressee is Cynthia rather than the reader as in 2.1 and 4.2).

that love elegy, even though it is a self-absorbed and private poetic form, can be a vehicle for expressing the concerns of far grander forms".[106]

It can be argued, therefore, that 4.2 is linked intratextually to 2.1, a connection which is all the more pointed if the notion of a separate collection of '*Amores*', beginning with 2.1, is countenanced. Similarly, connections can be established between the end of 4.2 and what is indubitably the end of the corpus, i.e., the end of 4.11: as observed above, both are inscriptional; Vertumnus releases the passer-by to the more pressing concerns of the law-court (4.2.57), while Cornelia concludes her *peroratio* and dismisses her *testes* from a parallel context in the underworld (4.11.99); both make quasi-epitaphic references to the soil, benign in 4.11 (*grata...humus*, v. 99; cf. *grata*, 4.2.60), less so in 4.2 (*tellus...ne terat*, v. 62); in their respective last lines, both portray themselves as honorands (*honoratis*, 4.11.102; *honos*, 4.2.64).

These connections to 2.1 and 4.11 invite consideration of Vertumnus in relation to the wider collection as well as to Book 4 specifically: he might be taken to reflect not only the diversity of the last book, but also the shift that has taken place within Propertian poetics with respect to the preceding books; equally, the telescoping of the entire collection into this one poem implies, at least retrospectively, that the shift was a preordained evolution. Oscillating between a literal and literary monument, then, Vertumnus' reference to his accommodating corporeality (*tot in uno corpore formas*, 4.2.1) might be taken to bespeak his accommodation not just of different forms of elegy or of different speaking *egos* in Book 4, but perhaps also, in monumental terms, of the structural format of the *corpus*[107] in which he is contained. Moreover, if Vertumnus can be read as a figure for the thematic and structural forms of this work, then he should also be expected to disclose something about the last book's incorporation of Vergilian *formae*, thematic and, if they are legitimate, structural.

---

[106] Zetzel (1983) 92. Consistent with this view of an expanded elegiac form is the (re)construction of Gallan elegy offered by Ross (1975).

[107] On the metapoetic sense of *corpus*, see Farrell (1990) and n.144 below.

Agropastoral Vertumnus

As a god with Tuscan connections and priapic associations, Vertumnus is naturally proud of his rustic background. He is no boor, however, and enriches his speech with learned evocations of Vergilian pastoral and georgic language.[108] Mooting the possible derivation of his name from the changing of the seasons (*uertentis...anni*, v. 11), Vertumnus embarks on a catalogue of seasonal offerings brought to him by thankful farmers:

> prima mihi uariat liuentibus uua racemis,
> et coma lactenti spicea fruge *tumet*;
> hic dulcis cerasos, hic autumnalia **pruna**
> ***cernis*** et aestiuo mora **rubere** die;
> **insit**or hic soluit pomosa uota **cor**ona,
> cum **pirus** inuito stipite **mala tulit**. 4.2.13-18

The humbleness of the farmers' gifts belies the care with which they have been selected: as underlined, *uua racemis* evokes a georgic line ending (*uua racemos*, *Geo.* 2.60), while *cerasos* (cf. *Geo.* 2.18) and *mora* (cf. *Ecl.* 6.22) are Vergilian *hapax legomena*, a further two of which are united back-to-back in *lactenti spicea* (cf. *spicea iam campis cum messis inhorruit et cum* | *frumenta in uiridi stipula lactentia* turgent, *Geo.* 1.314-5): choice offerings indeed. Moreover, as though to vouch for the practicality of Vergilian didactic, the Propertian grafter (*insitor*, 4.2.17) is versed in his craft from the *praecepta* of *Georgics* 2:

> et saepe alterius ramos impune ***uidemus***
> *uertere* in alterius, mutatamque **insita mala**
> **ferre pirum** et **prunis** lapidosa **rubescere cor**na. *Geo.* 2.32-4

---

[108] See Dee (1974a) 46: "Propertius mixes literary reminiscences with borrowings from the vocabulary of the agricultural world and produces, perhaps for the first time in aetiological elegy, that kind of literary rusticism pioneered in Latin verse by Vergil." For a list of parallel passages, see especially Boldrer (1999) 54-55: she senses Vergil is "ben presente", more so than Catullus, but apparently not to the same degree as Horace and Tibullus. Hutchinson (2005) improves upon the *Quellenforschung* of previous commentaries by suggesting the generic implications of Vergilian allusion.

The suggestion of metamorphosis in Vergil's *uertere in alterius* and *mutatam...pirum* makes this an eminently suitable passage for the metamorphic Vertumnus to rework.[109] Of the seven separate grafts proposed by Vergil, only that of apple onto pear (the fruits of which are now offered by Propertius' *insitor*) had been deemed likely to succeed by Varro (*non enim pirum recipit quercus, neque enim si malus pirum*, *RR* 1.40.5).[110] Propertius' *inuito stipite* is perhaps a reflection of the Vergilian 'pessimism' detected by Thomas in the unnatural violence perpetrated by the farmer on nature (*Geo.* 2.73-82, and cf. *Geo.* 1.224, *inuitae...terrae*, for the same idea),[111] but, if so, then only residually: boastful of his own ability to assume different personae, it is unsurprising that Vertumnus should favour a successful graft (*impune...uertere*).

Propertius *insitor*: textual grafting

It is in accord with his *mise en abyme* that Vertumnus should reflect the Vergilian language that characterises Book 4 as a whole. Yet the marked allusion to Vergil's treatment of grafting in so metapoetic a poem demands special attention, for grafting can itself be read metapoetically as a figure for literary allusion. In this case, the metapoetic equation between grafting and literary allusion is further intensified by the fact that the passage alluded to is itself about grafting – the allusion, and with it the metapoetic connection between allusion and grafting, would otherwise be weaker. In other words, Propertius 4.2.17-18 associates grafting with allusion precisely by alluding to, or taking grafts from, Vergil's own treatment of grafting. What secures this reading, apart from the already heavily metapoetic context of 4.2, is the fact that the *Georgics* passage in question has itself been interpreted, independently, as a commentary on allusion: following J. Pucci, S. Clément-Tarantino has interpreted *Geo.* 2.9-82 as "une réflexion poétique implicite" on Vergil's metaphrasis of Theophrastus.[112]

---

[109] I owe this point to Professor M.R. Gale.

[110] Thomas 161 cites Varro as Vergil's source. The primacy of the Vergilian model for 4.2 is guaranteed by the occurrence in both of words not intrinsically connected with grafting (*pruna~prunis*, *rubere~rubescere*) as well as those that are inevitable given the subject matter (*insitor~insita*, *pirus~pirum*, *mala~mala*, *tulit~ferre*); further echoes consolidate the nexus (*cernis~videmus*, *corona~corna*).

[111] Thomas (1988a) 271.

[112] Clément-Tarantino (2006) 6 n. 14, following J. Pucci, *The Full-Knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Tradition* (New Haven and London, 1998) 99-108, notes the continuing use of 'grafting' imagery in scholarly discourse on allusion.

This process of textual grafting has consequences for both the 'source' (i.e. 'grafted') and 'target' (i.e. 'host') text: the former (e.g. Theophrastus for Vergil, Vergil for Propertius) is required to adapt, or metamorphose itself to the new (con)text to which it has been transplanted and which now gives it life, while the latter (i.e. Vergil, host of Theophrastus, and Propertius, host of Vergil) becomes a product of hybridisation and acculturation:[113] the metamorphic reciprocity of this exchange is neatly encapsulated in the repetition of *alterius* in Vergil's description of the process (*et saepe alterius ramos impune uidemus | uertere in alterius*, *Geo.* 2.32-3). In this way, grafting provides a neat analogy for the (potential) reciprocity of allusive dialogue emphasised in Hinds' study.[114] Further, the crucial word, *uertere*, has as a further meaning to 'translate' (cf. famously Plautus' *uortit barbare*, *As.* 11 and *Trin.* 19) and, more generally, 'render into another form of words, paraphrase or sim.' (*OLD* s.v. 24a and 24b respectively),[115] from which processes the rewording involved in allusion is inalienable.[116] *Vert*umnus, then, acts as a figure for the dynamics of intertextuality, and specifically Vergilian intertextuality in Propertius 4, and he alludes to Vergil's treatment of grafting to illustrate how, in both allusion and grafting, an alien material (or foreign *corpus*) adapts to its new context with varying degrees of resistance and/or success. Perhaps most adaptable of all is Vertumnus, suited as he is by name and nature to conversion: proud of his heritage (*Tuscis orior*, 4.2.3) but now a decidedly Roman god, he stands at the forum's edge and recalls the line of the *Aeneid* allegedly favoured by Augustus in his campaign to formalise the dress-code for the forum (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 40.5):[117]

---

[113] See Clément-Tarantino (2006) esp. 8-19 and 24.

[114] Hinds (1998) 100-104: 'potential' because tendentiousness, wilful or otherwise on the part of either reader or poet, can be involved.

[115] For the former, cf. also Ter. *Eu.* 7, Varro *RR* 1.1.10, Lucr. 5.337, Cic. *Fin.* 1.7; for the latter, cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.9.2, 10.5.5.

[116] *uertere* at *Geo.* 3.148 (*uolitans, cui nomen asilo | Romanum est, oestrum Grai uertere uocantes*) has several senses: it seems to refer primarily to the Greeks' 'renaming' of the *myops* ('gadfly') as *oestrus* or vice-versa (cf. esp. Aesch. *Supp.* 307-8; Callim. *Hec.* fr. 301 Pf.; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3.276-7), but perhaps also hints at the intertextual 'versions' produced by the successive authors who dealt with this *zetema*; the possibility of a Greek 'translation' of the Latin cannot be entirely excluded either, insofar as commentators since Servius have felt compelled to reject it as absurd: see further Thomas *ad loc.* and (1982a).

[117] Hutchinson and Boldrer (1999) *ad loc.*; on the epic diction in these lines, see Tränkle (1960) 39, 175.

sed facias, ***diuum*** **Sator**, ut **Roman**a per aeuum
transeat ante meos turba **togata** pedes. 4.2.55-6

Like Venus, Vertumnus looks to Jupiter (*hominum* ***sator*** *atque* ***deorum***, *Aen.* 1.254) to safeguard his interests (*mecumque fouebit* | ***Roman****os rerum dominos gentemque* ***togatam*** [*hap. leg.*], *Aen.* 1.281-2), which, taking *pedes* as his metrical feet, will secure Propertius' *nachleben.* The Etruscan Vertumnus' acculturation, or naturalisation, to Rome corresponds to that of Propertius, whose own agropastoral origins in neighbouring Umbria and subsequent Romanisation were shown in Chapter 2 to be parallel both to his own generic ascent from erotic to patriotic elegy, and to Vergil's from pastoral to epic. In the rest of Propertius 4, Vergilian material is grafted onto elegy not without evidence of generic conflict (*inuito stipite?*), as shown in Chapter 2; in the process, the *Aeneid* is 'softened', sometimes distorted, by its elegiac reworking, while the 'weaker' genre is invigorated with a strength not its own.

Epic Vertumnus

While the *Aeneid* can offer Propertius 4 a precedent for merging within itself material of disparate generic provenance, it cannot act as a precursor for grafting onto itself material of 'higher' generic status, for epic stands already at the top of the generic hierarchy as the only all-encompassing genre; the precedent, then, is furnished by the *Georgics*, Vergil's transitional and upwardly mobile work (see p. 58 with n.30 above). Its section on grafting, as well as looking to parallel passages in Theophrastus and activating thereby the metapoetic association between grafting and allusion, also looks forward to the process whereby Vergilian epos, hitherto of the agropastoral mode, will accommodate epic material. Though a *recusatio* embedded within the *praecepta* on grafting disclaims such generic ambition (*Geo.* 2.35-49),[118] it does so in terms of a famous epic *topos* for inadequacy, and so belies the generic modesty it professes and paradoxically anticipates the expansion of Vergilian epos towards Homeric epic: that expansion is realised in the Aristaeus epyllion at the end of the *Georgics* in which Vergil unites the Hesiodic and Callimachean poetics with which he started out with the

[118] See Clément-Tarantino (2006) 16-19.

intensive Homeric allusion that was soon to effect his ultimate metamorphosis into the Roman Homer in the *Aeneid*. Its 'transitional' dynamic is perhaps what recommended the *Georgics* to 4.2 for a higher concentration of allusive attention than it receives in the other elegies of Propertius 4. To Hutchinson's observation at 4.2.14 that the poem's "[e]vocation of the *Georgics* [...] shows the earlier gap between P. and Virgil removed" can thus be added that it is in alluding precisely to Vergil's transitional work that Propertius advertises metapoetically his own intergeneric flexibility.

Moreover, Propertius 4.2 *as a whole* systematically tracks the transition within the *Georgics* to a higher generic register. After dwelling allusively on the first half of Vergil's poetic output through his studied reworking of Vergilian bucolic and georgic material in a catalogue of offerings culminating with the grafter's fruits (4.2.17-8), Vertumnus abruptly changes tack (*mendax fama, noces, alius mihi nominis index*, v. 19) to embark upon a new catalogue in which he showcases his metamorphic range (4.2.23-40) to justify an etymology of his name which he himself endorses (*uertebar in omnis*, 4.2.47, cf. 4.2.21-2). As he doffs and dons his succession of metapoetic outfits, Vertumnus eschews Vergilian lexical ornament by using a high density of non-Vergilian vocabulary (*Cois, faeno, corbis, sobrius, plectra, fautor, plumoso, aucupio, suppetat, mundus, institor, baculum, sirpiculis*), and yet by shifting between reaper (*da falcem*, v. 25), soldier (*arma tuli*, v. 27), and shepherd (*pastor*, v. 39) he signals the three phases of Vergil's career,[119] now reordered and interspersed with Propertian erotic figures and metaphors (*indue me Cois... meque uirum... imposta corona... speciem furabor Iacchi,* | *furabor Phoebi...uenor*) as if to suggest that generic changes can be reversed and intermingled at will. Whereas Vergil progressively ascended the generic scale, Vertumnus' choices are erratic and unpredictable, corresponding to the apparently random alternation of 'high' and 'low' registers of elegy in Book 4. Recalling how he once bore arms, Vertumnus perhaps hints that the origin of elegy itself lies in archaic martial epigram:[120]

> **arma** tuli quondam et, **memini**, laudabar in illis:
> corbis et *imposito pondere* messor eram. 4.2.27-8

[119] So Hutchinson *ad* 4.2.27-8 and 39-40.
[120] Hutchinson *ad* 4.2.27.

The evocation in the grandiloquent hexameter of the incipit of the *Aeneid* and the hint in *memini* of the conventional appeal to the muse to aid poetic memory (cf. *memora*, *Aen.* 1.8),[121] perhaps doubling as a 'reflexive annotation' specifically to that work,[122] implies that Propertius' return to the origins of his genre in 4.6 and 4.10 will be akin to Vergil's return to Homeric epic in the final phase of his career as a hexameter poet. Yet this generic hierarchy is also inverted in the pentameter when Vertumnus observes the assumption of *pondus* (a stylistic attribute of epic) when he switches from soldiering to the lesser occupation of harvesting. By a similar inversion, when he becomes a *desultor* performing some suspiciously elegiac acrobatics (*alterno...equo*),[123] he assumes an oxymoronic but metapoetically coherent *leue pondus*:

> est etiam aurigae species Vertumnus et eius
> traicit *alterno* qui *leue pondus* equo. 4.2.35-6

Having continued in this metapoetic but less intricately allusive vein for some eleven distichs, Vertumnus interrupts himself for a second time (4.2.41) to return (not without the censure of textual critics) to the seasonal *dona* in which he has already vaunted himself.[124] The resumption is also marked by a return to georgic intertextuality, but the allusive focus has now shifted from *Geo.* 2 to *Geo.* 4. Quoting from the end of Vertumnus' catalogue of transformations, it can be observed with most commentators that Propertius has visited the garden of the 'old man of Tarentum', Vergil's ultra-georgic interlude prior to bringing the *Georgics* into ever more epic waters:

---

[121] Shea (1988) 69 with n.27; Boldrer (1999) *ad loc.* finds the allusion "comicamente altisonante".

[122] As suggested to me by Prof. M.R. Gale. See Conte (1986) 60-63 on Ovid's Ariadne 'remembering' (*memini*, *Fasti* 3.462) her Catullan incarnation; see further Hinds (1998) 1-16.

[123] On *alternus* as a generic marker for the *alter*nating hexameter and pentameter of the elegiac couplet, see Sharrock (1990).

[124] This is an attempt to argue on the basis of the *textus receptus*. Heyworth's transposition of vv. 13-18 to precede directly v. 43ff. attractively unites what in the MSS are two separate(d) treatments of Vertumnus' seasonal *dona* and, it may now be argued, two separate(d) passages of intensive georgic intertextuality. This solution creates problems, however, for it renders unexplained the interim etymology of Vertumnus from the change of seasons (vv. 11-12, *in situ*) and does not transpose with it every reference to the farmers' offerings (*fructum*, v. 11, *in situ*); it also further sunders Vertumnus' favoured etymology (*formas...uertebar in omnis*, v. 47) from his catalogue of form-changes (vv. 23-40). The renewal of interest in the seasonal *dona* is accompanied by a shift in the focus of allusion from *Geo.* 2 to *Geo.* 4 in a way that may be purposeful: transposition in this case would smooth over a roughness that the reader is intended to discern as Vertumnus/Propertius returns to the same subject but to a pointedly different book of the *Georgics*. The argument presented above, however, is not incompatible with the transposition *mutatis mutandis*.

pastor me ad baculum possum curuare uel idem
sirpiculis medio puluere ferre **rosa**m.
nam quid ego adiciam, de quo mihi maxima fama est,
hortorum in manibus dona probata meis?
caeruleus **cucumis** tumidoque *cucurbita* **uentre**
me notat et iunco brassica uincta leui; 4.2.39-44

Atque equidem, extremo ni iam sub fine laborum
uela traham et terris festinem aduertere proram,
forsitan et pinguis **hortos** quae cura colendi
ornaret canerem biferique **rosa**ria Paesti,
quoque modo potis gauderent intiba riuis 120
et uirides apio ripae; tortusque per herbam
cresceret in **uentrem cucumis**; nec sera comantem
narcissum aut flexi tacuissem uimen acanthi
pallentisque hederas et amantis litora myrtos. *Geo.* 4.116-124

The *horti* and *rosae* are scattered perhaps too randomly to trigger an aural recall, but the 'dark-green cucumber and potbellied squash' are unmistakeably unearthed from the georgic vegetable patch: Hutchinson notes that Vertumnus 'crams' more vegetables into his *praeteritio* than Vergil, who in quitting the *hortus* leaves such subjects *aliis post me memoranda* (*Geo.* 4.148).[125] Just as Vergil is at this point in the *Georgics* moving onwards and upwards to more epic material, so too does Vertumnus in the next lines effect a seamless transition from the georgic to the epic mode:

nec **flos** ullus hiat pratis, quin ille decenter
impositus fronti **langueat** ante meae. 4.2.45-6

The reference to flowers continues the georgic theme of the preceding lines, but *cut* flowers are redolent of epic similes:[126] hence, it can be taken as a sign of Propertius' generic ascent that the drooping flower of Vertumnus' garland might recall the image of the dead Euryalus, beloved of Nisus in *Aeneid* 9 (*purpureus ueluti cum* ***flos*** *succisus aratro* | ***languescit*** *moriens*, *Aen.* 9.435-6), which itself reworks the death of Catullus' love (*cecidit*

[125] Hutchinson *ad* 4.2.43-4.
[126] This distinction was suggested to me by Professor M.R. Gale.

uelut prati | ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam | tactus aratro est, 11.22-4),[127] perhaps also recalled by Propertius in a second tier of allusion.[128] Now in a more epic register, Vertumnus quickly reiterates his preferred etymology (vv. 47-8) and then looks back to his martial past, describing with "epische Macht"[129] how he came to Rome's defence in an Etruscan alliance (vv. 49-54), and forward to his future in Rome, which, in the prophetic language of *Aeneid* 1, he calls upon Jupiter to safeguard (vv. 55-6, discussed above).

The elegy's eruption into grandiloquent voice is also built up by the catalogue style in which Vertumnus lists his diverse guises: the relentless succession of shifts, each contained in its own couplet, shows how readily the elegiac metre can lend itself to what is a quintessential feature of epic narrative.[130] The catalogue form, then, is here treated to an elegiac workout: on the one hand, the end product seems to be a more epic form of elegy; on the other, some reciprocity cannot be excluded, for Propertius might also be said to have demonstrated the elegiac potential of epic. Vergil himself was not averse to such a possibility, and situated at strategic points in his twin catalogues of *Aeneid* 7 and 10 figures whose interrelation has been seen to oppose the themes of conquest and empire with those of love, death, grief, and artistic failure.[131] Representing the more elegiac of these themes are the Ligurian chiefs Cunarus (cf. *kinyros*, 'plaintive') and Cupavo (cf. *cupido*), sons of Cycnus, who gave his elegiac swansong (*solatur amorem*, *Aen.* 10.191, cf. *Ecl.* 6.46, *Geo.* 4.464) upon the death of his beloved Phaethon:

> Non ego te, Ligurum ductor fortissime bello, 185
> transierim, Cunare, et paucis comitate Cupauo,
> cuius olorinae surgunt de uertice pennae
> (crimen, Amor, uestrum) **formae**que in**signe paternae**. *Aen.* 10.185-188

[127] See Hardie (1994) *ad loc.*; Hutchinson *ad loc.* compares the related *Aen.* 11.68-71 (the dead Pallas compared to a picked flower) commenting "beauty in dying is not precluded"; see also *Iliad* 8.306-307 and Steisichorus, *Geryoneis* SLG 315 col. ii 12-17.
[128] For Propertius' allusions to Catullus 11 in 4.3, see Janan (2001) 56-58.
[129] Tränkle (1960) 174.
[130] On the amplitude at which 4.2 hints, see Hutchinson 88.
[131] Malamud (1998).

The attention Vergil seems to have personally given (*non ego te...transierim*), at the heart of an epic catalogue of warriors (*ductor fortissime bello*), to a tragic elegiac figure (*crimen, Amor, uestrum*) has not been missed by Propertius, if he can be seen to have commenced his elegiac catalogue poem with an allusion to this passage:

> Qui[d] mirare meas tot in uno corpore **formas**,
> accipe Vertumni **signa paterna** dei. 4.2.1-2

The allusion is subtle enough, perhaps, but derives from a passage that Propertius reworks elsewhere (see p. 188 above), and the phrase *signa paterna* has been treated with such suspicion by textual critics[132] that, if legitimate, it could well trigger an aural recall of Vergil's *insigne paternae*. Thematically, Cycnus' fate should be of interest to Vertumnus, in that he changes shape: anticipating an Ovidian technique in the so-called 'little *Aeneid*' of the *Metamorphoses*, Propertius has here alluded to Vergil with purposeful selectivity;[133] moreover, the erotic catalyst behind Cycnus' transformation suggests that Propertius is reading the *Aeneid* from an elegiac point of view. This is not as much of a distortion as it might initially appear: by drawing attention to Vergil's erotic sympathies even when he is in his most epic flight, Propertius shows that it is not just by an equal and opposite reaction that the inclusion of catalogue in 4.2 shunts elegy up and epic down the generic hierarchy; rather, the elegiac voice was already present as a constituent of epic.

Pro[per]tean Vertumnus

It is interesting that Vertumnus' last (explicit) etymology of his name, reiterated in v. 47-8 and preceding the grander assessment of his role in vv. 49-56, should coincide with an echo of the figure in *Geo.* 4 who, like Vertumnus, presides over the poet's generic ascent and is himself capable of corporeal change: this georgic shapeshifter is, of course, Proteus, who must be ambushed and fettered if he is to disclose to Aristaeus

---

[132] See Butler and Barber *ad loc.*: "a very difficult phrase"; Shackleton Bailey 227: "No one has found tolerable meaning in *signa paterna* [...] an obscure and pointless epithet"; Günther (1997) 90 n.105. If there is a difficulty, it is not *signa*, which as Hutchinson notes is an intelligible plural for the singular *signum*, used elsewhere of Vertumnus (see *ad loc.* for references), and has added point in the case of this changeful statue.

[133] On this aspect of Ovidian technique, see Hinds (1998) 104-122.

the cause of his beehive's death.[134] Cyrene briefs her son about the elusive trickery to which the old man of the sea will resort, and exhorts him to bind his captive all the more tightly the more he transforms himself. The crucial line is closely reworked in Vertumnus' definitive etymology:

*sed qu*anto ille magis **formas** se **uertet in omnis** *Geo.* 4.411

at mihi, *quo*d **formas** unus **uertebar in omnis** 4.2.47

This identification with Proteus makes sense of a number of Vertumnus' guises (*species*, 4.2.35, cf. *Geo.* 4.406) which have caused metapoetic analyses of the poem some difficulty in that they do not neatly transpose onto any of the characters or situations in the book. Vertumnus' charioteering, horseback acrobatics,[135] and angling can be seen as reflections of Proteus' mode of transport:

caeruleus Proteus, magnum qui *piscibus* aequor
et iuncto *bipedum* curru metitur *equorum.* *Geo.* 4.388-9

est etiam aurigae species Vertumnus et eius
traicit *alterno* qui leve pondus *equo.*
sub petaso[136] *pisces* calamo praedabor [...] 4.2.35-7

Though the duplication of the essential vocabulary is not of itself remarkable (*pisces* ~ *piscibus*; *alterno...equo* ~ *bipedum...equorum*), its occurrence in both texts in adjacent lines merits consideration, while the more unusual lexical material (in bold) seems to have been transplanted to Propertius' allusion to the georgic vegetable patch a few lines later:

***caeruleus** cucumis tumidoque cucurbita uentre
me notat **et iunco** brassica *uincta* leui; 4.2.43-4

---

[134] Vertumnus is frequently referred to as 'protean' by scholars but the pertinence of the identification has not been recognised: e.g. Postgate (1881) 197: "The god seems chiefly to be a symbol of the revolving seasons and their changing products, and thus appears as a Latin Proteus whose various shapes are described in our poem"; Coutelle (2005) 572: "une sorte de Protée"; Fowler (2000) 207; Janan (2001) 15; O'Neill (2000) 261: "a god whose essence is defined by protean mutability".

[135] In pursuit of his *index* to Propertius 4, Shea (1988) 69 forces a connection between Propertius' switchback horseriding and his sexual exploits *inter utramque* in 4.8.36. 4.2.35-6 are bracketed by Hutchinson who suggests *ad loc.* that they are a post-Ovidian interpolation.

[136] Barber's OCT reads *suppetat hic*; for *petaso*, see Hutchinson *ad loc.*

caeruleus is reproduced in the same *sedes*, while Vergil's *et iuncto* is echoed and glossed by Propertius' *et iunco* and *uincta* respectively.

Both Vertumnus and Proteus, then, are shape-shifting figures in some way connected with their poets' generic metamorphoses. Moreover, if, as Thomas notes, Proteus' pastoral affinities prepare the reader for the bucolic-erotic dimension in his song,[137] then Vertumnus' overriding agropastoral character prepares the reader for the same dimension in Propertius 4 (Chapter 2). A continuity may be observed in Propertius' very next prosopographic shift: 4.3 begins *Haec Arethusa* (cf. perhaps *Haec Proteus* at the close of his song, *Geo.* 4.528), whose namesake features in the Aristaeus epyllion as the nymph who communicates to Cyrene her son's grievance; her appearance also at the head of *Eclogue* 10 suggests she may have had some significance in Gallan elegy. Its aetiological dimension is a further crucial generic aspect of Propertius 4 also covered by Proteus, who reluctantly discloses to Aristaeus the *causam morbi* (*Geo.* 4.397). Thus, as a *uates* figure (*Geo.* 4.387) straight out of Homeric epic who reveals Callimachean causes and sings a song of distinctly Vergilian pastoral and Gallan elegiac character, Proteus is a complete counterpart of Vertumnus, whose own shifting forms represent the epic, aetiological, pastoral, and elegiac elements in the Propertian song of Book 4. The Proteus of *Geo.* 4 could be said, therefore, to have effected one further transformation: in a neat expression of Propertius' appropriation of Vergilian epos, Proteus has (been) morphed into Vertumnus.

A picture emerges, then, of Vertumnus not only as a metapoetic symbol of the multiform book he introduces, but as a complete figure for the nature of Vergilian intertextuality that Propertius 4 cultivates. Vertumnus is linked into the most generically pivotal part of the Vergilian *corpus*, the *Georgics*, in a way that illustrates a corresponding reorientation of Propertian elegy. Through allusion to *Geo.* 2, he adduces a pre-existing metapoetic discourse about 'textual grafting', in which *uertere* describes the metamorphoses undergone by both 'graft' and 'host' texts in the dynamics of their

---

[137] On Proteus as *pastor*, see Thomas *ad Geo.* 4.401 and 433-6; on Proteus as elegist, see *ibid. ad Geo.* 453-527 and 508-9; Morgan (1999) 151 points out, *inter alia*, that the names Proteus and Orpheus are almost anagrams of each other.

intertextuality. Through allusion to *Geo.* 4, he relates the ascent of the *Georgics* towards the *Aeneid* to an equivalent ascent in Propertian elegy, thus illustrating one of the metamorphic possibilities of intergeneric textual grafting. Appropriately linked to the Proteus of *Geo.* 4, Vertumnus shows that Propertius was preceded by Vergil in regenerating an exhausted lower genre by looking to epic as a source of new life.

Vertumnus and Proteus, therefore, are figures that reveal the creative process behind Propertian and Vergilian poetry. The presence specifically of Proteus in this creative/regenerative context is significant, for ancient Homeric exegesis redeemed his far-fetched myth in *Odyssey* 4, one of several Homeric episodes expurgated by Plato (*Rep.* 381d), by sanitising it as an allegory for the creation of the universe. The allegorical tradition now informs our reading of various Vergilian reworkings of Homer, in particular the Shield of Aeneas in *Aen.* 8[138] and the *Proteus* in *Geo.* 4.[139] Proteus' name seemed to signify primordiality,[140] which was taken by the allegorists of Homer to imply cosmogonical significance. A de-allegorised Proteus can resolve further oddities in Vertumnus. In one branch of the cosmogonical allegoresis, Proteus seems to represent the latent generative force of pre-spring, 'the moment before spring (τὸν πρὸ τοῦ ἔαρος καιρόν), after which the earth begins to create the varieties (εἶδη ποιεῖν) of plants and crops' (Σ *Od.* 4.384 (M. and E.)).[141] As well as hinting at a derivation of Vertumnus from *uer* to vie with the (apparently misconstrued) etymology of his name from the year's turning (*uertentis...anni*, v. 11), this vernal association, which is not attested before Propertius,[142] might account for his receipt of seasonal *dona* in vv. 11-18 and again at vv. 41-46, where the emphasis is very much on primacy (cf. *prima... uua*, v. 13). The cosmogonic potential imported by Vertumnus' association with Proteus also lends itself to the metapoetic reading of 4.2. Proteus was already vested with

---

[138] Hardie (1986).

[139] Farrell (1991) 256-272, with 264-266 specifically on the *Proteus*; Morgan (1999) 75-93.

[140] Τὸ μεν γὰρ < γέρων > οἶμαι τῆς ἀρχεγόνου καὶ πρώτης οὐσίας σημαίνει γεραίτερον, Ps. Heraclitus, *Quaestiones Homericae* 67.2. See Farrell (1991) 266.

[141] The quotations are derived from Morgan (1999) 77.

[142] An association between the changing seasons and an Etruscan god whose basic feature was changefulness (residual in the defunct present passive participle *-menos* in Vertumnus' name) is not unlikely (so Butler and Barber 333), but its prominent attestation in the post-Propertian tradition (cf. Ovid. *Met.* 14.687-8; Col. 10.309) may be a distortion arising from Propertius' concentration for his own (protean) purposes on this and other aspects of the god (e.g. prostitution, emphasised by O'Neill (2000), de-emphasised by Cairns (2006) 285-6); this may be suspected from the absence from his account of other associations for which there is also evidence.

metapoetic significance in the *Georgics*, where Morgan has read Aristaeus' overpowering of the old man of the sea as an expression of Vergil's mastery of Homer.[143] According to Ps. Heraclitus (65.3-6), Homer's story of Proteus represents how the demiurge imposed universal order (κόσμος) on the jumbled matter (κεχυμένης ὕλης) of Chaos. In 4.2, the protean Vertumnus, endowed with creative energy, unites the disparate poetic material of 4.1 to form new (subject) matter: *Qui[d] mirare meas tot in uno* ***corpore formas*** (4.2.1). Ovid may be seen to have taken Propertius' cue, opening his erotic epic of mythical, intertextual, and generic metamorphoses with a hint of Vertumnus' *incipit* (*In noua fert animus mutatas dicere* * ***formas*** **|** ***corpora***, *Met.* 1.1-2)[144] and following up with a Creation that, in a conceit on a cosmic scale, is metapoetically equivalent to his own activity as poet.

Autograph[t]ing

The convergence in 4.2 of metapoetic reflection on the creative process with the theme of metamorphosis defines the artist as what Alison Sharrock terms a 'metamorphic worker', metamorphosis being "a powerful signifier of art, indeed a self-reflexive representation of or metaphor for creative activity".[145] In Book 4, Propertius transforms, *inter alia*, the raw material of his own elegiac and Vergilian epic poetry into a new work of art. This theme is continued into the last six lines of the poem, the controversially introduced *sex superant uersus* (v. 57), which present an embedded epigram for Vertumnus' plinth recording the statue's fabrication and designer.[146] As an inscription within an inscription, vv. 58-64 are themselves a kind of *mise en abyme* in which the metapoetic discourse of the poem as a whole is encapsulated and intensified in a final flourish:

> stipes acernus eram, properanti falce dolatus,
> ante Numam grata pauper in urbe deus. 60
> at tibi, Mamurri, formae caelator aenae,

[143] Morgan (1999) 97-98. Parallels with *Ecl.* 6 strongly encourage this reading.
[144] See Farrell (1999) 128: "these lines suggest that the poem itself is a substantial thing, a kind of body, something that grows and changes through the application of poetic intelligence to inert matter."
[145] Sharrock (1996) 104 in an exploration of this idea in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.
[146] On the epigrammatic quality of these lines, see Hutchinson *ad loc.*

tellus artifices ne terat Osca manus,
qui me tam docilis potuisti fundere in usus.
unum opus est, operi non datur unus honos. 4.2.59-64

Vertumnus records the replacement of his onetime rough-hewn wooden effigy with a bronze statue cast by Mamurius, legendary copyist of the talismanic shield that fell from heaven during the reign of Numa. The transformation of Vertumnus' statue relates thematically to the past-present poetics of Propertius 4 (*ante Numam*, v. 59, cf. *ante Phrygem Aenean*, 4.1.2) as a further example of the metamorphic development of Rome,[147] and so is parallel to the course of Propertian 'biography' and genre. The sprucing-up of Vertumnus' statue is not elsewhere ascribed to Mamurius, but Callimachus *Iambus* 7 does offer the precedent of a wooden effigy (ξόανον) being the minor work (πάρεργον, v. 3; φθόρον, v. 25) of a(n in)famous mytho-historical craftsman, Epeios, responsible for the wooden horse of Troy;[148] *Iambus* 6 concludes by quoting (how accurately is uncertain) the plinth epigram of the chryselephantine Zeus at Olympia, in which the artist, the historical Pheidias of Athens, is similarly named. Acosta-Hughes observes that "[t]he final moment of this "reading" of the statue is thus the reading of the artist's "signature", and so a final touch of verisimilitude in this viewing of a work of art in verse".[149] In these cases we may see a certain twinning between the sculptor of the statue and the author of the poem (which may be solely what gives the statue 'existence') according to Dällenbach's 'occupational connector'. The reader attuned to Vertumnus' metapoetic links with Propertian poetics will similarly be tempted to connect Mamurius' 'signature' with that of Propertius, now ?narcissistically promoted to the status of legendary *artifex*;[150] with an audible suggestion of the poet's name in *properanti* (v. 58),[151] this quasi-*sphragis* provides both 'occupational' and 'onomastic connectors' with Propertius, thus unmasking the 'proxy' as the author

[147] On the metamorphosis of Rome in Augustan epic, see Hardie (1992) esp. 62, 73-75.
[148] Somewhat different are Call. fr. 100.1-2 Pf. ('you were an uncrafted plank') and Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.1 (*olim truncus eram*) where, as Hutchinson 59n. notes, the transformation is from unworked wood to wooden statue rather than from existing to new-improved statue.
[149] Acosta-Hughes (2002) 293; see also Hutchinson 57-64n. for the parallel.
[150] This connection has been made by Deremetz (1986); Hutchinson 61-3n.
[151] Marquis (1974) 500 detects the pun and briefly posits as "a pleasant thought which does no harm" the possibility that Vertumnus is identifiable with Propertius as a naturalized Roman and "a perfect representative of the pageantry which Propertius will now unfold before us".

according to the criteria identified by Dällenbach.[152] The specification of maple, from which writing tablets were most commonly made,[153] as the material of Vertumnus' former incarnation, invites the metapoetically-attuned reader to see how far Propertian elegy has come.[154]

The Shields of Propertius

The possibility of a "narcissistic doubling" or "twinning"[155] with Mamurius, whose greater claim to fame was as copyist of Numa's heaven-sent shield, dovetails with the argument above and in Chapter 4 (pp. 182-4 and 249-50) that Propertius replicated in 4.6 Vergil's shield of Aeneas, which itself has affinities with the Numan shield. Neither the archetype nor the multiple copies are specifically mentioned in Propertius' *sex uersus*, but the legend is presumably what recommended the choice of Mamurius in the first place, and the mention in the lines preceding the epigram of *labentis acies et tela caduca* (v. 53) in the context of the Sabine's defeat brings to mind the long tradition of routed soldiers jettisoning their cumbersome and redundant shields in flight;[156] with perhaps the most famous example coming from Archilochus (Fr. 6 Campbell), Vertumnus takes us back again to the origins of elegy (cf. *arma tuli quondam*, v. 27), and he himself would seem to have played his part in the ignoble tradition (*nec paenitet inter | proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos*, vv. 3-4). Independently of this suggestion that *tela caduca* connotes 'fallen shields', Dumézil proposed that Propertius in these lines is comparing favourably his singular yet multiform statue (*unum opus est*, v. 64; *tot...formas*, v. 1) with the multiple but identical shields made by Mamurius.[157] To update this plausible suggestion with a

---

[152] Dällenbach (1989) 76.

[153] Shea (1988) 64-5 compares Ovid, *Am.* 1.11.27-8.

[154] A further affinity with epigram could be explored here, viz. the Alexandrian tradition of commemorative monuments and/or monumental inscriptions of the archaic poets. Taking the example of [Theocritus] 21 (14 G.-P.), commonly identified as an inscription for a statue of Archilochus, Acosta-Hughes (2002) 283 comments "[t]he poem calls the "viewer's" attention both to an image and to the poetry this image represents – calls the passer-by to Archilochus and "Archilochus"." Vertumnus is perhaps to be identified more with Propertian poetics than with Propertius, but clearly there is precedent in Hellenistic statuary epigram (as also in the Hellenistic 'inscriptions' from the tombs of poets, on which see Bing (1988) 39-40, 58-70) for reading a statue as a personification of a poet's work.

[155] The terms are derived from Dällenbach (1989) 15-18.

[156] Cf. Archilochus Fr. 6 Campbell (Fr. 5 West); Alcaeus 428; Anacreon 381b; Horace *Od.* 2.7.9-10; Herodotus 5.95 and Strabo 13.1.38 paraphrase a similar epigram by Alcaeus.

[157] Dumézil (1951) 292-3.

metapoetic reading, Propertius can be seen to be comparing his singular yet multifarious *opus* of Book 4 with Mamurius' virtuoso creations, thus reiterating in the final line of the poem the implication of the *incipit*.

An even more striking comparison remains: Mamurius' replica shields were eleven in number - precisely identical to the number of poems in the *textus receptus* of Propertius 4. Yet far from stabilising the text of Book 4 as a collection of a non-negotiable eleven poems, the possibility of a numerical parallel with the Numan shields works to reinforce what was argued above to be a deliberate ambiguity between a book of eleven poems (of which the last two unite numerically to counterbalance the monolithic 4.1 and equate the collection with Vergil's ten *Eclogues*) and a book of twelve poems (putting asunder the divergent halves of 4.1 to equate the collection with the twelve book *Aeneid*), for there was a corresponding *and deliberate* ambiguity in the complement of *ancilia* once the archetype was so accurately replicated, as we read in Plutarch (*Numa* 13):[158]

> A brazen target [πέλτην], they say, fell from heaven into the hands of Numa who gave them this marvellous account of it: that Egeria and the Muses had assured him it [ὅπλον] was sent from heaven for the cure and safety of the city, and that, so to keep it secure, he was ordered by them to make eleven others, so like in dimension and form to the original [γενομένων ἄλλων ἑνδεκα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ μέγετος καὶ μορφὴν ἐκείνῳ] that no thief should be able to distinguish the true from the counterfeit.[159] [...] Numa displayed the target to the artificers and bade them to show their skill in making others like it; all despaired until at length Mamurius Veturius, an excellent workman, happily hit upon it, and made all so exactly the same that Numa himself was at a loss, and could not distinguish.

The twelve *ancilia* were paraded through Rome every March (Mars having sent the original *ancile*) by the Salian priests (that Mamurius was included also at the end of the Salian hymn is thought by Dumézil not to be an idle coincidence with Propertius

---

[158] The translation is Dryden's. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.259ff.; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 1.6.40.

[159] One thinks reluctantly of an analogue in the concluding scene of *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (Spielberg, 1981), in which the 'Ark of the Covenant' is placed in a wooden crate and stored out of harm's way in a warehouse full of identical crates.

4.2),[160] and onlookers may be presumed to have wondered which of the twelve was the prototype, and which its eleven copies, to the same extent that today's editors of Propertius 4 wonder whether to count eleven poems or twelve.

That Propertius may be seen in 4.6 to have created his own shield as a counterpart to that of *Aen.* 8, and in 4.4 to have drawn heavily on the same Vergilian ekphrasis, will lend support to the detection of continuing Vergilian language in the last *sex uersus* of 4.2 as throughout. The Mamurian *ancilia* make an appearance *en abyme* on Vergil's shield as ***lapsa*** *ancilia* (*Aen.* 8.664), possibly suggested (if one is inclined to seek it) in Propertius' anticipatory ***labentis*** *acies et tela caduca* (v. 53);[161] there is perhaps a hint of the *Aeneid* in the designation of Mamurius as *formae caelator* ***aenae*** (v. 61), and of Vergilian ekphrasis in *artifices...manus* (v. 62), used of the artisans of Dido's temple to Juno (*Aen.* 1.455) and of the sceptre by which Latinus swears the *foedera* of *Aen.* 12, an artefact which like Vertumnus was once wood and now is bronze (*olim arbos, nunc* ***artifices manus aere*** *decoro* | *inclusit*, *Aen.* 12.210-11; cf. 4.2.61-2: *at tibi, Mamurri, formae caelator* ***aenae***, | *tellus* ***artifices*** *ne terat Osca* ***manus***); it can also be observed that the allusion at v. 56 to Jupiter's *gentem...togatam* (*Aen.* 1.282) is reproduced in 4.4 in conjunction with allusion to the Shield of Aeneas (see pp. 110 and 213-6 above).

Propertius *caelator*

Propertius' doubling with Mamurius, therefore, has a distinctly Vergilian colouring which shades our understanding of the contrast, noted by Hutchinson,[162] between *properanti falce dolatus*, describing Vertumnus' wooden original, and the *caelator* ('engraver') with *artifices manus*, who has now upgraded the statue: though a 'translation' of the metapoesis of these lines risks foreclosing their infinite suggestiveness, there is at least a sense in which they can be read as an expression not just of the upgrading of Propertian elegy from its original quasi-bucolic form, but of its having been recast from Vergilian epic material. The engraving technique of the *caelator* is thus an equivalent of

---

[160] Dumézil (1951) 290.

[161] For a possible nod to Propertius' *tela* ***caduca*** and etymologising on *uertere*, cf. Ovid's distinctly elegiac description of the Numan shield: *ecce leui scutum* ***uersatum*** *leniter aura* | ***decidit***: *a populo clamor ad astra uenit* (*Fasti* 3.373-4).

[162] Hutchinson *ad* 4.2.59.

the metapoetic grafting of the georgic *insitor* earlier in the poem: there, grafting signalled Vergilian intertextuality and its metamorphic effect on Propertian elegy, *pace* the *inuito* ***stipite*** (v. 18); here, engraving signals the transformation of the onetime ***stipes*** *acernus* (v. 59) into a metallic statue which is similarly incised with Vergilian inlay. The earlier hint of reluctance to graft is perhaps present here too, if the epitaphic *tellus artifices ne terat Osca manus* (v. 62) be taken not just as a variation on a convention of funerary epigram, but as the artist's misgivings about grappling with so ambitious a project. There may be a Vergilian implication here, if *tellus Osca* be taken as a reference to Campania (*pars pro toto*)[163] where the late Vergil was laid to rest, and/or as an echo of the only reference to the Oscans in the *Aeneid*, where they appear in the catalogue of Turnus' Latin allies in close association with the river Volturnus, with whose personification Vertumnus may have been connected or confused:[164]

> [...] quique Cales linquunt amnisque uadosi
> accola Volturni, pariterque Saticulus asper
> **Oscorumque manus. ter***etes* sunt aclydes illis
> **tel**a, sed haec lento mos est aptare flagello.
> laeuas *caetra* tegit, *falcati* comminus enses. *Aen.* 7.728-32

In this passage, the Latin rustics are massing against the Trojans, having exchanged their ploughshares for swords (see also pp. 70 and 221-2). Vertumnus, then, could be seen to be drawing our attention here to his nearest analogue in the *Aeneid*, and to a passage in which the agropastoral swings into the epic mode.

That Vertumnus is a georgic artefact throughout the poem and a Vergilian epic artefact in these last lines perhaps suggests a further pun in the name of this etymologising statue, i.e. ***Vertumnus a Vergilio*** – a further example of an 'onomastic connector', but this time splitting the proxy's identity between Propertius and the poet whose status he wishes to emulate. For Dällenbach, "[t]he clearest signals [for literary reflexivity] are

---

[163] So Dumézil (1951) 290; Butler and Barber *ad loc.* suggest that Mamurius was buried in Oscan territory. See further Hutchinson *ad loc.* The suggestion of Boldrer (1999) *ad loc.* that *ossa* might be read for *Osca* would necessitate extensive surgery in the rest of the line, but could without emendation be an intentional pun on the regular epitaphic prayer.

[164] Dennis (1848) 519 n.18 speculates that Vertumnus is called Volturnus by Festus (ap. Paul. Diac. *v.* Volturnalia) and Varro (*LL* 7.45), "though neither recognises the relation in this case".

given by words that posit an analogy between an utterance and an aspect of the narrative";[165] homonymy or virtual homonymy between a character and the author are taken to be particularly clear indicators in this regard. However false, this latent etymology would be a fitting (but not prerequisite) expression of the Vergilian nature of this statuary poem, which figures for Propertius 4 as a whole: if an ekphrasis can be defined as a textual description of an artwork, 4.2 is almost an ekphrasis in reverse, for it is an artwork that describes a text; through a *mise en abyme*, Vertumnus' protean statue tells us about the generic metamorphosis and, above all, Vergilian 'material' and structure of the monument that is Propertius 4.

The Propertius Code

These two aspects of Vergilian intertextuality, then, the verbal and the structural, are united in the implicit representation of the book's eleven or twelve poems as the eleven or twelve shields fashioned by Mamurius, who seems to figure for Propertius working in the Vergilian mode. This offers a very different explanation for the genesis and structure of the book. If, for example, 4.10 unites with 4.11 to counterbalance the 150 lines of 4.1, perhaps in imitation of the ten *Eclogues*, of which the first and the ninth are also a pair of 150 lines, then we are looking at a form of balance and structure very different to any of those proposed to date, and are required to reject the suggestion that formal considerations, such as the comparatively shorter length of 4.10, might have been dictated by such arbitrary factors as the column length of a papyrus.[166] Poem length, then, is inextricably connected with theme and style, including intertextuality. The 150 lines of 4.1 arguably equate Propertian elegy with the *Eclogues*; on the other hand, an elegy of such length is unprecedented, such that its magnitude could be taken

---

[165] Dällenbach (1989) 46.

[166] Goold (1990) 7 moots that the similar (and in his text exactly identical) length of 4.2-4.5 and 4.7-4.10 (cf. Woolley (1967) 81) "may be connected with the column length of the papyrus the poet used and suggest that the abnormally brief compass of poem 10 was a result of working with a limited space." Not to be rejected, however, is the implication that book structure and the papyrus-roll are linked, only that the reason for writing a short poem was dictated by practicality. Aesthetic criteria remain paramount, such as theme, style (cf. e.g. Hutchinson 219-220: 4.10 matches in its dimensions the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius and "joins epic pretensions with Callimachean littleness"), intertextuality, and perhaps the (possibly related) visual appearance of the text on its unfurled papyrus-roll, on which hitherto under-investigated possibility, Van Sickle (1980) seems to make a start.

as an expression of elegy's newfound, quasi-epic amplitude. The impulse to divide this bipartite elegy to resolve the generic perversion, however, is futile, since the division of 4.1 results in a twelve poem book that corresponds to the *Aeneid*. That the central 4.6 also matches Vergilian proportions (in two respects) reinforces the idea that, as the Vergilian Vertumnus seems to suggest, there are many Vergilian forms in the *corpus* of Propertius 4.

This is a remarkable feat, given the discernable *variatio* of poem length in this book, the shortest being 48 lines in length, and the longest 150 lines. It was observed by Nethercut that, in terms of poem length, the book is arranged in a tentatively chiastic format, with the longest elegies on the outside, and the rest working inwards towards the central 4.6 in pairs of roughly corresponding length, thus: 150 & 102, 64 & 48, 72 & 74, 94 & 88, 78 & 96.[167] Thematically redundant and numerically inconsistent, this is an unconvincing scheme. Yet, like Grimal's pyramid, it does suggest that the book in some way converges on 4.6, such that it occurs to one to consider the length of the central poem in relation to the rest. At 86 lines, it looks as if it should be about average, which would complement its medial position, extending the semantic range of *medium* from 'middling' to cover a mathematical 'mean' or 'average'.[168] This would be an altogether more significant phenomenon, given the poem's apparently Vergilian placing and dimensions (i.e. in position and length, it matches *Ecl.* 6, while its Actium ekphrasis matches its counterpart in *Aen.* 8 in the same respects). The result is tantalisingly close: dividing the total number of lines in the book (952) by 11 (rather than 12, since 4.6 cannot properly be *in medio* of a twelve poem book) yields an average of 86, with a

---

[167] Nethercut (1968) 454.

[168] Neither the *OLD* nor the *TLL* provide evidence of an explicit connection between *medium* and numerical 'average'; the Greek equivalent, τὸ μ έσον, seems capable of this usage: cf. e.g. Thucydides' emulous re-evaluation of Homer's statistics regarding the numbers involved in the Greek expedition: "If, therefore, we reckon the numbers by taking the average [τὸ μέσον] of the biggest and the smallest ships, they will not appear very great" (1.10, tr. R. Warner; I thank Dr Imogen Smith for this reference); the Greeks developed ten different kinds of mean based on the proportions between three terms, α, β, γ, which suggests τὸ μέσον was conceived of between two alternatives only (see Heath (1921) 84-90 for an analysis of the mathematics, and Cuomo (2001) index, s.v. 'means' on the Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman sources): the Thucydidean passage could perhaps be seen in this light, though the kind of 'average' it suggests is not covered by any of the ten proportional means. The paucity of evidence for an ancient equivalent of 'average' may be linked to the general bias in ancient mathematics for geometry rather than arithmetic; even so, it does not seem unduly anachronistic to allow that the Romans (like Thucydides, apparently) were *au fait* with basic calculations of this order.

remainder of 6. Near coincidences such as this are wont to be neatened by the surgical interference of *emendatores*, and looser ends than the six lines left over here have seen scalpels sharpened. Sceptics would justifiably protest. Yet in the present instance there is a detail that might satisfy both extremes, for the solution to this excess weight has already been provided, ironically by one of the most often mutilated passages in the text: that 'there are six lines left over' is explicitly stated in *sex superant uersus*. Thus, the (in)famous phrase not only anticipates the forthcoming succession of prosopographic *uersus* ('shifts') and announces the impending conclusion of 4.2 (which in any case is plain to see) after six *uersus* ('lines'), but, in a further pun, this time on *superare* (*OLD* s.v. 7), it sanctions the requisite deletion:

> sex superant uersus: te, qui ad uadimonia curris,
> non moror: haec spatiis ultima creta meis. 4.2.57-8

The key to this book seems once again to be provided by Vertumnus. The critical attention that these lines have received over the years is testimony not to textual disruption, but to Propertius' success in directing our attention to them. They arouse our suspicions because in a poem which explores the etymological potential of *uertere*, we are not immediately sure how to translate *uersus*; they arouse our suspicions because they state the obvious;[169] and they arouse our suspicions because they state what is obviously wrong: at 4.2.57 there are not six lines left, there are eight.[170] Re-examining the couplet in which they appear, we find that Propertius clearly signals that this is the

---

[169] Robinson Ellis, *Catulli Veronensis liber* (Oxford, 1878) 250-251 took the specificity as evidence of an underlying numerical structure in the poem: "Cur sex definiverit, non video nisi propter constitutum aliquem versuum numerum quo tamquam meta quadam carminis ordo ac cursus regeretur" (quoted from Suits (1969) 475). Richmond (1918) 73 seconded Ellis, and took 4.2.57 to be "the strongest piece of internal evidence" for stanza composition, which he proceeded to impose on the text in groups of eight lines, derived from understanding v. 57 to mean "[t]hese are two of them, *and six remain*" [his italics]; Grimal (1945) was similarly prompted by "les vers mystérieux" to resolve 4.2 into groups of mostly six lines apiece, finding in the final arrangement a Pythagorean *tetractys*. Stanza structure is rejected by Shackleton Bailey (1956) 229 on the basis of "comparable expressions in other Latin poets which assuredly signify nothing of the sort"; Suits (1969) argues the six lines "offer no special clue to its structure" (477) on the basis that they are "no more than an epigrammatic promise to be brief" (484).

[170] Richardson *ad loc.* finds it "a puzzling phrase, when in fact eight verses (if we include this) follow", and emends to *suberant*, not without logic or (given the confusability of *super-* and *sub-*) plausibility; Heyworth similarly proposes *suberunt*; Hutchinson *ad loc.* retains *superant* as "too animated to lose"; Celentano (1956) 66 (!) explains the text as "un modo di dire [...] in cui il numero « 6 » entra forse solo per ragioni metriche".

point whereat *something* (evidently not the poem) has ended: this is the *ultima creta*, the chalk finishing-line, of the race (cf. *spatiis*, *Geo.* 2.541, at the end of a book and concluding the first half of the *Georgics*, and *Geo.* 4.147, at the conclusion of a digression), beyond which he will detain us no longer – and yet he proceeds to do so for a further six lines (unless, that is, the passer-by took himself to have been dismissed, and departed with the requisite tally).

An objection could at this point be raised: why, if he intends that the average number of lines in the book be that of the central poem, did the poet not cut his cloth to measure in the first instance, and compose a book of 946 lines? Surely we are not to presume that Propertius was so devious, or his playfulness so superficial, that he set out deliberately to throw his reader off the scent and (however unintentionally) impugn the reliability of his own text. The test, once again, must be thematic pertinence, without which even this arithmetic, however surprising, must be dismissed as an impertinent coincidence. In short, the question is, "Why 952 lines, and not 946?" The latter figure may not ring any bells; if the former does, then this is because there are also 952 lines in *Aeneid* 12.[171] Now the formula [(952-6) ÷ 11 = 86] is thematically relevant as well as structurally unifying, in that the crucial numbers, those at either end of the process, are Vergilian, 952 being the number of lines in the last book to his name, and 86 being the number of lines in what is arguably his most programmatically important poem. Propertius may thus be seen to have equated his final book with Vergil's, but also to have encapsulated within itself the entire *corpus Vergilianum*. What makes this theory all the more attractive is that it calls for no Procrustean hacking:[172] unless these figures are to be dismissed as 'coincidental', and the *onus probandi* would now appear to have shifted, the *textus receptus* is more intact than has been supposed. The final line of 4.2 (*unum opus est, operi non datur unus honos*, v. 64) can now be taken as an expression of the manifold homage (*honos*) here offered to Vergil's *opus*, and/or as a variation of

---

[171] This was noted *en passant* by Dion (1997) 171 in an otherwise farfetched numerical analysis (see n.53 above) together with the observation that the *Monobiblos* (706 lines) and *Aeneid* 4 (705 lines) differ in length by only one line, which, apart from being a near miss, can be dismissed as an anachronism, unless one is to propose that Vergil was following Propertius in deciding book-length, which seems unlikely, though see Cairns (1989) 129-150 for the thematic motivation.
[172] Contrast e.g. Günther (1997) 152-156. See above p. 246-7.

Vertumnus' opening declaration of the diverse (Vergilian) forms that have been synthesised into the *unum opus* of Book 4 (*tot in uno corpore formas*).

Like the protean Vertumnus, then, Propertius 4 is a singularity that holds within itself numerous (numerical) forms. Ancient exegesis of Proteus is relevant here too, since the Pythagoreans, who held that the whole universe is composed from numbers, allegorised Proteus as their all-encompassing Monad, the Number One, since he 'contains the properties of all things just as the monad contains the combined energies of all the numbers'.[173] In one of his earlier articles, Grimal argued that *sex superant uersus* is to be decoded as a signal of the poem's numerical structure and final tally of 64 lines, a figure highlighted by Theon of Smyrna as a number of propitious multiples and the product of a Pythagorean 'tetractys' (1 x 2 x 4 x 8 = 64), a sequence with cosmogonical associations.[174] Grimal's vision of Propertius as a neo-Pythagorean is improvable, if not farfetched, but relevant to the present discussion is his argument that Propertius' readers would have been conditioned by the renaissance of Pythagoreanism in Rome, and his conclusion can be quoted as an expression of what has been argued here on the basis of an intertextual reading: "Vertumne, dieu obscur [...] se trouve élevé à la dignité de principe cosmique: le principe même du changement".

Given Proteus' now numerous roles in this poem, and the heavy etymologising throughout, both explicit and implicit (*properanti* - Propertius; Vertumnus - Vergilius), one wonders, however idly, if the similarity of **Pro-teus – Propertius** would not have been lost on the latter.[175]

---

[173] Iamblichus, *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* 7.20-3, quoted from Morgan (1999) 78. Marquis (1974) 499 links Vertumnus with the Etruscan god Veltune, ambitiously styled as the representative of "all things in one, unity in diversity, psychic completeness, the Cosmos eternally the same but ever changing, ultimately the Self, a true 'complexiv oppositorum'."

[174] Grimal (1945) with the quotation from p. 117; see Theon of Smyrna 1.8 (on 64), 2.38, 2.41, 2.45 (on the cosmogonical associations): see further Guthrie (1987) 28-30.

[175] Perhaps less idly, the inclusion of *sex* alongside *properanti* in the quasi-*sphragis* might hint at *Sex*tus *Proper*tius, presuming the poet's *praenomen* was indeed Sextus (the standard abbreviation of which was Sex.). Cf. p. 157 with n.187 above for possible puns in Vergil and Propertius on Vergil's nickname. Against a pun on Propertius' *praenomen*, the argument presented above sees the primary motivation of *sex* in achieving an average of 86 lines in a book of 952, but that is not to say a secondary 'coincidence' cannot be enjoyed.

Propertius' influence on Ovid was not small, with the result that the later poet, if read with the caution, for he is tendentious in his allusion, can provide a litmus test for the interpretation of his predecessor. It was suggested above that the *incipit* of the *Metamorphoses* draws on the opening of 4.2 as a precursor in the redefinition of the elegiac genre. The relevance of 4.2 to the *Metamorphoses* is perhaps to be witnessed once again in Ovid's placement of Vertumnus (*Met.* 14.642-771), now formally translated to epic, between an *Aeneid* that has undergone compression, expansion, and general transformation (*Met.* 13.623-14.582),[176] and the Speech of Pythagoras (*Met.* 15.60-478) the three 'episodes', each in their own way of relevance to 4.2, thus occur in close succession.[177] Later on, in exile, Ovid composed at the conclusion of *Tristia* 1.7 a six-line elegiac apologia to be prefaced to the *Metamorphoses* by any reader that might discern stylistic deficiencies therein (*si praeponendos esse putabis*, *Tr.* 1.7.34): *hos quoque sex uersus...habe* (*Tr.* 1.7.33-4). Shakleton Bailey cites the line as comparable to Propertius' *sex uersus* so as to discount the latter as internal evidence for stanzaic composition.[178] This is a sensible conclusion, but that is not to say Ovid did not have his eye on the Propertian passage for other reasons: the prefixing of *sex uersus* of elegy to the proem of the elegiac-epic *Metamorphoses* (the fusion of/change in Ovid's *formae* becomes all the more manifest when the elegiac apologia is affixed to the head of the hexameter poem), the original *incipit* of which may already allude to the opening of Propertius 4.2, arouses a degree of suspicion, such that *hos quoque sex uersus* begins to look like an inter- as well as intratextual reference. The beginning of the *Metamorphoses*, then, once emended as per Ovid's instructions, alludes to the beginning and end of Propertius 4.2. There are other similarities: Ovid's six lines personify the book and address the reader in the

---

[176] On the so-called 'little *Aeneid*' see Papaioannou (2005) and Hinds (1998) 104-122.

[177] Ovid, like Propertius, also follows up with an account of Tarpeia's story (*Met.* 14.775-777) which, despite its brevity (two and a half lines, as against Propertius' 94) and eschewal of erotic subtext, manages to allude to Propertius' account of Tarpeia's punishment (***ingestis*** *comitum super* ***obruit armis***, 4.4.91) and the ambiguous justice (how should one read *iniustae praemia sortis habes* (4.4.94)?) that will forever keep her case open: *arcisque uia Tarpeia reclusa* | *dignam animam poena* ***congestis*** **exuit* ***armis*** (*Met.* 14.776-777); the omission of any intervening reference to 4.3 in the Ovidian sequence can be counterbalanced by Ovid's capitalising on the epistolary elegy in his *Heroides* (perhaps here too, as at *Ars* 3.345-6 (*uel tibi composita cantetur Epistola uoce:* | *ignotum hoc aliis ille nouavit opus*), he is trying to write that form out of the Propertian corpus).

[178] Shackleton Bailey (1956) 229.

second person, as 4.2 does; Ovid prays anxiously for his *nachleben* in distant Rome (*Tr.* 25-6), as Vertumnus/Propertius does within Rome (4.2.55); Ovid ascribes to his sudden relegation the work's roughness and lack of *summam...manum* (v. 28):

> ablatum mediis **opus est** *incudibus illud,
> defuit et coeptis **ultima *lima*** meis. *Tristia* 1.7.29-30

Propertius 4.2, by contrast, recorded the upgrading of its *opus* by Mamurius: whereas the *Metamorphoses* is snatched from the anvil, Propertius' eleven/twelve elegies are successfully equated with the *ancilia* of Mamurius' forge and Vergil's ekphrastic shield (cf. *Aen.* 8.451: *gemit impositis* ***incudibus** antrum* with *Tr.* 1.7.29 above); finally, Ovid's *ablatum...opus est* and *ultima lima* might echo Propertius' *unum* ***opus est*** (4.2.54) and ***ultima creta*** (4.2.58) respectively. At the very least, Ovid's allusion points to the 'detachability' of Propertius' *sex uersus* and, disingenuously, to the comparative grandeur of the Propertian artwork.

Stichometric intertextuality

While it would be beyond the scope of the current investigation to investigate whether or not Ovid exhibits any awareness of the wider Vergilian ramifications of Propertius' *sex uersus*, the question of the visibility of this kind of intertextuality in general is one that must now be addressed. It is widely recognised that structural imitation of (and at) beginnings, middles and ends can be both purposeful and visible: thus *Arma uirumque* translates, echoes, and generically encapsulates the opening words of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; Richard Thomas has found that the middle of the *Aetia* maps onto the middles of collections by various Roman poets, including Propertius;[179] the same scholar, with Ruth Scodel, notices that the Euphrates crops up six lines from the end of Callimachus' (programmatically significant) *Hymn* 2, *Georgics* 1 and 4, and *Aeneid* 8.[180] The Propertio-Vergilian parallels are arguably of this order, in that they concern central proems in the cases of 4.6 and *Ecl.* 6, and a final book in the case of *Aeneid* 12; but the situation is not

[179] Thomas (1983) [=(1999) 68-100]; see further Nelis (2005).
[180] Scodel and Thomas (1984). See further Morgan (1999) 23-4 for this and other numerical parallels in the *Georgics*. The recurrence specifically of six in this context might or might not be an incidental similarity with 4.2.

directly comparable, for we are dealing with an allusive phenomenon that goes beyond lexical sharing in structurally significant *loci*.

There is precedent for allusion based on coincidence of line numbers of varying degrees of perceptibility, a phenomenon dubbed by Llewelyn Morgan as 'stichometric intertextuality',[181] also styled 'meta-allusion' for the self-conscious way in which it "calls attention to the allusion as a literary apparatus *per se*."[182] Morgan noticed that in the *Proteus* of *Geo.* 4, a passage of "direct, intensive and sustained imitation" of Homer, Vergil alludes to *Od.* 4.400 at *Geo.* 4.401, a one-line misalignment which seems to justify the deletion of *Geo.* 4.338 as a later interpolation from *Aen.* 5.826.[183] Morgan relates the occurrence of this parallel at a round hundred to progressive line-numbering ('running stichometry') in ancient texts at intervals of a hundred lines, for which in the case of Homer papyrological evidence can be adduced.[184] Less obvious stichometric parallels have also been detected (e.g. *Aen.* and *Geo.* 1.105; *Met.* and *Aen.* 10.475;[185] Statius, *Thebaid* 10.445-8 and *Aen.* 9.446-9[186]) suggesting texts were marked with line-numbers also at shorter intervals. The carbonised texts from the *Villa dei Papiri* in Herculaneum have yielded evidence predating Propertius 4 for "stichometry of every kind and combination", including *Totalstichometrie*, whereby the total number of lines is recorded at the end of a work.[187] Thus it is in no way implausible to suggest that a reader, having

---

[181] Morgan (1999); see Hinds (1998) 92 n.80.

[182] Smith (1990) 460 on Ovid's allusion to *Aen.* 10.475 at *Met.* 10.475.

[183] Morgan (1999) 20 (for the quote) and 26 (for "the precise stichometrical equivalent – by line number and book – of its model in the *Odyssey*").

[184] Morgan (1999) 26-27, 223-226.

[185] For the latter, see Smith (1990); the former is ascribed to Joseph Farrell at Morgan (1999) 226 n.17, where other examples (including Smith's) are noted; Vergil's positioning of Maecenas' name at v. 2 of *Geo.* 1 and 4 and v. 41 of *Geo.* 2 and 3 is a comparable example [moreover, 2 + 41 + 41 + 2 = 86 = *Ecl.* 6, perhaps (not) fortuitously].

[186] The poet's *makarismos* of Nisus and Euryalus, a significant moment of the *Aeneid.* Hinds (1998) 80 with n.80 [citing D.W.T. Vessey (1986) '*Pierius menti calor incidit*: Statius' epic style', *ANRW* II.32.5,2966 n.3] suggests "the perils of transmission" might have occasioned the one-verse misalignment in this instance. Statius' "overtly deferential citation" may be less modest than it initially seems, however, if a metapoetic hint of literary one-upmanship can be construed in v. 445-6 (*uos quoque sacrati,* ***quamuis mea carmina surgant / inferiora lyra****, memores* ***superabitis*** *annos*): this very protestation of inferiority might also point out that the one-verse misalignment will position Statius' *makarismos* in a textually superior position with respect to its model.

[187] See Morgan (1999) 225: since the library was probably that of the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus of Gadara, the papyri are datable to *c.* 35 BC. The stichometrically marked texts are mostly prose, from which it may fairly be presumed that poetic texts were regularly marked in the same way.

detected at the end of Propertius 4 an allusion or allusions to the end of *Aeneid* 12 (e.g. *infelix umeros*, *Aen.* 12.941, duplicated at 4.11.25: see pp. 171-2 above), and having accessed the latter to make the comparison, might have noticed, in addition to the corroboration of the intertext, an identical *Totalstichometrie* of 952 lines in either work.[188] The case of Propertius 4, then, can be added to the accumulating bank of papyrological, inter-, and intratextual evidence suggesting that ancient writers did indeed incorporate allusions based on line-numbers, and expected at least some of their readers to perceive them.

Propertius as Knauer (4.7 and 4.8)

Having taken cognisance of these parallels, a reader such as the one just hypothesised would be more likely to remark other quasi-Vergilian features of structural organisation. At the end of 4.7, Cynthia claims to be one of the *somnia* that issue from the mysterious Gates of Sleep, thus associating herself with an Homeric motif (*Od.* 19.562-569) prominently reworked by Vergil at the midpoint of his epic. The textual position at the end of the poem would seem to privilege the Vergilian Gates of Ivory and Horn over the Homeric original, a priority also suggested by the evocation of Aeneas' celebrated epithet in Cynthia's exit via the *piis...portis* (4.7.87) with fellow *pia...somnia* (4.7.88):[189]

> nec tu sperne piis uenientia **somnia portis**:
> cum pia uenerunt somnia, pondus habent.
> nocte uagae ferimur, nox clausas liberat **umbras**,
> errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera. 4.7.87-90

---

[188] Allusion according to line-number also suggests that the physical layout of the text on the papyrus roll may have been a more important factor in the perception of intertextuality than is ever likely to be understood. Not infrequent are references to the physicality of the papyrus role (famously, Jupiter's at *Aen.* 1.262, but see also the argument above that Propertius 4 constructs itself as a visual monument from its *incipit* to the concluding epitaphic 4.11). Cf. some related imaginings of Van Sickle (1980) 6: "Reversal, then, at the *explicit* would only serve to reinforce the physical sense of the whole roll. The total number of lines, too, entered at the end, might prompt the reader to recheck the running tally of the lines in the margins (stichometry) as he rolled back. Return would enhance awareness of sequentiality, of the similarities and contrasts among the segments, beginnings, ends, in short of what makes the content of the roll an articulated ensemble – a book."

[189] So Allison (1980) 334; the suggestion of Richardson *ad loc.* that Vergil's account of the Gates superseded Homer's is not incorrect insofar as it is collusive with Vergil's strategy of appropriation, but the Homeric passage may also have a role to play here (see below).

Sunt geminae **Somni portae**, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua ueris facilis datur exitus **umbris**,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes. *Aen.* 6.893-896

On a Vergilian reading, then, the provenance of Cynthia's 'true' dream from the 'pious' gates inverts the 'anabasis' of *pius* Aeneas via the Gate of false dreams at the end of *Aeneid* 6. At one level, the allusion might be taken to corroborate the fidelity Cynthia in this poem protests,[190] which in the very next poem she proves in the fullness of life by taking the ancient equivalent of a lie-detector test at Lanuvium, before returning to Rome to punish Propertius for his interim debauchery.

Cynthia's unnatural transition from a plaintive, holier-than-thou spirit in 4.7 to a resurrected *prima donna* is one of Latin literature's boldest juxtapositions, often cited in the controversy surrounding the book's composition as one of the aesthetic anomalies that Propertius himself would never have sanctioned. Cynthia's rather 'short-lived' death has so offended the sensibilities of some critics that they have felt compelled to transpose 4.8 to some earlier point, textual or biographical, as Postgate advocated:[191]

> "If viii had preceded vii, the contrast would have been startling enough. To pass thus from this warm-blooded lighthearted life in all its thoughtless bustle and enjoyment to the chill and shadowy ghost-land would, we may say without rashness, have been too violent a change for the Greek and too bold a one for the Roman. But to reverse the order and to bid nature revolve upon her track is a ghastly imagination, or rather Mephistophelian mockery, only possible to ages which have learnt to finger the secret springs of the horrible and produced the paintings of a Wiertz and the fiction of a Poe."

It was observed above that Postgate was (temporarily) followed in more recent times by Fedeli, who similarly adduced the unlikely sequence of 4.7 and 8 as evidence that

---

[190] Goold (1990) 363 n.76 cites the Homeric and Vergilian *loci* but holds that Propertius intends to signify "only that Cynthia abides with the Righteous." Presumably this is the reading Cynthia intends, but it is undercut, perhaps, by the erection of her epitaph in an area famed for its preservation of the whiteness of *ivory* (i.e. the material of the gate through which *false* dreams pass).
[191] Postgate (1881) lv.

Propertius' fourth book was haphazardly assembled after the poet's death;[192] it was also observed that doubts such as these have been resurrected more recently, despite a growing appreciation for the sophistication of Book 4. A final nail for the lid of such theories can now be furnished by observing that Cynthia's passage from a poem in which she is dead to one in which she is alive, hinged around the Gates of Sleep, retraces Aeneas' journey (through the same gates and also across a poem/book division) from the world of the dead in *Aeneid* 6 to the world of the living in *Aeneid* 7.

Vergil's Gates of Sleep also mark that cardinal juncture of the *Aeneid* where the hero quits the 'fantastical' world of the travels, that is, the 'Odyssean' hexad of Books 1-6, to face the 'real' world of the Latin war, the 'Iliadic' hexad of Books 7-12. Servius twice remarks on this Homeric duality, once at the opening of the *Aeneid*, and again at *Aen.* 7.1:

> ut enim in principio diximus, *in duas partes hoc opus diuisum est: nam primi sex ad imaginem Odyssiae dicti sunt*, quos personarum et adlocutionum uarietate constat esse grauiores, *hi autem sex qui sequuntur ad imaginem Iliados dicti sunt*, qui in negotiis ualidiores sunt: nam et ipse hoc dicit <45> m a i u s o p u s m o u e o.

In the light of Propertius' intensive reworking of Vergilian structures, it would seem to be significant that a similar Homeric duality is known to be operative in Propertius 4.7 and 8, the most salient intertexts of which are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively.[193] Cynthia's spectral appearance in 4.7 is modelled on that of the dead Patroclus to Achilles in *Iliad* 23: according to Daniel Ogden's categorisation of ancient ghosts, both Cynthia and Patroclus would be *ataphoi* (i.e. unburied, or improperly buried, dead);[194] the two episodes are comparable in sequence and theme, and are linked by no less than seven verbal allusions, starting with the *incipit* of 4.7, which echoes Achilles'

---

[192] Fedeli xxvii: "La presenza della 4.8 nel IV libro non si giustifica, perché le relazioni con Cinzia sono finite con il III libro e nel IV non abbiamo elegie che parlino di Cinzia, tranne naturalmente la settima; ma la 4.7 è un doveroso omaggio alla memoria della donna che, cantata per tanti anni, ora si trova nel mondo delle ombre". Thus Fedeli (originally) followed Postgate *et al.* in favouring the excision of 4.8 on the grounds of biographical chronology. Fedeli (1974) abandons this hypothesis, and would presumably regard the anachronism as part of the desired poetic effect.

[193] Wyke (2002) 26 notes that the pairing of Iliadic and Odyssean Cynthias "takes up the literary challenge recently issued by Virgil" in terms of characterisation (rather than structure) in that Aeneas is similarly a conflation of an Iliadic and Odyssean hero.

[194] On the (overlapping) categories of ancient ghosts, see Ogden (2002) 146.

exclamation at the conclusion of Patroclus' visit.[195] As for 4.8, S. Evans showed that Cynthia's absence, return, triumphant eviction of her rivals and reunion with Propertius are modelled, with numerous allusions in the minutiae, on Odysseus' return, revenge against the suitors, and reunion with Penelope.[196]

Displaced structures

Thus, Cynthia's passage through the gates at the end of the Iliadic 4.7 to the Odyssean 4.8 inverts Aeneas' passage through the Gates of Sleep from the Odyssean to Iliadic hexad of the *Aeneid*. At the same time, however, Propertius manages to preserve the Vergilian sequence first by situating the Odyssean gates of sleep in a poem which, though Iliadic, features a description of the underworld by a revenant from the underworld, and following it with a poem which, though Odyssean in allusion, features a display of mock epic *militia amoris*, which Propertius had earlier associated with the *Iliad* (cf. 2.1.14: *tum uero longas condimus Iliadas*). On this analysis, the juxtaposition of 4.7 & 8 attests Propertius' recognition of, and ability to manipulate, the 'bipartite' structure of the *Aeneid*.

---

[195] Propertius 4.7~*Iliad* 23: 4.7.1~Ψ.103-4; 4.7.3~Ψ.68; 4.7.8~Ψ.66; 4.7.14~Ψ.69; 4.7.94~Ψ.83&91; 4.7.96~Ψ.99-100. On this "rapporto privilegiato", see Dimundo (1989) 275-8 and (1990) 27-43 [the copy of which I consulted, however, due to a blunder at the press, was (à la Propertius 2) bereft of pp. 34-5 and 42-3, with the surviving pages out of sequence]; see also Hubbard (1974) 149-152; Muecke (1974) 125-8; Warden (1980) 14-15; Dalzell (1980) 33-35; Benedicktson (1985) 21-22; Papanghelis (1987) 146 (Patroclus as the "major sponsor" of Propertius' dream); Casey (2001) esp. 402-3, with n. 11; Knox (2004) 155-6. See also Paley (1872) *ad* V (=IV).7.1; Butler and Barber *ad* 4.7.1; Fedeli *ad* 4.7.1; Camps 115 cites five points of textual contact with the revealing reflection that "there is nothing in any of this to prevent us supposing that the poem derives in some degree from a real experience." See now Hutchinson 18 and 170. Specifically on Propertius' *incipit* at the Homeric conclusion, see Dimundo (1990) 36; Muecke (1974) 126; Warden (1980) 14. *Il.* 23.103-4 was a major *zetema* of ancient Homeric scholarship: see Casey (2001) 405 with n. 18, who argues, esp. pp. 401-5, that Propertius' *aliquid* (4.7.1) alludes to a variant reading (τὶς for τὶ) of *Il.* 23.103 attested in 27 mss. and at Plato *Rep.* 386D.

[196] Evans (1971). *Contra* this view, see Dee (1978) 49, 52, who with Tränkle (1960) ascribes 4.8's epic diction to Latin epic, and concludes "[a] series of weak links cannot form a strong chain; despite Hubbard's reflections on the larger meaning of 4.7 and 4.8, we must still wonder whether calling them "Iliadic" and "Odyssean" poems is really a significant gain for our appreciation of what Propertius intended" (49). Despite his earlier recognition that 4.8 is a "literary, not biographical" creation (44), however, Dee suggests implausibly that the change of bedclothes at the end of the poem "may derive from magical practices" or Eleusinian mysteries (52) rather than from the *Odyssey*.

Such 'blurring' of Iliadic and Odyssean material is in fact quite consistent with Vergilian practice. Valid to a point, Servius' straightforward vision of a 'bipartite' *Aeneid* has been refined by Knauer and others, who have highlighted a significant 'displacement' of Odyssean material late into the epic's Iliadic hexad;[197] for Cairns, Vergil's epic is "a unitary *Odyssey* with significant Iliadic episodes."[198] Aeneas' return to his ancient motherland to fend off Turnus and win the hand of Lavinia represents the most sustained Odyssean displacement in the second half of the *Aeneid*, modelled as it is on Odysseus' return, revenge against the suitors, and reunion with Penelope. The similarly Odyssean Propertius 4.8, then, could be seen to follow the same plot in recognition of the primacy accorded to it by Vergil. If this be so, then our reading of the Vergilian and Propertian Gates of Sleep might also be informed by the consideration that their Homeric counterparts are described by Penelope in connection with a dream which foresaw the demise of the suitors: the Homeric intertext 'predicts' the successful outcome of the conflicts into which both Aeneas and Cynthia are venturing.

The beginning of *Aeneid* 7 and Propertius 4.8 also share an identical displacement of chthonic imagery more associable with the Odyssean underworld scenes described in *Aeneid* 6 and Propertius 4.7. *Aeneid* 7 begins with the exequies of Aeneas' nurse, Caieta, and features various infernal horrors which, according to a bipartite division, Aeneas should by now have put behind him.[199] Similarly, at the beginning of 4.8, Cynthia undertakes a katabasis-like descent into the chasm at Lanuvium to participate in a snake ritual to prove her chastity:

> Disce, quid Esquilias hac nocte fugarit aquosas,
> cum uicina nouis turba cucurrit agris.
> Lanuuium annosi uetus est tutela *draconis*,
> hic tibi tam rarae non perit hora morae;
> qua sacer abripitur *caeco* ***descensus** ***hiatu**,
> qua penetrat (uirgo, tale iter omne caue!)
> ieiuni *serpentis* honos, cum pabula poscit
> annua et ex ima sibila torquet humo.

[197] Knauer (1964); Cairns (1989) 177-214 provides a full discussion, with bibliography, of 'displacements' of the *Odyssey* into the Iliadic hexad of the *Aeneid*, and vice-versa.
[198] Cairns (1989) 178.
[199] Hardie (1992) 61-69; Putnam (1995) 100-120.

talia demissae pallent ad sacra puellae,
cum temere *anguino* creditur ore manus. 10
ille sibi *admotas* a uirgine **corripit** escas:
uirginis in palmis ipsa canistra tremunt. 4.8.1-12

In a line-for-line comparison of 4.7 and 8, John Warden observes that "the description reads like a descent into the underworld, as the passage from 4.7 described a revenant from the underworld."[200] No less than three synonyms for 'snake' are adduced (*draconis*, v. 3; *serpentis*, v. 7; *anguino* v. 10), and a dash of black humour situates Cynthia literally in the world of the dead: while she ventures underground, Propertius dallies over-ground, or perhaps overhead, in the *horti Maecenatis* (*nouis...agris*, v. 2) – a park laid out on the site of a former burial ground for paupers and criminals.[201] Particularly relevant to the parallel displacement of infernal imagery into *Aeneid* 7 are some striking echoes of the 'epic' katabasis of *Aeneid* 6:[202]

Tros Anchisiade, facilis ***descensus** Averno:
noctes atque dies patet *atri* ianua Ditis; *Aen.* 6.126-7

spelunca alta fuit uastoque immanis ***hiatu**,
scrupea, tuta lacu *nigro* nemorumque *tenebris* *Aen.* 6.237-8

4.8.5 (above) evokes the infernal darkness described in each of these passages, and transfers *descensus*, its sole use in Vergil, and *hiatus*, each to an identical metrical *sedes* in his own text. And while Cynthia proffers *escae* to the *hungry* snake (vv. 7-11), Aeneas' guide similarly tranquillises the *ravenous* Cerberus with a doped *offa*:

cui uates horrere uidens iam colla *colubris*
melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
obicit. **ille** fame rabida tria guttura pandens
corripit *obiectam*, atque immania terga resoluit. *Aen.* 6.419-422

Finally, just as Aeneas' trek through ominous night to idyllic dawn in *Aeneid* 7 repeats his trek in *Aeneid* 6 from the darkness of Tartarus to the roseate light of the Elysian

[200] Warden (1996) 119.
[201] Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1.8.14ff.: *nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubrius atque | aggere in aperto spatiari, quo modo tristes | albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.*
[202] Also cited by Richardson *ad loc.*

Fields,[203] so too does Propertius 4.8 pass from an uneasy night (*nocte*, v. 1; *caeco*, v. 5; *noctem*, v. 33; *furta*, v. 34; *constabat flamma*, v. 43) to the dazzling return of Cynthia (*fulminat...oculos*, v. 55; *tetigit...igne*, v. 86),[204] repeating the passage in 4.7 from crepuscular opening (4.7.3, 5) to the return of dawn (4.7.91).[205]

The end of 4.7 might be seen to sensitise the reader for the presence of katabasis imagery at the start of 4.8. Cynthia explains that a ghost's egress is confined to the hours of darkness, and the poem ends with Propertius' futile embrace of her evanescent wraith. This passage recalls the end of Aeneas' encounter with his father's ghost in *Aen.* 5:[206]

> nocte uagae ferimur, **nox** clausas liberat umbras,
> errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera.
> *luce iubent leges Lethaea ad stagna reuerti:*
> nos uehimur, uectum nauta recenset onus.
> nunc te possideant aliae: mox sola tenebo:
> mecum eris, et mixtis ossibus ossa teram.'
> haec postquam querula mecum sub lite peregit,
> inter **complexus** excidit umbra meos. 4.7.89-96
>
> *iamque uale; torquet medios* **Nox** *umida cursus*
> *et me saeuus equis Oriens adflauit anhelis.'*
> dixerat et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras. 740
> Aeneas 'quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?' inquit,
> 'quem fugis? aut quis te nostris **complexibus** arcet?' *Aen.* 5.738-42

---

[203] See Hardie (1992) 67-9.

[204] Cynthia's demand for a change of lamps (*imperat...mutare lucernas*, v. 85) can be added here by readers who prefer her not to be demanding a change of bedclothes (*lacernas*): see p. 168 with n. 218.

[205] A further parallel might be observed in the contrast between pure and impure: Tartarus at *Aen.* 6.91 and Circe's realm at *Aen.* 7.21 are out of bounds for the pure, while Cynthia, her *castitas* apparently vindicated, purifies Propertius for his attempted debauchery (4.8.83-87).

[206] Aeneas also makes a futile attempt to embrace Creusa's ghost (*Aen.* 2.792-3) who, as seen in Chapter 3, is a model for Cynthia's antitype in Book 4, Cornelia; Cynthia could thus be seen as a kind of anti-Creusa (cf. Lake (1937) 54 for a period reaction: "There is about her [*sc.* Cynthia] none of the tenderness of the spectral Creusa, nor even the decent reticence of Dido under somewhat similar circumstances."). That both ghosts give prophecies and cannot be embraced is perhaps to be ascribed to convention rather than explicit allusion, though Cynthia's possessiveness in 4.7.93-4 could be seen to invert Creusa's voluntary and dutiful surrender of Aeneas to his future bride in Latium (each perhaps alluding to the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* according to which a widow(er) was required to remarry within a year of their spouse's death: see further Severy (2003) 50-56).

It may be conventional that Aeneas fails to comprehend Anchises' insubstantiality, as Propertius fails to grasp Cynthia's, but Aeneas' summons to the underworld is given an ominous twist in the prediction of Propertius' impending death. Cynthia also follows Anchises' explanation of how, by a kind of inverted curfew, she is required to be back in hell by dawn (as italicised) – a law which her quasi-katabasis in the next poem effectively observes. In other words, the return journey commenced here by Cynthia's ghost is continued imagistically and intertextually at the start of 4.8.

There would seem to be evidence enough to suggest a sophisticated awareness on Propertius' part of Vergil's conflation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. At a first glance, Propertius might be seen to have effectively reversed the sequence of the Vergilian transition by moving from an Iliadic 4.7 to an Odyssean 4.8. Yet the use in 4.7 of one of the *Iliad*'s more fantastical scenes, concluding with the Gates of Sleep, and in 4.8 of the *Odyssey*'s rather 'Iliadic' vengeance-story,[207] opening with a katabasis, seems to acknowledge the subtlety of the Vergilian design. Both poets, then, admit but ultimately eschew a straightforward *Iliad-Odyssey* dichotomy.[208]

It may be noted here that the 4.7-4.8 arrangement dislocates from its central position the truer Homeric midpoint of *Aeneid* 6-7: the arrival of Cynthia's ghost, perhaps, has been momentous enough to shunt this great architecture out of structural alignment. Yet there is misalignment at the heart of the *Aeneid*, too:[209] Vergil delays the formal announcement of his *maius opus* to allow his hero attend to the *exsequiae* (*Aen.* 7.5, a Vergilian *hapax legomenon*) of his nurse, a moment shown in Chapter 3 to have been recognised by Propertius' announcement of Cynthia's *exsequiae* in a stichometrically identical position (4.7.5, with metapoetic signposting at 4.5.71, 4.7.92, and 4.11.98: see pp. 158-9 above). Despite focusing the Homeric transition on the end of the elegy,

---

[207] On the 'Iliadic' character of the last books of the *Odyssey*, see Cairns (1989) 211: "Virgil has looked through the last books of the *Odyssey* to their model in the *Iliad*, and has combined elements from both, taking in particular from the *Iliad* the major battles, duels etc. which were miniaturised in the *Odyssey*."

[208] In another instance of Propertian reworking of Vergilian midpoint poetics, Nelis (2005) argues that the end of Propertius 2 and beginning of Propertius 3 are modelled on the end and beginning respectively of *Georgics* 2 and 3.

[209] 'Heart' rather than 'centre', as the midpoint of the *Aeneid* is notoriously elusive: see especially Kyriakidis (1998).

then, 4.7 significantly keeps the opening of *Aeneid* 7 *in situ*: the stichometric anchorage around *exsequiae* amplifies the elegiac lament which, in the *Aeneid* too, displaces what was anticipated at another Propertian midpoint, 2.34b.66: *nescioquid maius nascitur Iliade.* In Book 4, at any rate, Propertius would appear to have read the centre of the *Aeneid* 'elegiacally',[210] and focussed on it as the nearest expression in epic to the overriding mood of elegy. That Propertius also singled out the erotic figure of Cunarus in the catalogue of *Aen.* 10 (see above) suggests a concerted reading of the *Aeneid* for its 'rare' moments of elegiac disquietude.

* * * * *

Apart from pointing to Propertius' (or 'Propertius") spiritual affinity with Vergil (or vice-versa), *exsequiis* and the other parallels discussed above make a case for seeing a further recognition of Vergilian architecture in Propertius 4, in that the book's macrostructure reflects the Homeric blueprint of the *Aeneid*: the 'blurred' transition of *Aeneid* 6-7 is not only paralleled in the transition of Propertius 4.7-8, but is also encapsulated within 4.7 itself, which begins with the beginning of *Aeneid* 7, and ends with the ending of *Aeneid* 6. A 'Vergilian' reading therefore sees incorporated, at the heart of Book 4, the epic structure of the *Aeneid.* Over this programmatic 'fulcrum' (see 4.7.3) hovers Cynthia's ghost, an elegiac revenant from epic texts. She appropriates Aeneas' passage from the world of the dead to that of the living-dead, and the *Aeneid*'s transition to a slightly less Odyssean, slightly more Iliadic, hexad. Thus, while ostensibly renewing the glory days of Propertian *militia amoris* in 4.8, Cynthia simultaneously dramatises the poet's stylistic transition to the less elegiac, more epic conception of elegy that characterises his final book.

Cynthia does, as close to the middle of Book 4 as she can get, what Vertumnus does at the start, when he invites us to marvel not only at the *thauma* of his statue in the centre of Rome, but also at the *thauma* that is Book 4 itself, an elegiac work of a kind never seen before in Rome: *Qui[d] mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas* (4.2.1). Just as Vertumnus records that his former, lowly icon was upgraded by a legendary *caelator* (*qui me tam docilis*

[210] I owe this formulation to exchanges (*per litteras*) with Prof. D. Nelis.

potuisti fundere in usus, 4.2.63), so too does *aurea Cynthia* (4.7.85) report that her former image has been smelted into the gift of Propertius' new mistress (*te patiente meae conflauit imaginis aurum*, 4.7.47): Vertumnus, Cynthia and, therefore, Propertian elegy have been fashioned anew. As Vertumnus informs us, Propertius 4 is *unum corpus*, a singular entity, but one which embodies many protean forms, including the overarching structures of epic. The irresistible conclusion is that Propertius was alive to the possibilities offered to elegy by the *corpus Vergilianum*, which he would appear to have encapsulated on a structural as well as verbal and thematic level in his final book.

CONCLUSIONS

condicio optima est ultimi: parata uerba inuenit, quae aliter instructa nouam faciem habent.

Seneca (*Epistulae* 79.6)

CONTEMPLATING THE numerical symmetry of the *Eclogues*, Otto Skutsch exclaimed, "Now what can this possibly signify in terms of a meaning intended by the poet? Nothing whatsoever! It is just a pretty pattern [...]".[1] The conclusion offered here is somewhat different, in that the structural and numerical phenomena of Propertius 4 observed in Chapter 5 comprise a functional rather than (merely) aesthetic counterpart to the lexical and thematic interest in Vergil observed in Chapters 1-4. In other words, a Vergilian reading of Propertius 4 finds it structurally organised in a way that replicates with some precision the architecture of the poems it reworks thematically. For convenience, the structural correspondences can now be set out as follows:

A	Propertius 4	=	12 elegies	=	12 books of the *Aeneid*
B	Propertius 4	=	952 lines	=	*Aen.* 12
C	4.4.11-68 (Actium)	=	58 lines	=	*Aen.* 8.671-928 (Actium)
D	4.**7.5** (*exsequiis*)	~	*Aen.* **7.5** (*exsequiis*)		
E	4.7 + 4.8	:	*Iliad* + *Odyssey*	:	*Aen.* 1-6 + *Aen.* 7-12
F	952 lines ÷ 11 poems	=	**86** *r.* ***6***	=	***sex*** *superant uersus* (4.2.57)
G	4.**6** (*in medio*)	=	**86** lines	=	*Ecl.* **6**
H	4.**6.85** (*donec*)	~	*Ecl.* **6.85** (*donec*)		
I	4.1a + 4.1b	=	150 lines	=	*Ecl.* 1+9
				=	4.10 + 4.11
J	10 'units'	=	10 *Eclogues*		

Hence, Propertius 4 presents both ten (uniting 4.1a & b and 4.10 & 11) and twelve (dividing 4.1a & b) poetic units so as to correspond to the *Eclogues* [**I** and **J**] and *Aeneid* [**A**] respectively. Read in terms of the *Eclogues*, poem 4.1 and poems 4.10 and 4.11 each reproduce the combined length of the paired *Ecl.* 1 and 9 (150 lines) [**I**], while the sixth

[1] Skutsch (1969) 156, who goes on to allow pattern to dictate questions of textual criticism.

elegy corresponds to the sixth *Eclogue* (each is 86 lines long [**G**] and stichometricaly pinpointed at v. 85 [**H**]); read in terms of the *Aeneid*, the length of the entire book matches that of *Aeneid* 12 (each is 952 lines long) [**B**], the Actium ekphrasis in 4.6 replicates its counterpart in *Aeneid* 8 in length (each is 58 lines long) [**C**] and position (each is structurally *in medio*), while the midpoint of the entire epic is pinpointed stichometrically at 4.7.5, which reproduces from *Aen.* 7.5 a Vergilian *hapax legomenon* [**D**]; the 'Iliadic' 4.7 and 'Odyssean' 4.8 invert (but respect the blurring of) the 'Odyssean' and 'Iliadic' hexads of the *Aeneid* [**E**]. When the number of poems is taken to be eleven (i.e. uniting 4.1 a & b), the average length of an elegy is 86 lines (i.e. the length of *Ecl.* 6 and 4.6, the medial elegy) [**G**], with a remainder of 6 lines, about which we are told at 4.2.57 (*sex superant uersus*) [**F**].

What validates these correspondences is that they are thematically functional. It was argued in Chapter 2 that Propertius 4.1a sets out a programme to replicate in elegy Vergil's ascent from pastoral to epic: hence Propertius' final book matches the length of Vergil's, its tally of twelve elegies evokes the twelve books of the *Aeneid*, and it recognises (through inversion) the structural device by which Vergil signalled his claim to be the Roman Homer. That 4.6 links structurally (and all but tangibly) with Vergil's ekphrasis of Actium, but also programmes into the centre of the book the sixth *Eclogue*, in which Vergil disavowed *reges et proelia* yet sang a generically inflated pastoral, implicitly recognises the expansion of Vergilian epos from bucolic to epic which Propertius is attempting in these elegies to parallel. However, it was also argued in Chapter 2 that 4.1b sets out conversely to arrest Propertius' pursuit of a Vergilian-style ascent by confining the poet to his pastoral origins, and elegy to the private and personal sphere: hence it might just as easily be observed that the Vergilian dimensions of Propertius 4 also downsize from the epic framework to the bucolic centre.

The structural alignment of 4.1 and 4.10-4.11, arguably the most 'Roman' of the Roman elegies after 4.6, with the paired *Eclogues* 1 and 9, which illustrate above all the implosion of pastoral under the strain of Roman politics, could endorse the kind of private, 'elegiac' readings of these elegies that many critics have proposed. Such a reading of the *Eclogues* (as of Propertius) is not unproblematic, however, for Roman

politics can also be seen to create the conditions under which pastoral song is given rather than deprived of its voice. Similarly, the suggestion in Chapter 3 that Propertius 4 presents its series of dead or moribund females in terms of female or feminised figures who in Vergil are similarly 'under erasure' highlights the cost involved in building an empire in which poetry that endows the female with a voice can be created. Feminised victims and pastoral wastes cannot present Roman history from the perspective of the defeated without also presenting a perspective written by (those endorsed by) the victors. In a related tension, Chapter 4 argued that the collateral damage left in the wake of Rome's pursuit of teleological history must necessarily be the destiny to which in a cyclical history she will also return. In a more localised debate, Propertius' projection of the three historical dedications of *spolia opima* onto their legendary analogues in the *Aeneid* is a move that contradicts Augustus' exclusion of Crassus from that honour only to the extent that it makes the same honour available to Augustus himself.

Propertius 4 appropriates Vergil in exploring these themes, but the ultimate appropriation is the one we make ourselves, and it tells us not where Propertius' sympathies lie, but our own. Nevertheless, at the risk of circularity, Propertius 4 can be seen to teach the intertextually-minded reader where the 'elegiac' sympathies of the *Aeneid* lie; for a reader open to this lesson, it will not be an idle observation that the Vergilian *hapax legomenon* which Propertius stichometrically singles out at the midpoint of the *Aeneid* is a word which has its closest affinity to elegy's origin as a genre of lament. Such a reading of the *Aeneid* is now familiar to Vergilians, but if these traces of Vergil in Propertius can be countenanced as traces of Propertius in Vergil, then we are left with many ways in which Propertius 4 can be seen to have anticipated and perhaps guided our own readings of Vergil. It has been argued elsewhere that Propertius read the *Aeneid* as "a very Augustan poem" (for these views, see the introductory chapter); certainly Propertius saw how the *Aeneid* could be read as such, but Book 4 also makes it clear that Propertius saw how the *Aeneid* could be read as a very Propertian (that is not to say anti-Augustan) poem in which a plurality of readings can be accommodated.

Propertius' thematic reading (and rewriting) of the *Aeneid*, then, is set within and corroborated by an exacting structural and stichometric framework. In this, Propertius 4 has developed and fulfilled a style of reception and interpretation exhibited in Book 2, the final elegy of which was shown in the introductory chapter to demonstrate the same techniques of wilful misreading, 'window' allusion, and structural and stichometric alignment as have been seen to operate throughout Book 4. This mode of reception has implications not just for our ideological and political readings of Latin elegy and epic. Fundamentalist theorists have of late raised the spectre of doubt over the validity of textual criticism's mission to reconstruct the text as its author intended to leave it.[2] Yet it would be tempting, for example, to see the stichometric parallel at 2.34b.78 as a stichometric parallel, rather, at 2.35.54 (see pp. 13-14 above), and to proceed from there to a new perception of the structure of one of Latin literature's most vexed texts. To do so would be to concede the point to intentionalism and await the response of the fundamentalists to the view of one such as Guy Lee, who has written,[3]

> [i]n textual criticism at any rate, one can forget about the so-called 'Intentional Fallacy', that pathetic modern academic belief which takes for granted the perfection of the text one happens to be reading and maintains one has no right to talk about the author's intention [...]

A perception of numerical and stichometric architecture will also have implications for textual criticism. The most recent commentary on Propertius 4 sets out as follows the *status questionis* vis-à-vis its *textus receptus*:[4]

> Scholarship in the last forty years has made a huge contribution to the textual criticism of P. Work for this edition has suggested that in book 4 transposition does not provide the best solution to any difficulty, and that, as is beginning to be recognized, some interpolation of lines has occurred.

This cautious approach to transposition would appear to be vindicated by the broad reliability of the text suggested by the findings presented above; for some, the same findings might require that the 25 lines marked as having been suspected by past editors

---

[2] See e.g. Edmunds (2001) esp. 3-5.
[3] Lee (1991) x-xi.
[4] Hutchinson 23.

be retained as genuine, and the five posited lacunae rejected. The same conclusion would apply to the fewer deletions but somewhat more lacunae (and rather a lot more transpositions) recommended by the most recent OCT of Propertius 4. Ultimately, though, the power of reader centrism is such that there can be no hierarchy of control: the extent to which a given reader takes the stichometric parallels as meaningful/significant will be the extent to which the text of Propertius 4 is non-negotiable for that same reader.

These reflections, therefore, are offered as "a contribution to a continuing debate", in the manner of the recent OCT, which so styles itself in view of the fact that "[t]he text of Propertius is one of the worst transmitted of the classical Latin authors", and goes on to effect what might be a rapprochement between the Intentional Fallacy and the *raison d'être* of textual criticism by inviting every reader to edit the text anew on the principle (itself a rereading of Phillimore's prefatory sigh) *quot lectores, tot Propertii*.[5] No principle of textual criticism is invalidated by any of the possibilities raised here, and some (such as the division of elegies, as in 2.34) are vindicated; clearly there are cases where lines have either stolen into or escaped from texts, but the experience of Propertius 4 is such that couplets should be deleted and lacunae introduced with hesitation; emendation of individual words or groups of words is not much compromised by a view that accepts the findings presented here, though Richardson's *suberant* for the MSS *superant* at 4.2.57 is a case which might not be immune. To suggest a possible rapprochement between the conservatives and radicals of textual criticism, the former might at least take the emendations proposed by the latter as drawing attention to oddities of Propertian diction which, on occasion, might *instructively* defy explanation.

What has enabled observation of these structural parallels is the fact that the texts concerned have each survived relatively, or sufficiently, intact. It is indeed intriguing that Propertius should proclaim himself the Roman Callimachus in a book which so zealously incorporates Vergil without ever naming him; on the other hand, the 'Vergilian Propertius', or even the 'Elegiac Vergil', were an unlikely alternative. Rather,

[5] Heyworth (2007) vii and lxv.

the fourth book of the 'Roman Callimachus' proves its Callimacheanism *inter alia* through its zealous incorporation of Vergil, whose own Callimacheanism it manifestly recognises. Were Callimachus' *Aetia* to have survived relatively, or sufficiently, intact, many more thematic and structural alignments between it and Vergilian poetry, as well as Propertius' Roman *Aetia*, could presumably be recognised. Thomas' discernment of parallels between the midpoints of the *Georgics*, the Propertian corpus, and the *Victoria Berenices* at the centre of the *Aetia* would suggest that there is scope for further comparative investigation of this kind;[6] Hutchinson has noted that Horos in 4.1 combines the roles of both the Telchines and Apollo in the *Aetia* prologue;[7] similarly, the conclusion of the *Aetia* with the *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110 Pf.) might be recalled in 4.11, which closes Propertius 4 with the similar story of a noblewoman whose virtuous life has secured her own ascent to the stars (*moribus et caelum patuit*, 4.11.101); to raise but one last possibility, the parallel programmatic shifts from dreamland to reality at the centre of both Propertius 4 and the *Aeneid* might be of interest to those who argue that the *somnium Callimachi* concluded at the corresponding point of the *Aetia*.[8] In this way, an intertextuality which admits of a degree of intentionalism might offer the chance to discover, through close comparison of the texts we have, something more about the texts we have not. Simultaneously, Propertius' appreciation of Vergil's own implicit claim to be a Roman Callimachus might point us to a wider understanding of Vergilian Callimacheanism than is currently available in E.V. George's study of *Aeneid* 8.[9]

The confluence in Propertius 4 of Vergilian epic and Callimachean elegy (among other intertexts) has implications also for the generic identity of Propertian elegy in its last phase. Alessandro Barchiesi has described the process whereby Kroll's theory of generic 'Kreuzung' has been superseded by today's text-centred focus: "the main change [...] has been to shift attention from genres as begetting genres to texts as mobilizing genres".[10] Modern scholars have thus ceded generic essentialism to the texts themselves. This model works well in Propertius 4, which polarises its epic and elegiac agendas in 4.1, and thereafter lets them thrash out their differences in the neutral space

[6] Thomas (1983) [= (1999) 101-113].
[7] Hutchinson 59-60.
[8] Cameron (1995) 137-40.
[9] George (1974).
[10] Barchiesi (2001) 155; see also Hinds (2000) and Conte (1994) 105-128.

of the *locus amoenus* (Chapter 2). In Callimachean manner, then, Propertius codifies genres (through a tendentious amplification of their essence) in order to experiment with generic infraction. Yet a paradox of this process is that the initially mobilising preference for essentialism over hybridisation threatens to collapse: while a poem like 4.8 subordinates Vergilian epic to a 'traditionally' elegiac agenda, one like 4.11 seems to do something of the reverse to produce a very unelegiac elegy (Chapter 3). On the one hand, then, Propertius 4 codifies the epic and elegiac genres, but it also toys with 'generic engineering'.[11] This may be illustrated with a brief intratextual tracking through Propertius 4 of the Augustan buzzword for genre, *opus*,[12] and its cognate *operosus*: setting out to parallel Vergil's bucolic-to-epic generic ascent, Propertius locates himself in 4.1a in his pastoral Umbria but envisages the new patriotic form of elegy under construction: *Roma, faue: tibi surgit* ***opus*** (4.1.67); in 4.1b, however, Horos confines Propertian elegy to its origins: *at tu finge elegos, fallax* ***opus*** (4.1.135) (Chapter 2); 4.2 returns (albeit in reduced terms) to the idea of a singular composite genre when the protean symbol of elegy (Chapter 5) declares *unum* ***opus*** *est,* ***operi*** *non datur unus honos* (4.2.64); 4.6 describes a marine *locus amoenus* as the tranquil setting for the generic battle of Actium (Chapters 2 and 4): though a safe-haven for sailors, this *nautarum uotis* ***non operosa*** *uia* (4.6.18) could nevertheless warn against the choppy waters of epic, 'the non-generic path', into which Sextus Propertius [Nauta] (see Chapter 1) is attempting to sail his elegy; this phrase is echoed in 4.8, when Cynthia, ***non operosa*** *comis* (4.8.52), gatecrashes Propertius' pastoral enclosure to oust her generic rivals and reinstate Cynthian elegy (Chapters 2 and 3).[13] Thus Propertius constructs himself as a would-be peacemaker between recalcitrant genres that cling to old hostilities. If Cynthia, Propertian elegy of old, must share the stage with a new genre in Propertius 4, then perhaps Cornelia in 4.11 is the creation that emerges from the laboratory of the *locus amoenus* to fill this role.

The continuation into Propertius 4 of the tension between (Vergilian) epic and (Propertian) elegy reframes the question of 2.34 in terms of compatibility rather than

[11] See Hinds (1987) 115-117 for similar reflections on Ovid's *Fasti*.
[12] See Barchiesi (2001) 156.
[13] A remaining *opus* at 4.5.19-20 (*exorabat* ***opus*** *uerbis ceu blande perure | saxosamque ferat sedula culpa uiam*) has all the appearances of metapoetic usage, but this *locus ualde desperatus* frustrates interpretation.

dichotomy, and leaves the reader wondering to what extent elegy can match epic, or even supersede it. The introduction surveyed a range of critical assessments which pronounced on this question in terms either of Propertius' inferiority or inferiority complex (pp. 26-33); assessments such as these suggest, in some cases *avant la lettre*, the applicability to Propertius 4 of Harold Bloom's 'anxiety of influence', according to which the 'strong poet' is the one who has successfully overcome his canonical precursor. Bloom has been faulted, *inter alia*, for his exclusion of non-literary intertexts and his unapologetic intentionalism (in Bloom's psychoanalytical model, the Death of the Author is necessarily an "anticanonical myth").[14] While these are penetrating criticisms, the Bloomian model has some legitimacy in a study, such as this one, which confines itself to literary intertexts and argues for an intertextuality that accepts a degree of intentionalism. While Bloomian anxiety might more readily lend itself to poets working within the same generic tradition (such as epic),[15] the agonistic relationship between elegy and epic is clear from the *recusatio* of the Roman poets;[16] indeed, Bloom maintains that poetic anxiety need not even manifest in verbal reminiscences:[17]

> Poets need not *look* like their fathers, and the anxiety of influence more frequently than not is quite distinct from the anxiety of style. Since poetic influence is necessarily misprision, a taking or doing amiss of one's burden, it is to be expected that such a process of malformation and misinterpretation will, at the very least, produce deviations in style between strong poets.

This could partially account for why scholars have perceived Vergilian influence only in some of the poems of Propertius 4; as we have seen, however, verbal reminiscence is a feature of *all* the poems in the book, even when outwardly they show little interest in Vergil. The perception of Vergil as a 'strong' poet may have been particularly acute for his contemporaries since (*mirabile dictu*) Vergil had obtained canonical status within his (and therefore Propertius') own lifetime.[18] Poetic succession in the Greco-Roman tradition is commonly figured self-reflexively through allusion to scenes (often dreams)

---

[14] Bloom (1994) 39.
[15] See Hardie (1993) 116-119 (delineating four reasons why Bloom is appealing to students of Latin epic in particular).
[16] See Sullivan (1993) with a specific reference to the 'anxiety of influence' on p. 143.
[17] Bloom (1975) 20.
[18] Vergil's status as a school classic can be securely traced to 26 BC: see Marrou (1956) 251-2 and (for a broader discussion) Keith (2000) 8-35.

in which a succession or transmission of some kind takes place: this might be considered, like stichometric intertextuality, as a form of 'meta-allusion', but one which specifically thematises the notion of poetic inheritance and succession. One such "allusion that alludes to itself"[19] could be argued for the palimpsest of 4.7 (see Chapter 3), where Propertius' waking encounter with Cynthia's ghost alludes to Aeneas' dream-inheritance of Troy's destiny from Hector's ghost, which itself alludes both to Patroclus' dream appearance to Achilles (also a model for 4.7) and to Ennius' dream-revelation of his Homeric incarnation (also a model for 4.7?): if Propertius here inherits the epic tradition through Vergil, the concomitant generic death of Propertian elegy is doubly signalled when Cynthia's ghost commands that the poetry composed in her name be burnt, an aspiration that is itself curiously Vergilian. An expression of Bloomian anxiety might also be construed in the construction in 4.9 of Vergil as Propertius' precursor through the figure of Hercules, who appeals to Propertian poetics for inspiration before more ominously desecrating a grove of elegiac *puellae* (Chapters 1 and 2); looking to the next generation, there might be a touch of Propertian anxiety about his own successors when the revenant Cynthia assails, in the manner of Hercules in 4.9, one Lygdamus (4.8.68-70), pointedly identified in this aetiological elegy as the *causa querelae* (4.8.79).

Bloomian analysis thus raises "the ancient and quite grim triple question of the agonist: more than, less than, or equal to?"[20] To the competing proponents of the first two options need only be repeated Quintilian's reflection, when formulating the elegiac canon, on the subjectivity of aesthetic evaluation: *sunt qui Propertium malint* (10.1.93). With marginally less subjectivity, perhaps, we can address the question of how *Propertius* constructs his relationship with Vergil. Propertius' interested readings of Vergil each go beyond mere imitation, instantiating Russell's principle that ancient *imitatio* necessarily shades into *aemulatio*:[21] thus, for example, Propertius variously supplements and revises Vergilian narrative, while the encapsulation on the structural level of both poles of Vergilian epos can be taken to indicate a parallel 'mastery' of Vergilian poetry. Proving what is at the very least an equivalence in the capacity of the two genres, Propertius'

---

[19] This phrase and discussion are indebted to Hardie (1993) 101-105.
[20] Bloom (1994) 35 (see also 24).
[21] Russell (1979) with five principles defined on p. 16.

elegiac collection literally incorporates Vergil, a structural and stylistic appropriation signalled at the conclusion of 4.9 when Propertius asks the epic Hercules 'to be in' his poetry-book (*uelis libro dexter inesse meo*, 4.9.72). By such an appropriation, elegy is exalted to the register of epic. *Mutatis mutandis*, applicable here are Llewelyn Morgan's observations on the stichometric alignment of Vergil's and Homer's Proteus episodes:[22]

> What can be the effect of such a parallel but to make the copying text *resemble* the original? Surely the stichometrical correspondence is an (arch) expression on a structural plane of the emulation of Homer – the attempt to equal his achievement – represented by Virgil's verbal imitation of the *Proteus*.

In the case of Propertius 4, one might add that the original is made to resemble the copying text. Propertius 4 invites the *Aeneid* into itself because it recognises its affinity with elegy. In Propertius' *aemulatio* of Vergil, then, there is a respect that is not always apparent in the earlier *recusationes*; as Russel's first principle states, "[t]he object must be worth imitating".[23] While at times there is an obvious deflating of Vergilian grandeur, the very fact that Propertius 4 constructs its own dynamic in terms of Vergil seems to recognise the authority of that text. In this way, it becomes impossible to maintain with Bloom an apolitical reading of poetic influence; there is, rather, as Barchiesi has proposed for generic/metapoetic and New Historicist readings, "a kind of *circulation* within the poetic text"[24] between literary and political intertexts. Propertius' appropriation of the *Aeneid* recognises its universal authority, and thereby endorses the readings it offers: thus with Thomas Habinek we can see Propertius preserving and transmitting the aristocratic ideals valorised in the *Aeneid*;[25] but we might also prefer to say that Propertius does not authorise Vergil without reading him de(con)structively, or showing the difficulties of integrating aspects of Vergilian ideology with elegy. All of which goes to show that, for Propertius as for ourselves, the death of Vergil opened as many possibilities as it closed.

---

[22] Morgan (1999) 27 (his emphasis).
[23] Russell (1979) 16.
[24] Barchiesi (2001) 161 (his emphasis).
[25] Habinek (1998).

APPENDIX I

Propertius-Vergil Intertexts

The appendices are intended to be as inclusive as possible. It is not presumed that every *locus similis* here listed will be 'functional' for all readers: some may be of interest from one perspective (e.g. philology or textual criticism) but not from another (e.g. literary criticism); some, for the time being, may be of no interest to anyone. For a position on locating this material on the intertext-allusion spectrum, see Chapter 1 (Introduction). Words in brackets are *hapax legomena* of the *corpus Vergilianum*.

4.1.1	A. 8.364	4.1.26	A. 8.663 (*Lupercus*)
4.1.1	A. 8.532	4.1.27	A. 8.616
4.1.1	A. 7.602	4.1.28	A. 11.473
4.1.2	A. 8.604-5	4.1.28	A. 11.894
4.1.2	A. 8.351	4.1.28	A. 7.524
4.1.2	A. 8.216	4.1.29	G. 4.75
4.1.2	A. 1.419	4.1.30	A. 8.638
4.1.3	G. 1.499 (*Palatum*)	4.1.31-2	A. 8.342
4.1.3	A. 8.684	4.1.34	A. 6.773
4.1.3	A. 9.9	4.1.34	A. 6.611
4.1.3	G. 3.29	4.1.35-6	A. 6.766-76
4.1.4	G. 4.198	4.1.37	A. 6.877
4.1.4	A. 8.118	4.1.38	A. 3.273
4.1.4	A. 1.2	4.1.38	A. 8.631
4.1.4	A. 8.204	4.1.38	A. 1.275
4.1.7	A. 8.652	4.1.39	A. 8.118
4.1.7	A. 8.347	4.1.39	A. 1.2
4.1.8	A. 8.330-2	4.1.39	A. 1.375-80
4.1.8	A. 8.500	4.1.39	A. 7.300
4.1.11	A. 7.174	4.1.43-4	A. 2.707-8
4.1.12	G. 4.70	4.1.45	A. 6.818-25
4.1.12	A. 8.282	4.1.45	G. 2.169
4.1.13	A. 7.710	4.1.46	A. 8.608
4.1.13	A. 7.519	4.1.47	A. 3.54
4.1.13	A. 11.475	4.1.47	A. 1.206
4.1.13	G. 4.210	4.1.49	A. 6.347
4.1.14	A. 8.105	4.1.49	A. 6.236
4.1.14	A. 1.426	4.1.50	A. 7.657-9
4.1.14	A. 6.707	4.1.50	A. 8.231
4.1.15	A. 1.427	4.1.51	A. 2.291
4.1.16	G. 4.182	4.1.52	A. 2.525
4.1.17	A. 8.349	4.1.52	A. 2.558
4.1.21-2	G. 1.274-5	4.1.53-7	A. 1.274-7
4.1.22	A. 8.665	4.1.53	A. 9.285
4.1.23	G. 2.282 (*compita*)	4.1.53	A. 11.245
4.1.23	A. 8.641 (*porca*)	4.1.55	A. 9.566
4.1.24	A. 8.183	4.1.55	A. 8.630-2
4.1.25	E. 7.29 (*saetosus*)	4.1.56	G. 2.532-5

4.1.57	A. 3.237
4.1.62	A. 8.274
4.1.65	A. 1.
4.1.65-7	A. 1.366
4.1.65	A. 2.237
4.1.65-7	A. 1.437
4.1.67	A. 7.45
4.1.69	A. 1.1
4.1.69	A. 12.192
4.1.70	G. 3.201-2
4.1.70	G. 2.541-2
4.1.71-2	A. 10.812-6
4.1.73	A. 6.468-9
4.1.78	E. 3.40 (*Conon*)
4.1.82	A. 5.274
4.1.85	G. 4.234 (*Piscis*)
4.1.88	A. 10.162
4.1.89-98	A. 9.485-7
4.1.94	A. 2.555 (*prolabi*)
4.1.103	A. 4.257 (*harenosus*)
4.1.107-8	G. 1.231-241 (*zona*)
4.1.111-16	A. 11.259-263
4.1.116	A. 1.118-9
4.1.117-8	A. 2.402-419
4.1.117	A. 1.41 (*Oileus*)
4.1.119-120	G. 2.1-2
4.1.125	A. 2.125
4.1.127	A. 6.228
4.1.129-30	E. 1; E. 9
4.1.130	A. 6.663 (*excolere*)
4.1.131-134	E. 6.1-5
4.1.133-4	E. 10.21-2
4.1.134	G. 2.502
4.1.135	A. 6.343-4
4.1.137-8	A. 8.515-7
4.1.141-2	A. 11.755-6
4.1.141-2	A. 6.597
4.1.142	A. 5.187
4.1.147	A. 5.220
4.1.149	A. 2.629
4.1.149	A. 6.237
4.1.149	A. 10.102
4.1.150	E. 10.69 (*Cancer*)
4.2.2	A. 10.188
4.2.3	G. 1.499
4.2.3	A. 8.473
4.2.3	A. 10. 199-201
4.2.5	G. 1.480
4.2.5	G. 3.7, 26
4.2.6	A. 8.361
4.2.7-8	A. 8.86-90
4.2.13	A. 7.687 (*liuere*)
4.2.13	G. 2.60
4.2.13	G. 1.102
4.2.13	E. 4.29
4.2.13	E. 9.49-50
4.2.14	G. 1.314-5 (*lactere, spiceus*)
4.2.15-18	G. 2.32-4
4.2.15	G. 4.145
4.2.15	G. 2.18 (*cerasus*)
4.2.16	E. 6.22 (*morum*)
4.2.17-18	G. 2.73-82
4.2.18	G. 1.224
4.2.40-43	G. 4.116-148 (*cucumis*)
4.2.46	A. 9.435-6
4.2.47	G. 4.411
4.2.49-50	A. 8.473
4.2.49-50	G. 1.499
4.2.49-50	A. 10. 199-201
4.2.50	A. 6.242
4.2.50	A. 7.778
4.2.52	A. 8.635-8
4.2.53	A. 8.664
4.2.53	G. 1.368
4.2.55	A. 1.254
4.2.56	A. 1.282 (*togatus*)
4.2.58	G. 2.541
4.2.58	G. 4.147
4.2.59-62	G. 4.109-117
4.2.62	A. 1.455
4.2.62	A. 12.210
4.2.62	A. 7.730 (*Osci*)
4.2.64	A. 5.308
4.3.1	G. 4.344, 351
4.3.1	E. 10.1
4.3.1	A. 3.696
4.3.5-6	A. 11.816
4.3.7	A. 8.688
4.3.7-10	G. 2.109-139
4.3.10	G. 4.293
4.3.15	A. 6.134
4.3.15	A. 8.296
4.3.17	A. 7.326
4.3.19	G. 2.25
4.3.20	A. 7.615
4.3.27	G. 3.129 (*tenuare*)
4.3.34	G. 3.307
4.3.35	A. 8.728 (*Araxes*)

4.3.37 E. 6.83 (*ediscere*)
4.3.41 A. 4.9
4.3.41 A. 4.632-4
4.3.43 A. 11.861-2
4.3.43 A. 11.862
4.3.43 A. 11.803
4.3.47 G. 3.339-51
4.3.47-8 G. 1.233-241
4.3.51 A. 4.134
4.3.57 A. 11.775
4.3.57 E. 3.9 (*sacellus*)
4.3.59 G. 1.403 (*noctua*)
4.3.59 G. 4.307 (*tignum*)
4.3.62 A. 1.416-7
4.3.64 A. 11.776 (*carbasus*)
4.3.65 A. 7.687
4.3.67-8 G. 3.31-2
4.3.68 A. 6.760
4.3.71 A. 7.697

4.4.1 A. 11.656
4.4.1 A. 8.347
4.4.1 A. 8.652
4.4.5 A. 8.600
4.4.7 A. 8.638
4.4.9-14 A. 8.347-8
4.4.13 A. 1.365
4.4.19 A. 12.106
4.4.19 G. 3.234
4.4.20 A. 12.281
4.4.25, 32 E. 2.45-6
4.4.25-8 A. 8.652-7 (*argenteus*)
4.4.27 A. 8.347
4.4.28 G. 3.444
4.4.30 A. 4.2
4.4.31 G. 4.75 (*praetoria*)
4.4.37 A. 4.27-8
4.4.38 G. 3.86
4.4.39 G.1.405
4.4.39-40 E. 6.74-5 (*inguen*)
4.4.44 A. 11.658 (*ministra*)
4.4.45 A. 4.322
4.4.49-50 A. 11.716-7
4.4.51 A. 4.493
4.4.52 A. 8.634
4.4.53-4 A. 1.275-82
4.4.55 A. 4.328
4.4.57 A. 7.706-710
4.4.57 A. 8.635
4.4.58-60 A. 12.819-825
4.4.62 A. 7.460
4.4.63-4 A. 4.522-9
4.4.64 A. 6.602
4.4.66 A. 1.304 (*benignus*)
4.4.67 A. 4.9
4.4.68 A. 6.606
4.4.68 A. 1.299
4.4.70 A. 4.172
4.4.70 A. 4.2
4.4.71 A. 11.659
4.4.72 G. 4.508
4.4.75 A. 4.77
4.4.76 A. 6.610 (*diuitiae*)
4.4.77-8 G. 1.400
4.4.79-80 A. 9.189-90
4.4.87-8 A. 12.42
4.4.90 A. 12.144
4.4.91 A. 12.330
4.4.91 A. 9.763
4.4.93 A. 4.693-9
4.4.94 A. 1.364

4.5.1-2 G. 4.145-6 (*spina*)
4.5.1-3 A. 4.34
4.5.1-3 A. 4.625
4.5.4 G. 3.493
4.5.5, 10 A. 7.765-6
4.5.5-20 A. 4.483-91
4.5.6 A. 4.659-61
4.5.10 G. 2.128
4.5.10 A. 7.765
4.5.10-11 G. 3.282-3
4.5.11 E. 8.95-99
4.5.14 A. 1.684
4.5.14 E. 8.97
4.5.14 A. 4.490
4.5.15-16 G. 2.209-10
4.5.17 G. 3.491
4.5.18 A. 4.515-6
4.5.18 G. 3.280-2
4.5.23 A. 8.625
4.5.31 E. 6.75
4.5.35 E. 2.35
4.5.35-6 E. 3.76 (*natalis*)
4.5.42 A. 3.326 (*fastus*)
4.5.47 G. 1.496
4.5.49 G. 3.56 (*displicere*)
4.5.49-52 G. 3.56-59
4.5.50 A. 11.329
4.5.51 A. 1.714-6

4.5.51	A. 11.777
4.5.51	E. 1.71
4.5.55	G. 4.119
4.5.59	A. 7.417 (*ruga*)
4.5.60	E. 3.71 (*cras*)
4.5.61	G. 4.119 (*Paestum*)
4.5.63	A. 4.630
4.5.67	A. 3.623 (*uidi ego*)
4.5.67	G. 3.497 (*tussis*)
4.5.67	G. 1.392
4.5.67, 69	G. 3.463
4.5.68	G. 3.203
4.5.68	A. 8.297
4.5.69, 72	G. 3.562, 564
4.5.71	G. 1.405
4.5.71	A. 7.5 (*exsequiae*)
4.5.72	G. 3.564
4.5.74	A. 11.68 (*pollex*)
4.5.77	G. 2.495
4.5.77	G. 2.214
4.6.0	E. 6.
4.6.1-6	G. 3.486-93
4.6.1-14	E. 6.1-12
4.6.1	A. 5.71
4.6.2	G. 4.540-1
4.6.2	A. 8.719
4.6.3, 7	A. 1.416-7
4.6.4-5	G. 3.126-7
4.6.5-8	A. 6.224-231
4.6.5, 8	G. 1.57
4.6.7, 11	A. 12.475
4.6.7	A. 4.635
4.6.9	A. 6.258-9
4.6.11	A. 9.9 (*Palatinus*)
4.6.12	A. 9.525
4.6.12	E. 4.57-8
4.6.13	G. 3.47-8
4.6.13	E. 6.5
4.6.14	A. 3.358-360
4.6.15-68	A. 8.675-728
4.6.15	A. 8.573
4.6.15-16	A. 1.159-161
4.6.17-25	A. 8.675-681
4.6.17-18	A. 3.275-280
4.6.19	A. 8.693
4.6.21	G. 3.27
4.6.22-5	A. 11.660-63
4.6.25	A. 1.490
4.6.26	A. 12.163
4.6.27	A. 4.143-4
4.6.27-8	A. 8.691-2
4.6.29	A. 9.110
4.6.29-30	A. 8.678-681
4.6.30, 50	G. 4.298, 307
4.6.32-38	A. 2.540-546
4.6.33	A. 2.193 (*Pelopeus*)
4.6.34	A. 2.27
4.6.34	A. 6.88
4.6.35, 41	A. 1.457, 463
4.6.35	G. 1.505
4.6.36	A. 2.544
4.6.36	G. 2.172
4.6.38	A. 2.543
4.6.39-40	A. 11.652
4.6.41, 35	A. 1.463, 457
4.6.47	A. 6.18-19
4.6.49	A. 5.122
4.6.49	G. 2.456-7
4.6.49-50	A. 1.201-2
4.6.49	A. 10.196
4.6.50, 30	G. 4.307, 298 (*tignum*)
4.6.50	A. 8.93
4.6.50	A. 5.663
4.6.51-3	A. 12.95-100
4.6.55	A. 8.704
4.6.57, 65	[A. 2.584, 578]
4.6.62-5	A. 8.709-717
4.6.63	A. 12.52-3
4.6.64	A. 4.308, 415, 519, 604
4.6.65, 57	[A. 2.578, 584]
4.6.69	A. 2.121
4.6.69	A. 12.393-4
4.6.71-3	A. 6.704-709
4.6.72, 75-7	G. 4.119-20, 128-9
4.6.79-82	G. 3.31-2
4.6.83	G. 4.292
4.6.83	A. 8.730
4.6.84	G. 1.509
4.6.84	G. 4.561
4.6.84	A. 8.726
4.6.85	E. 6.85
4.7.0	A. 2.268-297
4.7.1-6	A. 4.385-7
4.7.2	A. 11.831
4.7.2	A. 12.952
4.7.2	A. 11.66
4.7.3	A. 6.604 (*fulcrum*)
4.7.5	A. 7.5 (*exsequiae*)

4.7.6 A. 4.381
4.7.6 A. 4.385
4.7.6 A. 4.496 (*lectus*)
4.7.9 G. 3.566
4.7.10 E. 2.34
4.7.10 G. 3.484 (*liquor*)
4.7.12 A. 11.68 (*pollex*)
4.7.13 A. 4.305, 366
4.7.17 A. 2.202
4.7.19 A. 4.609
4.7.21 G. 4.158
4.7.23 A. 12.59 (*inclinare*)
4.7.25 A. 4.320-1
4.7.33 A. 11.69
4.7.34 A. 6.366, 379
4.7.34 A. 6.228
4.7.36 A. 4.644
4.7.36 A. 1.354
4.7.37 A. 4.422
4.7.37 A. 4.320
4.7.38, 41 G. 1.391, 390
4.7.42, 45 G. 4.307
4.7.44 G. 2.30
4.7.45 G. 1.173-5
4.7.46 A. 4.324
4.7.47 G. 1.508 (*conflare*)
4.7.47 A. 8.671-2
4.7.49 G. 1.155 (*insectari*)
4.7.52 A. 4.511
4.7.52 A. 8.202
4.7.53 A. 4.552
4.7.53 A. 2.160-1
4.7.53 G. 3.417, 545
4.7.54 A. 8.297
4.7.55 A. 6.431
4.7.55-62 A. 6.298-330
4.7.55-62 A. 6.431-451
4.7.58 A. 6.445-7
4.7.60 A. 6.639
4.7.61 A. 6.120
4.7.61-2 A. 10.219-20
4.7.69 A. 2.145
4.7.69 E. 6.46
4.7.69 A. 10.190-191
4.7.71 A. 4.438
4.7.71 A. 6.470
4.7.73 A. 7.1
4.7.74 E. 7.57
4.7.74 G. 4.564
4.7.79 E. 3.39
4.7.87 A. 6.893
4.7.91-2 A. 6.749-51
4.7.92 A. 5.740-2
4.7.92 A. 6.680
4.7.96 A. 2.790-4

4.8.1 G. 3.414
4.8.3 A. 4.484
4.8.5 A. 6.126 (*descensus*)
4.8.5 A. 6.237
4.8.6 A. 7.362-3
4.8.6 G. 2.204
4.8.7, 12 G. 4.280
4.8.11 G. 4.17
4.8.13 G. 2.524
4.8.16 A. 4.170 (cf. 164)
4.8.16 A. 1.8
4.8.17-22 A. 5.144-150
4.8.17-22 G. 1.512-514
4.8.17-22 A. 12.468-472
4.8.18, 21 A. 6.616-7
4.8.24 G. 3.404-5
4.8.27 A. 4.496 (*lectus*)
4.8.28 A. 3.519, 11.446 (e.g.)
4.8.29 E. 3, 5, 7, 10.
4.8.37 G. 1.165 (*suppellex*)
4.8.38 G. 2.90 (*Methymnaeus*)
4.8.42 A. 7.382
4.8.47 A. 1.355-6
4.8.47 E. 10.8
4.8.47 E. 10.41
4.8.49-52 A. 2.642-5
4.8.49, 51 A. 1.449, 476
4.8.49 A. 6.570-4
4.8.49 A. 2.493
4.8.49-52 A. 2.479-95
4.8.50 G. 1.109
4.8.51, 49 A. 1.476, 449
4.8.52 A. 4.446
4.8.55 A. 4.300, 529
4.8.55 A. 5.6
4.8.55, 64 A. 12.654, 652
4.8.56-7 A. 4.665-74
4.8.57 A. 7.346-7, 416
4.8.58 A. 8.410-11
4.8.63 A. 11.764 (cf 751-4)
4.8.64, 55 A. 12.652, 654
4.8.65 & 10-20 A. 6.72-5
4.8.65 A. 10.733 (*cruentare*)
4.8.65 & 19-20 A. 3.441-451

4.8.68 A. 6.604 (*fulcrum*)
4.8.69, 71 A. 1.49-50
4.8.69 A. 8.265
4.8.71, 74 A. 11.322-3
4.8.71 A. 4.339
4.8.71, 74 A. 12.190-1
4.8.71, 74, 85 A. 12.822-3
4.8.71, 74 A. 12.314-6
4.8.73 A. 4.172
4.8.73 G. 4.489
4.8.75 E. 1.4
4.8.82 A. 8.481-2
4.8.83 A. 6.94
4.8.85 A. 11.60
4.8.85, 74, 71 A. 12.822-3
4.8.88 A. 7.460

4.9 A. 8.185-305
4.9.1 A. 8.103
4.9.1 A. 8.214
4.9.2 A. 8.203-4
4.9.2 A. 8.207, 213
4.9.2 G. 3.407
4.9.3 G. 3.554
4.9.3 A. 8.293
4.9.4 A. 8.232
4.9.4 A. 8.204, 215, 217, 263
4.9.5 G. 4.288
4.9.8 A. 3.61
4.9.9 A. 8.211
4.9.10 A. 8.198-202
4.9.10 G. 4.483
4.9.11 A. 8.263
4.9.11-12 A. 8.207-211
4.9.13-14 A. 8.205
4.9.14 A. 8.196, 262
4.9.15 E. 8 (passim).
4.9.15 A. 7.135
4.9.15 A. 8.250
4.9.15 A. 8.286
4.9.15 A. 5.71
4.9.16-17 E. 8 (passim).
4.9.16-17 A. 10.318-21 (*claua*)
4.9.16-17 E. 1.74
4.9.16-17 E. 10.77
4.9.16-17 E. 7.44
4.9.16 A. 8.203, 219, 249
4.9.17 A. 11.476
4.9.18 G. 3.532
4.9.19 A. 8.215, 218, 361
4.9.20 A. 8.361
4.9.21 G. 3.388 (*Palatum*)
4.9.21 G. 3.433-4
4.9.23 A. 8.225
4.9.24-30 A. 8.31-34
4.9.25 G. 3.213-6
4.9.27-9 A. 8.274-7
4.9.30 E. 10.75-7
4.9.31-4 A. 8.261-2
4.9.32 A. 6.47
4.9.34 A. 7.641
4.9.34 A. 10.163
4.9.36 A. 8.69-70
4.9.37 G. 3.361
4.9.37 A. 8.137
4.9.38 A. 8.62
4.9.38-9 A. 10.318-21 (*claua*)
4.9.39 A. 8.288
4.9.39 A. 1.641
4.9.39 A. 10.369
4.9.40 A. 2.459
4.9.40 A. 8.295
4.9.40 A. 11.735
4.9.41 A. 8.296
4.9.41 G. 3.531
4.9.42 A. 1.298
4.9.42 A. 3.78-9
4.9.42 A. 8.232
4.9.43 E. 3.110-1
4.9.44 A. 8.288
4.9.45 A. 7.666-7
4.9.45 A. 8.266-7
4.9.47 A. 11.74
4.9.48-50 A. 7.805-7
4.9.48 A. 8.409-12
4.9.50 G. 4.114
4.9.51-4 A. 8.359-65
4.9.52 A. 5.269
4.9.52 A. 1.337-8
4.9.52 E. 7.32
4.9.54 A. 3.616
4.9.54 A. 2.620
4.9.56 A. 4.228 (*uindicare*)
4.9.56 A. 8.193
4.9.57-8 A. 2.615-6
4.9.57-8 A. 8.435-8
4.9.60 A. 3.389
4.9.60 A. 8.610
4.9.61 A. 7.419 (*anus*)
4.9.61 A. 8.211

4.9.61 A. 8.237
4.9.63-4 G. 4.427
4.9.65 A. 5.709
4.9.66 A. 8.232
4.9.67-8 A. 8.84-5
4.9.67-8 A. 8.271-2
4.9.67-8 A. 8.716-9
4.9.72 A. 8.638
4.9.73 A. 1.279-81
4.9.73 A. 5.80-1
4.9.73-4 A. 1.733-5
4.9.73-4 A. 8.301-2

4.10.1-2 A. 8.381-3
4.10.3-5 G. 3.102
4.10.3-4 A. 9.907-8
4.10.5 A. 7.542, 554
4.10.5-6 A. 11.6-7
4.10.5-6 A. 12.496-7
4.10.5 A. 2.275
4.10.7 A. 10.719, 730
4.10.8 A. 1.81
4.10.8 A. 2.329-30
4.10.8, 20-1 A. 11.691-3
4.10.10-11 A. 6.855-9
4.10.11 A. 10.15
4.10.11 A. 10.449
4.10.11 A. 10.862
4.10.12 A. 8.261
4.10.12 A. 9.64
4.10.13-4 A. 9.769-71
4.10.13 A. 11.606
4.10.13 A. 9.46
4.10.15-6 A. 10.773-5
4.10.15-6 A. 12.296
4.10.16 A. 10.488 (*corruere*)
4.10.19-20 G. 1.494-8
4.10.20 A. 9.809-10
4.10.20-1 A. 11.691-3
4.10.20 A. 7.785
4.10.20 A. 7.688
4.10.20-3 A. 9.612-4
4.10.21-4 A. 12.942
4.10.21-4 A. 12.274-5
4.10.23 A. 11.429
4.10.23 A. 12.460
4.10.23 A. 6.841 (*Cossus*)
4.10.24 A. 10.496-8
4.10.24 A. 9.693
4.10.25 G. 2.539
4.10.26 A. 6.773-5 (*Cora*)
4.10.27-8 A. 11.222-4 (*sella*)
4.10.27 A. 2.325
4.10.28 A. 5.577-8
4.10.29 A. 11.475
4.10.29 A. 7.519
4.10.29 E. 1.4
4.10.29-30 E. 10.41
4.10.29-30 G. 1.493-497
4.10.31 A. 2.328
4.10.31 A. 6.17
4.10.31 A. 12.133
4.10.31-2 A. 9.675-7
4.10.33 A. 12.706
4.10.33, 38 A. 12.721-2
4.10.33, 38 G. 3.221-2
4.10.35 A. 12.771
4.10.37, 43-4 A. 10.320-3
4.10.37, 46 A. 12.460, 458
4.10.37-8 A. 8.438 (*desecare*)
4.10.38, 33 A. 12.721-2
4.10.38, 33 G. 3.221-2
4.10.39 A. 8.727
4.10.40 A. 10.768
4.10.40 G. 3.204 (*Belgica*)
4.10.42 A. 8.662 (*gaesum*)
4.10.43 A. 8.660 (*uirgatus*)
4.10.43-4, 37 A. 10.320-3
4.10.46, 37 A. 12.458, 460
4.10.47 A. 10.841
4.10.48 A. 8.640

4.11 A. 2.776-789
4.11.1-2 A. 12.800
4.11.1 A. 4.360
4.11.1 A. 4.376
4.11.2 A. 8.262
4.11.2 A. 6.127
4.11.2 A. 6.574
4.11.4 A. 6.552 (*adamas*)
4.11.7-8 G. 4.502-5
4.11.8-9 A. 11.189-92
4.11.10 A. 4.496 (*lectus*)
4.11.11 A. 12.646-9
4.11.15 A. 6.107
4.11.15 G. 4.479
4.11.15-26 A. 6.426-439
4.11.17 A. 11.166 (*immaturus*)
4.11.17 A. 7.326
4.11.19 A. 6.374-5

4.11.22-6 G. 4.482-4
4.11.22-3 G. 3.37-9
4.11.22 G. 2.501
4.11.23 A. 6.601-3
4.11.25 A. 4.386
4.11.26-8 A. 6.558-61
4.11.27 A. 6.613-4
4.11.27 A. 4.17
4.11.28 A. 12.941
4.11.29-32 A. 8.99-101
4.11.29-32 A. 6.779-84
4.11.29 A .11.224
4.11.30 A. 4.106
4.11.31 [A. 2.580]
4.11.33-40 A. 4.34-53 (*Africa*)
4.11.37 A. 2.431-2
4.11.39 A. 11.452
4.11.39 A. 9.718
4.11.39 A. 6.101
4.11.39-40 A. 12.224-6
4.11.41-2 A. 2.540-3
4.11.43 A. 12.946
4.11.43 A. 11.790
4.11.45 A. 4.550
4.11.47 A. 5.736
4.11.47 A. 4.213
4.11.47 A. 1.19
4.11.47 A. 1.507
4.11.49 A. 6.432
4.11.51 A. 11.768
4.11.51 A. 5.154
4.11.51 A. 5.280
4.11.52 A. 6.785
4.11.52 A. 10.122
4.11.52 A. 11.658 (*ministra*)
4.11.52 A. 7.708
4.11.53 A. 11.776
4.11.53 A. 2.296
4.11.55 A. 4.493
4.11.62 A. 8.263 (*rapina*)
4.11.63 A. 4.20
4.11.63 A. 3.709 (*leuamen*)
4.11.64 G. 4.496
4.11.65 G. 2.509 (*geminare*)
4.11.65 A. 11.334 (*sella*)
4.11.67 A. 12.164
4.11.69 A. 1.641 (*series*)
4.11.70 A. 5.565
4.11.71 [A. 2.578]
4.11.71 A. 11.54
4.11.73 A. 2.789
4.11.73 A. 2.748
4.11.73 A. 2.293
4.11.74 A. 10.828
4.11.74 A. 4.552
4.11.74 A. 4.34
4.11.76, 78 A. 2.721-25, 29
4.11.76 A. 6.305
4.11.77 G. 2.523
4.11.79 A. 11.732
4.11.79 E. 5.21
4.11.79 E. 8.19
4.11.80 A. 1.683-8
4.11.81 A. 8.94
4.11.82 A. 2.794
4.11.83 A. 2.772
4.11.84 A. 3.348
4.11.85 A. 2.661
4.11.86 A. 11.153 (*cautus*)
4.11.87 A. 10.188
4.11.88, 91 A. 11.815-5
4.11.89 A. 9.472 (*nimis*)
4.11.91 A. 1.719
4.11.92 A. 4.34
4.11.93 A. 11.165
4.11.93 A. 12.57-8
4.11.93 A. 10.192
4.11.93 A. 9.481
4.11.93 A. 12.934
4.11.94 A. 11.179
4.11.95-8 A. 9.210-218
4.11.95 G. 4.513
4.11.96 A. 4.660
4.11.97 A. 10.273
4.11.97 A. 12.949
4.11.98-9 A. 11.478, 80
4.11.98 A. 7.5 (*exsequiae*)
4.11.99 E. 5.21
4.11.100 A. 9.213
4.11.101-2 A. 12.649
4.11.101 E. 3.105
4.11.101 A. 6.664 (cf. 662-5)
4.11.101 A. 5.652
4.11.101 A. 12.931
4.11.101 A. 12.952
4.11.101 A. 11.831
4.11.102 G. 4.209
4.11.102 A. 6.326
4.11.102 A. 6.356
4.11.102 A. 5.50 (*honorare*)

APPENDIX II

Vergil-Propertius Intertexts

E. 1.4	4.8.75
E. 1.4	4.10.29
E. 1; E. 9	4.1.129-30
E. 1.71	4.5.51
E. 1.74	4.9.16-17
E. 2.34	4.7.10
E. 2.35	4.5.35
E. 2.45-6	4.4.25, 32
E. 3, 5, 7, 10	4.8.29
E. 3.9	4.3.57
E. 3.39	4.7.79
E. 3.40	4.1.78
E. 3.71	4.5.60
E. 3.76	4.5.35-6
E. 3.105	4.11.101
E. 3.110-1	4.9.43
E. 4.29	4.2.13
E. 4.57-8	4.6.12
E. 5.21	4.11.99
E. 5.21	4.11.79
E. 6	4.6
E. 6.1-5	4.1.131-134
E. 6.1-12	4.6.1-14
E. 6.5	4.6.13
E. 6.22	4.2.16
E. 6.46	4.7.69
E. 6.74-5	4.4.39-40
E. 6.75	4.5.31
E. 6.83	4.3.37
E. 6.85	4.6.85
E. 7.29	4.1.25
E. 7.32	4.9.52
E. 7.44	4.9.16-17
E. 7.57	4.7.74
E. 8 (passim)	4.9.15
E. 8 (passim)	4.9.16-17
E. 8.19	4.11.79
E. 8.95-99	4.5.11
E. 8.97	4.5.14
E. 9.49-50	4.2.13
E. 10.1	4.3.1
E. 10.8	4.8.47
E. 10.21-2	4.1.133-4
E. 10.41	4.10.29-30
E. 10.41	4.8.47
E. 10.69	4.1.150
E. 10.75-7	4.9.30
E. 10.77	4.9.16-17
G. 1.57	4.6.5, 8
G. 1.102	4.2.13
G. 1.109	4.8.50
G. 1.155	4.7.49
G. 1.165	4.8.37
G. 1.173-5	4.7.45
G. 1.224	4.2.18
G. 1.231-241	4.1.107-8
G. 1.233-241	4.3.47-8
G. 1.274-5	4.1.21-2
G. 1.314-5	4.2.14
G. 1.368	4.2.53
G. 1.391, 390	4.7.38, 41
G. 1.392	4.5.67
G. 1.400	4.4.77-8
G. 1.403	4.3.59
G. 1.405	4.4.39
G. 1.405	4.5.71
G. 1.480	4.2.5
G. 1.493-497	4.10.29-30
G. 1.494-8	4.10.19-20
G. 1.496	4.5.47
G. 1.499	4.2.3
G. 1.499	4.2.49-50
G. 1.499	4.1.3
G. 1.505	4.6.35
G. 1.508	4.7.47

G. 1.509 4.6.84
G. 1.512-514 4.8.17-22

G. 2.1-2 4.1.119-120
G. 2.18 4.2.15
G. 2.25 4.3.19
G. 2.30 4.7.44
G. 2.32-4 4.2.15-18
G. 2.60 4.2.13
G. 2.73-82 4.2.17-18
G. 2.90 4.8.38
G. 2.109-139 4.3.7-10
G. 2.128 4.5.10
G. 2.169 4.1.45
G. 2.172 4.6.36
G. 2.204 4.8.6
G. 2.209-10 4.5.15-16
G. 2.214 4.5.77
G. 2.282 4.1.23
G. 2.456-7 4.6.49
G. 2.495 4.5.77
G. 2.501 4.11.22
G. 2.502 4.1.134
G. 2.509 4.11.65
G. 2.523 4.11.77
G. 2.524 4.8.13
G. 2.532-5 4.1.56
G. 2.539 4.10.25
G. 2.541 4.2.58
G. 2.541-2 4.1.70

G. 3.7, 26 4.2.5
G. 3.27 4.6.21
G. 3.29 4.1.3
G. 3.31-2 4.6.79-82
G. 3.31-2 4.3.67-8
G. 3.37-9 4.11.22-3
G. 3.47-8 4.6.13
G. 3.56 4.5.49
G. 3.56-59 4.5.49-52
G. 3.86 4.4.38
G. 3.102 4.10.3-5
G. 3.126-7 4.6.4-5
G. 3.129 4.3.27
G. 3.201-2 4.1.70
G. 3.203 4.5.68
G. 3.204 4.10.40
G. 3.213-6 4.9.25
G. 3.221-2 4.10.38, 33
G. 3.221-2 4.10.33, 38
G. 3.234 4.4.19
G. 3.280-2 4.5.18
G. 3.282-3 4.5.10-11
G. 3.307 4.3.34
G. 3.339-51 4.3.47
G. 3.361 4.9.37
G. 3.388 4.9.21
G. 3.404-5 4.8.24
G. 3.407 4.9.2
G. 3.414 4.8.1
G. 3.417, 545 4.7.53
G. 3.433-4 4.9.21
G. 3.444 4.4.28
G. 3.463 4.5.67, 69
G. 3.484 4.7.10
G. 3.486-93 4.6.1-6
G. 3.491 4.5.17
G. 3.493 4.5.4
G. 3.497 4.5.67
G. 3.531 4.9.41
G. 3.532 4.9.18
G. 3.554 4.9.3
G. 3.562, 564 4.5.69, 72
G. 3.564 4.5.72
G. 3.566 4.7.9

G. 4.17 4.8.11
G. 4.70 4.1.12
G. 4.75 4.4.31
G. 4.75 4.1.29
G. 4.109-117 4.2.59-62
G. 4.114 4.9.50
G. 4.116-148 4.2.40-43
G. 4.119 4.5.55
G. 4.119-20, 128-9 4.6.72, 75-7
G. 4.119 4.5.61
G. 4.145-6 4.5.1-2
G. 4.145 4.2.15
G. 4.147 4.2.58
G. 4.158 4.7.21
G. 4.182 4.1.16
G. 4.198 4.1.4
G. 4.209 4.11.102
G. 4.210 4.1.13
G. 4.234 4.1.85
G. 4.280 4.8.7, 12

G. 4.288 4.9.5
G. 4.292 4.6.83
G. 4.293 4.3.10
G. 4.298, 307 4.6.30, 50
G. 4.307, 298 4.6.50, 30
G. 4.307 4.3.59
G. 4.307 4.7.42, 45
G. 4.344, 351 4.3.1
G. 4.411 4.2.47
G. 4.427 4.9.63-4
G. 4.479 4.11.15
G. 4.482-4 4.11.22-6
G. 4.483 4.9.10
G. 4.489 4.8.73
G. 4.496 4.11.64
G. 4.502-5 4.11.7-8
G. 4.508 4.4.72
G. 4.513 4.11.95
G. 4.540-1 4.6.2
G. 4.561 4.6.84
G. 4.564 4.7.74

A. 1. 4.1.65
A. 1.1 4.1.69
A. 1.2 4.1.4
A. 1.2 4.1.39
A. 1.8 4.8.16
A. 1.19 4.11.47
A. 1.41 4.1.117
A. 1.49-50 4.8.69, 71
A. 1.81 4.10.8
A. 1.118-9 4.1.116
A. 1.159-161 4.6.15-16
A. 1.201-2 4.6.49-50
A. 1.206 4.1.47
A. 1.254 4.2.55
A. 1.274-7 4.1.53-7
A. 1.275 4.1.38
A. 1.275-82 4.4.53-4
A. 1.279-81 4.9.73
A. 1.282 4.2.56
A. 1.298 4.9.42
A. 1.299 4.4.68
A. 1.304 4.4.66
A. 1.337-8 4.9.52
A. 1.354 4.7.36
A. 1.355-6 4.8.47
A. 1.364 4.4.94
A. 1.365 4.4.13
A. 1.366 4.1.65-7
A. 1.375-80 4.1.39
A. 1.416-7 4.6.3, 7
A. 1.416-7 4.3.62
A. 1.419 4.1.2
A. 1.426 4.1.14
A. 1.427 4.1.15
A. 1.437 4.1.65-7
A. 1.449, 476 4.8.49, 51
A. 1.455 4.2.62
A. 1.457, 463 4.6.35, 41
A. 1.463, 457 4.6.41, 35
A. 1.476, 449 4.8.51, 49
A. 1.490 4.6.25
A. 1.507 4.11.47
A. 1.641 4.11.69
A. 1.641 4.9.39
A. 1.683-8 4.11.80
A. 1.684 4.5.14
A. 1.714-6 4.5.51
A. 1.719 4.11.91
A. 1.733-5 4.9.73-4

A. 2.27 4.6.34
A. 2.121 4.6.69
A. 2.125 4.1.125
A. 2.145 4.7.69
A. 2.160-1 4.7.53
A. 2.193 4.6.33
A. 2.202 4.7.17
A. 2.237 4.1.65
A. 2.268-297 4.7.0
A. 2.275 4.10.5
A. 2.291 4.1.51
A. 2.293 4.11.73
A. 2.296 4.11.53
A. 2.325 4.10.27
A. 2.328 4.10.31
A. 2.329-30 4.10.8
A. 2.402-419 4.1.117-8
A. 2.431-2 4.11.37
A. 2.459 4.9.40
A. 2.479-95 4.8.49-52
A. 2.493 4.8.49
A. 2.525 4.1.52
A. 2.540-3 4.11.41-2
A. 2.540-546 4.6.32-38

A. 2.543	4.6.38
A. 2.544	4.6.36
A. 2.555	4.1.94
A. 2.558	4.1.52
[A. 2.578]	4.11.71
[A. 2.578, 584]	4.6.65, 57
[A. 2.580]	4.11.31
[A. 2.584, 578]	4.6.57, 65
A. 2.615-6	4.9.57-8
A. 2.620	4.9.54
A. 2.629	4.1.149
A. 2.642-5	4.8.49-52
A. 2.661	4.11.85
A. 2.707-8	4.1.43-4
A. 2.721-25, 29	4.11.76, 78
A. 2.748	4.11.73
A. 2.772	4.11.83
A. 2.776-789	4.11.01
A. 2.789	4.11.73
A. 2.790-4	4.7.96
A. 2.794	4.11.82
A. 3.54	4.1.47
A. 3.61	4.9.8
A. 3.78-9	4.9.42
A. 3.237	4.1.57
A. 3.273	4.1.38
A. 3.275-280	4.6.17-18
A. 3.326	4.5.42
A. 3.348	4.11.84
A. 3.358-360	4.6.14
A. 3.389	4.9.60
A. 3.441-451	4.8.65 & 19-20
A. 3.519, 11.446	4.8.28
A. 3.616	4.9.54
A. 3.623	4.5.67
A. 3.696	4.3.1
A. 3.709	4.11.63
A. 4.2	4.4.70
A. 4.2	4.4.30
A. 4.9	4.4.67
A. 4.9	4.3.41
A. 4.17	4.11.27
A. 4.20	4.11.63
A. 4.27-8	4.4.37
A. 4.34	4.11.92
A. 4.34	4.11.74
A. 4.34-53	4.11.33-40
A. 4.34	4.5.1-3
A. 4.77	4.4.75
A. 4.106	4.11.30
A. 4.134	4.3.51
A. 4.143-4	4.6.27
A. 4.170 (cf. 164)	4.8.16
A. 4.172	4.8.73
A. 4.172	4.4.70
A. 4.213	4.11.47
A. 4.228	4.9.56
A. 4.257	4.1.103
A. 4.300, 529	4.8.55
A. 4.305, 366	4.7.13
A. 4.308, 415, 519, 604	4.6.64
A. 4.320	4.7.37
A. 4.320-1	4.7.25
A. 4.322	4.4.45
A. 4.324	4.7.46
A. 4.328	4.4.55
A. 4.339	4.8.71
A. 4.360	4.11.1
A. 4.376	4.11.1
A. 4.381	4.7.6
A. 4.385-7	4.7.1-6
A. 4.385	4.7.6
A. 4.386	4.11.25
A. 4.422	4.7.37
A. 4.438	4.7.71
A. 4.446	4.8.52
A. 4.483-91	4.5.5-20
A. 4.484	4.8.3
A. 4.490	4.5.14
A. 4.493	4.11.55
A. 4.493	4.4.51
A. 4.496	4.8.27
A. 4.496	4.11.10
A. 4.496	4.7.6
A. 4.511	4.7.52
A. 4.515-6	4.5.18
A. 4.522-9	4.4.63-4
A. 4.550	4.11.45
A. 4.552	4.11.74
A. 4.552	4.7.53
A. 4.609	4.7.19
A. 4.625	4.5.1-3
A. 4.630	4.5.63
A. 4.632-4	4.3.41

A. 4.635	4.6.7
A. 4.644	4.7.36
A. 4.659-61	4.5.6
A. 4.660	4.11.96
A. 4.665-74	4.8.56-7
A. 4.693-9	4.4.93
A. 5.6	4.8.55
A. 5.50	4.11.102
A. 5.71	4.6.1
A. 5.71	4.9.15
A. 5.80-1	4.9.73
A. 5.122	4.6.49
A. 5.144-150	4.8.17-22
A. 5.154	4.11.51
A. 5.187	4.1.142
A. 5.220	4.1.147
A. 5.269	4.9.52
A. 5.274	4.1.82
A. 5.280	4.11.51
A. 5.308	4.2.64
A. 5.565	4.11.70
A. 5.577-8	4.10.28
A. 5.652	4.11.101
A. 5.663	4.6.50
A. 5.709	4.9.65
A. 5.736	4.11.47
A. 5.740-2	4.7.92
A. 6.17	4.10.31
A. 6.18-19	4.6.47
A. 6.47	4.9.32
A. 6.72-5	4.8.65 & 10-20
A. 6.88	4.6.34
A. 6.94	4.8.83
A. 6.101	4.11.39
A. 6.107	4.11.15
A. 6.120	4.7.61
A. 6.126	4.8.5
A. 6.127	4.11.2
A. 6.134	4.3.15
A. 6.224-231	4.6.5-8
A. 6.228	4.1.127
A. 6.228	4.7.34
A. 6.236	4.1.49
A. 6.237	4.1.149
A. 6.237	4.8.5
A. 6.242	4.2.50
A. 6.258-9	4.6.9
A. 6.298-330	4.7.55-62
A. 6.305	4.11.76
A. 6.326	4.11.102
A. 6.343-4	4.1.135
A. 6.347	4.1.49
A. 6.356	4.11.102
A. 6.366, 379	4.7.34
A. 6.374-5	4.11.19
A. 6.426-439	4.11.15-26
A. 6.431	4.7.55
A. 6.431-451	4.7.55-62
A. 6.432	4.11.49
A. 6.445-7	4.7.58
A. 6.468-9	4.1.73
A. 6.470	4.7.71
A. 6.552	4.11.4
A. 6.558-61	4.11.26-8
A. 6.570-4	4.8.49
A. 6.574	4.11.2
A. 6.597	4.1.141-2
A. 6.601-3	4.11.23
A. 6.602	4.4.64
A. 6.604	4.7.3
A. 6.604	4.8.68
A. 6.606	4.4.68
A. 6.610	4.4.76
A. 6.611	4.1.34
A. 6.613-4	4.11.27
A. 6.616-7	4.8.18, 21
A. 6.639	4.7.60
A. 6.663	4.1.130
A. 6.664 (cf. 662-5)	4.11.101
A. 6.680	4.7.92
A. 6.704-709	4.6.71-3
A. 6.707	4.1.14
A. 6.749-51	4.7.91-2
A. 6.760	4.3.68
A. 6.766-76	4.1.35-6
A. 6.773-5	4.10.26
A. 6.773	4.1.34
A. 6.779-84	4.11.29-32
A. 6.785	4.11.52
A. 6.818-25	4.1.45
A. 6.841	4.10.23
A. 6.855-9	4.10.10-11
A. 6.877	4.1.37
A. 6.893	4.7.87

A. 7.1 4.7.73
A. 7.5 4.11.98
A. 7.5 4.5.71
A. 7.5 4.7.5
A. 7.45 4.1.67
A. 7.135 4.9.15
A. 7.174 4.1.11
A. 7.300 4.1.39
A. 7.326 4.11.17
A. 7.326 4.3.17
A. 7.346-7, 416 4.8.57
A. 7.362-3 4.8.6
A. 7.382 4.8.42
A. 7.417 4.5.59
A. 7.419 4.9.61
A. 7.460 4.8.88
A. 7.460 4.4.62
A. 7.519 4.1.13
A. 7.519 4.10.29
A. 7.524 4.1.28
A. 7.542, 554 4.10.5
A. 7.602 4.1.1
A. 7.615 4.3.20
A. 7.641 4.9.34
A. 7.657-9 4.1.50
A. 7.666-7 4.9.45
A. 7.687 4.3.65
A. 7.687 4.2.13
A. 7.688 4.10.20
A. 7.697 4.3.71
A. 7.706-710 4.4.57
A. 7.708 4.11.52
A. 7.710 4.1.13
A. 7.730 4.2.62
A. 7.765-6 4.5.5, 10
A. 7.765 4.5.10
A. 7.778 4.2.50
A. 7.785 4.10.20
A. 7.805-7 4.9.48-50

A. 8.31-34 4.9.24-30
A. 8.62 4.9.38
A. 8.69-70 4.9.36
A. 8.84-5 4.9.67-8
A. 8.86-90 4.2.7-8
A. 8.93 4.6.50
A. 8.94 4.11.81
A. 8.99-101 4.11.29-32
A. 8.103 4.9.1
A. 8.105 4.1.14
A. 8.118 4.1.4
A. 8.118 4.1.39
A. 8.137 4.9.37
A. 8.183 4.1.24
A. 8.185-305 4.9.0
A. 8.193 4.9.56
A. 8.196, 262 4.9.14
A. 8.198-202 4.9.10
A. 8.202 4.7.52
A. 8.203-4 4.9.2
A. 8.203, 219, 249 4.9.16
A. 8.204 4.1.4
A. 8.204, 215, 217, 263 4.9.4
A. 8.205 4.9.13-14
A. 8.207, 213 4.9.2
A. 8.207-211 4.9.11-12
A. 8.211 4.9.61
A. 8.211 4.9.9
A. 8.214 4.9.1
A. 8.215, 218, 361 4.9.19
A. 8.216 4.1.2
A. 8.225 4.9.23
A. 8.231 4.1.50
A. 8.232 4.9.4
A. 8.232 4.9.42
A. 8.232 4.9.66
A. 8.237 4.9.61
A. 8.250 4.9.15
A. 8.261 4.10.12
A. 8.261-2 4.9.31-4
A. 8.262 4.11.2
A. 8.263 4.9.11
A. 8.263 4.11.62
A. 8.265 4.8.69
A. 8.266-7 4.9.45
A. 8.271-2 4.9.67-8
A. 8.274 4.1.62
A. 8.274-7 4.9.27-9
A. 8.282 4.1.12
A. 8.286 4.9.15
A. 8.288 4.9.39
A. 8.288 4.9.44
A. 8.293 4.9.3
A. 8.295 4.9.40
A. 8.296 4.3.15
A. 8.296 4.9.41

A. 8.297 4.7.54
A. 8.297 4.5.68
A. 8.301-2 4.9.73-4
A. 8.330-2 4.1.8
A. 8.342 4.1.31-2
A. 8.347-8 4.4.9-14
A. 8.347 4.4.1
A. 8.347 4.1.7
A. 8.347 4.4.27
A. 8.349 4.1.17
A. 8.351 4.1.2
A. 8.359-65 4.9.51-4
A. 8.361 4.9.20
A. 8.361 4.2.6
A. 8.364 4.1.1
A. 8.381-3 4.10.1-2
A. 8.409-12 4.9.48
A. 8.410-11 4.8.58
A. 8.435-8 4.9.57-8
A. 8.438 4.10.37-8
A. 8.473 4.2.49-50
A. 8.473 4.2.3
A. 8.481-2 4.8.82
A. 8.500 4.1.8
A. 8.515-7 4.1.137-8
A. 8.532 4.1.1
A. 8.573 4.6.15
A. 8.600 4.4.5
A. 8.604-5 4.1.2
A. 8.608 4.1.46
A. 8.610 4.9.60
A. 8.616 4.1.27
A. 8.625 4.5.23
A. 8.630-2 4.1.55
A. 8.631 4.1.38
A. 8.634 4.4.52
A. 8.635-8 4.2.52
A. 8.635 4.4.57
A. 8.638 4.1.30
A. 8.638 4.9.72
A. 8.638 4.4.7
A. 8.640 4.10.48
A. 8.641 4.1.23
A. 8.652 4.1.7
A. 8.652-7 4.4.25-8
A. 8.652 4.4.1
A. 8.660 4.10.43
A. 8.662 4.10.42
A. 8.663 4.1.26
A. 8.664 4.2.53
A. 8.665 4.1.22
A. 8.671-2 4.7.47
A. 8.675-728 4.6.15-68
A. 8.675-681 4.6.17-25
A. 8.678-681 4.6.29-30
A. 8.684 4.1.3
A. 8.688 4.3.7
A. 8.691-2 4.6.27-8
A. 8.693 4.6.19
A. 8.704 4.6.55
A. 8.709-717 4.6.62-5
A. 8.716-9 4.9.67-8
A. 8.719 4.6.2
A. 8.726 4.6.84
A. 8.727 4.10.39
A. 8.728 4.3.35
A. 8.730 4.6.83

A. 9.9 4.1.3
A. 9.9 4.6.11
A. 9.46 4.10.13
A. 9.64 4.10.12
A. 9.110 4.6.29
A. 9.189-90 4.4.79-80
A. 9.210-218 4.11.95-8
A. 9.213 4.11.100
A. 9.285 4.1.53
A. 9.435-6 4.2.46
A. 9.472 4.11.89
A. 9.481 4.11.93
A. 9.485-7 4.1.89-98
A. 9.525 4.6.12
A. 9.566 4.1.55
A. 9.612-4 4.10.20-3
A. 9.675-7 4.10.31-2
A. 9.693 4.10.24
A. 9.718 4.11.39
A. 9.763 4.4.91
A. 9.769-71 4.10.13-4
A. 9.809-10 4.10.20
A. 9.907-8 4.10.3-4

A. 10.15 4.10.11
A. 10.102 4.1.149
A. 10.122 4.11.52
A. 10.162 4.1.88

A. 10.163 4.9.34
A. 10.188 4.11.87
A. 10.188 4.2.2
A. 10.190-191 4.7.69
A. 10.192 4.11.93
A. 10.196 4.6.49
A. 10. 199-201 4.2.49-50
A. 10. 199-201 4.2.3
A. 10.219-20 4.7.61-2
A. 10.273 4.11.97
A. 10.318-21 4.9.38-9
A. 10.318-21 4.9.16-17
A. 10.320-3 4.10.37, 43-4
A. 10.320-3 4.10.43-4, 37
A. 10.369 4.9.39
A. 10.449 4.10.11
A. 10.488 4.10.16
A. 10.496-8 4.10.24
A. 10.719, 730 4.10.7
A. 10.733 4.8.65
A. 10.768 4.10.40
A. 10.773-5 4.10.15-6
A. 10.812-6 4.1.71-2
A. 10.828 4.11.74
A. 10.841 4.10.47
A. 10.862 4.10.11

A. 11.6-7 4.10.5-6
A. 11.54 4.11.71
A. 11.60 4.8.85
A. 11.66 4.7.2
A. 11.68 4.7.12
A. 11.68 4.5.74
A. 11.69 4.7.33
A. 11.74 4.9.47
A. 11.153 4.11.86
A. 11.165 4.11.93
A. 11.166 4.11.17
A. 11.179 4.11.94
A. 11.189-92 4.11.8-9
A. 11.222-4 4.10.27-8
A .11.224 4.11.29
A. 11.245 4.1.53
A. 11.259-263 4.1.111-16
A. 11.322-3 4.8.71, 74
A. 11.329 4.5.50
A. 11.334 4.11.65
A. 11.429 4.10.23
A. 11.452 4.11.39
A. 11.473 4.1.28
A. 11.475 4.10.29
A. 11.475 4.1.13
A. 11.476 4.9.17
A. 11.478, 80 4.11.98-9
A. 11.606 4.10.13
A. 11.652 4.6.39-40
A. 11.656 4.4.1
A. 11.658 4.11.52
A. 11.658 4.4.44
A. 11.659 4.4.71
A. 11.660-63 4.6.22-5
A. 11.691-3 4.10.8, 20-1
A. 11.691-3 4.10.20-1
A. 11.716-7 4.4.49-50
A. 11.732 4.11.79
A. 11.735 4.9.40
A. 11.755-6 4.1.141-2
A. 11.764 (cf 751-4) 4.8.63
A. 11.768 4.11.51
A. 11.775 4.3.57
A. 11.776 4.3.64
A. 11.776 4.11.53
A. 11.777 4.5.51
A. 11.790 4.11.43
A. 11.803 4.3.43
A. 11.815-5 4.11.88, 91
A. 11.816 4.3.5-6
A. 11.831 4.7.2
A. 11.831 4.11.101
A. 11.861-2 4.3.43
A. 11.862 4.3.43
A. 11.894 4.1.28

A. 12.42 4.4.87-8
A. 12.52-3 4.6.63
A. 12.57-8 4.11.93
A. 12.59 4.7.23
A. 12.95-100 4.6.51-3
A. 12.106 4.4.19
A. 12.133 4.10.31
A. 12.144 4.4.90
A. 12.163 4.6.26
A. 12.164 4.11.67
A. 12.190-1 4.8.71, 74
A. 12.192 4.1.69
A. 12.210 4.2.62

A. 12.224-6	4.11.39-40
A. 12.274-5	4.10.21-4
A. 12.281	4.4.20
A. 12.296	4.10.15-6
A. 12.314-6	4.8.71, 74
A. 12.330	4.4.91
A. 12.393-4	4.6.69
A. 12.458, 460	4.10.46, 37
A. 12.460, 458	4.10.37, 46
A. 12.460	4.10.23
A. 12.468-472	4.8.17-22
A. 12.475	4.6.7, 11
A. 12.496-7	4.10.5-6
A. 12.646-9	4.11.11
A. 12.649	4.11.101-2
A. 12.652, 654	4.8.64, 55
A. 12.654, 652	4.8.55, 64
A. 12.706	4.10.33
A. 12.721-2	4.10.38, 33
A. 12.721-2	4.10.33, 38
A. 12.771	4.10.35
A. 12.800	4.11.1-2
A. 12.819-825	4.4.58-60
A. 12.822-3	4.8.85, 74, 71
A. 12.822-3	4.8.71, 74, 85
A. 12.931	4.11.101
A. 12.934	4.11.93
A. 12.941	4.11.28
A. 12.942	4.10.21-4
A. 12.946	4.11.43
A. 12.949	4.11.97
A. 12.952	4.7.2
A. 12.952	4.11.101

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acosta-Hughes, B. (2002) *Polyeideia: The* Iambi *of Callimachus and the Archaic Iambic Tradition.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London

Adams, J.N. (1990) *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary.* Baltimore

Alfonsi, L. (1954) 'Il giudizio di Properzio sulla poesia vergiliana', *Aevum* 28.3: 205-221

——— (1944-5) 'Di Properzio II, 34 e della protasi dell' *Eneide*', *RFIC* 22-23: 116-129

——— (1943-4) 'Properzio e Virgilio', *Rendiconti dell' Istituto Lombardo* 77: 459-470

Allen, A.W. (1962) 'Sunt qui Propertium malint', in J.P. Sullivan (ed.) (1962) 107-148

Allen, G. (2000) *Intertextuality.* London and New York

Allison, J.W. (1980) 'Virgilian Themes in Propertius 4. 7 and 8', *CPh* 75.4: 332-338

Ancona, R.. and Greene, E. (edd.) (2005) *Gendered Dynamics in Latin Love Poetry.* Baltimore

Anderson, W.S. (1992) 'The Limits of Genre (Response to Francis Cairns)', in G.K. Galinsky (ed.) (1992) 96-103

——— (1968) '*Pastor Aeneas*: on Pastoral Themes in the *Aeneid*', *TAPA* 99: 1-17

——— (1964) 'Hercules Exclusus, Prop., IV, 9', *AJP* 85: 1-12

Austin, R.G. (1964, repr. 1977) *P. Vergili Maronis Aenidos Liber Secundus.* Oxford

——— (1960) *Cicero: Pro M. Caelio Oratio.* Oxford

——— (1955) *P. Vergili Maronis Aenidos Liber Quartus.* Oxford

Barchiesi, A. (2001) 'The Crossing', in S.J. Harrison (ed.) (1991) 142-163

——— (1997) 'Virgilian narrative: ecphrasis', in C. Martindale (ed.) (1997) 271-81

——— (1997a) *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse.* Berkeley and Los Angeles

——— (1979) 'Palinuro e Caieta: Due « Epigrammi » Virgiliani (*Aen.* V 870 sg.; VII 1-4)', *Maia* 31 3-11

Barsby, J.A. (1974) 'The Composition and Publication of the First Three Books of Propertius', *G&R* 21.2: 128-37

Becker, C. (1971) 'Die Späten Elegien des Properz', *Hermes* 99: 449-480

Benediktson, D.T. (1985) 'Propertius' "Elegiacization" of Homer', *Maia* 37: 17-26

Bergmann, B. and Kondoleon, C. (edd.) (1999) *The Art of Ancient Spectacle.* Washington

Berthet, J.F. (1980) 'Properce et Homère', pp. 141-155 in *L'Élégie Romaine: Enracinement – Thèmes Diffusion* (*Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Mulhouse*: Actes du Colloque), Paris

Bing, P. (1988) *The Well-Read Muse: Past and Present in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets.* Göttingen

Bloom, H. (1994) *The Western Canon.* New York

——— (1975) *A Map of Misreading.* Oxford

Boldrer, F. (1999) *L'Elegia di Vertumno (Properzio 4.2). Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commentto.* Amsterdam

Boucher, J.P. (1980) 'Virgile et Properce', pp. 39-44 in *Mélanges de Littérature et d'épigraphie latines, d'histoire ancienne et d' archéologie: Hommages à la memoire de Pierre Wuilleumier* (Collection d'études latines 35), Paris

——— (1965) *Études sur Properce: Problèmes d'Inspiration et d'Art.* Paris

Boyd, B. W. (1980) 'Tarpeia's Tomb: A note on Propertius 4.4', *AJP* 105: 85-6

Boyle, A.J. (1999) 'Images of Rome', in Perkell (ed.) (1999) 148-161

——— (ed.) (1993) *Roman Epic.* London

——— (1976) *The Eclogues of Virgil.* Melbourne

Brakman, C. (1926) 'Propertiana', *Mnemosyne* 54: 77-80

Briggs, W.W. Jr. (1980) *Narrative and Simile from the Georgics in the* Aeneid. Leiden

Bucheit, V. (1965) 'Tibull II 5 und die Aeneis', *Philologus* 109: 104

Burck, E. (1966) 'Zur Komposition des vierten Buches des Properz', *WS* 405-427

Butler, H.E. and Barber, E.A. (1933) *The elegies of Propertius.* Oxford

Butrica, J. (1997) 'Editing Propertius', *CQ* 47.1: 176-208

——— (1996) 'The *Amores* of Propertius: Unity and Structure in Books 2-4', *ICS* 21: 87-158

Cairns, F. (2006) *Sextus Propertius, the Augustan Elegist.* Cambridge

——— (2003) 'Propertius and the *Aeneid* incipit', *CQ* 53: 309-11

——— (1992) 'Propertius 4.9: 'Hercules exclusus' and the Dimensions of Genre', in G.K. Galinsky (ed.) (1992) 65-95

——— (1989) *Virgil's Augustan Epic.* Cambridge

——— (1984) 'Propertius and the Battle of Actium (4.6)', in T. Woodman and D. West (edd.) (1984) 129-168

——— (1979) *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome.* Cambridge

——— (1972) *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry.* Edinburgh

Cameron, A. (1995) *Callimachus and his Critics.* Princeton

Campagna, G. (1923-4) 'Sulla composizione di un' elegia properziana', *Atti del Reale Istituto do scienze, lettere ed arti* 83: 259-67

Camps, W.A. (1969) *An Introduction to Virgil's* Aeneid. Oxford

——— (1967) *Propertius. Elegies, Book II.* Cambridge

——— (1966) *Propertius. Elegies, Book III.* Cambridge

——— (1965) *Propertius. Elegies, Book IV.* Cambridge

Casey, D. (2001) '*Sunt aliquid Manes*: Homer, Plato, and Alexandrian Allusion in Propertius IV 7', *CJ* 96: 401-413

Caston, R.R. (2003) 'Rivalling the Shield', in P. Thibodeau and H. Haskell (edd.) (2003) 145-62

Catanzaro, G. and Santucci, F. (edd.) (2002) *Properzio alle soglie del 2000: un bilancio di fine secolo.* Assisi

——— (edd.) (1989) *Tredici Secoli di Elegia Latina.* Assisi

Celentano, L. (1956) 'Significato e Valore del IV libro di Properzio', *AFLF* 6: 33-68

Ciaffi, V. (1978) 'La 1ª Elegia del libro IV di Properzio e l'ordinamento del libro', *Scritti Indetti o Rari* 147-160

Clarke, M.J., Currie, B.G.F., and Lyne, R.O.A.M. (edd.) (2006) *Epic interactions: perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the Epic Tradition.* Oxford

Clarke, M.L. (1964) 'Virgil and the Golden Section', *CR* 14.1: 43-45

Clausen, W. (1994) *Virgil*: Eclogues. Oxford

——— (1987) *Virgil's* Aeneid *and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London

——— (1977) '*Cynthius*: An Addendum', *AJP* 98.4: 362

——— (1976) '*Cynthius*', *AJP* 97: 245-7

Clément-Tarantino, S. (2006) 'La poétique romaine comme hybridation féconde. Les leçons de la greffe (Virgile, *Géorgiques*, 2, 9-82)', *Ars Scribendi* 4 (http://ars-scribendi.ens.lsh.fr/)

Coleman, R. (1977) *Vergil*: Eclogues. Cambridge

Connor, P.J. (1978) 'The Actian Miracle: Propertius 4.6', *Ramus* 7: 1-10

Conte, G.B. (1999) Review of Hinds (1998). *JRS* 89: 217-220

——— (1994) *Genres and Readers: Lucretius, Love Elegy, Pliny's Encyclopedia*, trans. G.W. Most. Baltimore and London.

——— (1992) 'Proems in the Middle', *YCS* 29: 147-159

——— (1986) *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Vergil and Other Latin Poets*, trans. C.P. Segal. Ithaca and London

Corsaro, F. (1992) 'Sulla ridefinizione Properziana del mito di Tarpeia (Properzio IV, 4)', *Siculorum Gymnasium* 45: 43-65

Costa, C.D.N. (1984) *Lucretius*, De Rerum Natura *V*. Oxford

Courtney, E. (1993) *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*. Oxford

——— (1970) 'The Structure of Propertius' Book III', *Phoenix* 24: 48-53

——— (1968) 'The Structure of Propertius Book 1 and Some Textual Consequences', *Phoenix* 22.3: 250-258

Coutelle, É. (2005) *Poétique et Métapoésie chez Properce. De l'*Ars amandi *à l'*Ars scribendi. Louvain.

Craig, B. J. M. (2004) *Genre and Generic Consciousness*. M.Litt. Diss., Trinity College Dublin

Cuomo, S. (2001) *Ancient Mathematics*. London and New York

Curran, L.C. (1968) 'Propertius 4. 11: Greek Heroines and Death', *CP* 63: 134-9

Dällenbach, L. (1989) *The Mirror in the Text*, trans. J. Whiteley and E. Hughes. Cambridge and Oxford

Dalzell, A. (1980) 'Homeric Themes in Propertius', *Hermathena* 129: 29-36

Damsté, P.H. (1928) 'De Propertio Elegiarum Libro IV', *Mnemosyne* 56: 24-219

D'Anna, G. (1979-80) 'Gli Inizi Della Fortuna di Virgilio', *Sileno* 5-6: 373-85

Davis, J.T. (1977) *Dramatic Pairings in the Elegies of Propertius and Ovid*. Bern and Stuttgart

Day, A.A. (1938) *The Origins of Latin Love Elegy*. Oxford

DeBrohun, J.B. (2003) *Roman Propertius and the Reinvention of Elegy*. Michigan

Dee, J.H. (1978) 'Elegy 4.8: A Propertian Comedy', *TAPA* 108: 41-53

——— (1974) 'Arethusa to Lycotas: Propertius 4.3', *TAPA* 104: 81-96

——— (1974a) 'Propertius 4.2: Callimachus Romanus at Work', *AJP* 95: 43-55

Dennis, G. (1848) *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. London

Depew, M. and Obbink, D. (edd.) (2000) *Matrices of Genre*. Harvard

Deremetz, A. (1986) 'L'élégie de Vertumne: L'oeuvre trompeuse', *REL* 64: 116-49

Dieterich, A. (1900) 'Die Widmungselegie des letzten Buches des Properz', *RhM* 55: 91-221

Dimundo, R. (2002) 'Properzio e gli Augustei', in G. Catanzaro and F. Santucci (eld.) (2002) 295-318

——— (1990) *Properzio 4,7 Dalla variante di un modello letterario alla costante di una mità tematica.* Bari

——— (1989) 'Properzio 4,7: dalla variante di un modello letterario alla costant di un' unità tematica', in G. Catanzaro and F. Santucci (edd.) (1989) 273-281

Dintner, M. (2005) 'Epic and Epigram – Minor Heroes in Virgil's *Aeneid*', *CQ* 55:1 53-169

Dion, J. (1997) 'L'architecture de l'œuvre de Properce', *REL* 75: 155-174

Drew, D.L. (1927) *The Allegory of the* Aeneid. Oxford

Dufallo, B. (2007) *The Ghosts of the Past: Latin Literature, the Dead, and Rome's Transitionto a Principate.* Columbus OH

Dumézil, G. (1951) 'Propertiana', *Latomus* 10: 289-302

Eden, P.T. (1975) *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII.* (Leiden)

Edmunds, L. (2001) *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry.* Baltimore and Londo

Edwards, C. (1996) *Writing Rome. Textual Approaches to the City.* Cambridge

——— (1993) *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome.* Cambridge

Eisenhut, W. (ed.) (1975) *Properz.* Darmstadt

Elsner, J. (ed.) (1996) *Art and Text in Roman Culture.* Cambridge

Enk, P.J. (ed.) (1962) *Sex. Propertii Elegiarum, Liber Secundus* (2 vols). Leiden

——— (ed..) (1946) *Sex. Propertii Elegiarum, Liber I (Monobiblos)* (2 vols). Leiden

Evans, J.D. (1992) *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus.* nn Arbor

Evans, S. (1971) 'Odyssean echoes in Prop. 4.8', *G&R* 18: 51-3

Fantazzi, C. (1966) 'Virgilian Pastoral and Roman Love Poetry', *AJP* 87.2: 171-191

Fantham, E. (1997) 'Images of the City: Propertius' New-Old Rome', in T. Habinek nd A. Schiesaro (edd.) (1997) 122-35

Fantuzzi, M. (2003) 'Pastoral love and 'elegiac' love, from Greece to Rome', *LICS* 2.3: http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics/

——— and Hunter, R.L. (2004) *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge

Farrell, J. (1999) 'The Ovidian Corpus: Poetic Body and Poetic Text', in P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds (edd.) (1999) 127-41

——— (1991) *Vergil's 'Georgics' and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History*. Oxford

Fedeli, P. (2005) *Properzio, Elegie Libro II*. Leeds

——— (1980) *Properzio: Il Primo Libro Delle Elegie*. Firenze

——— (1974) 'Properzio 1,3: Interpretazione e proposte sull' origine dell' elegia latina', *Museum Helveticum* 31: 23-41

——— (1965) *Properzio. Elegie, Libro IV*. Bari

Feeney, D. (1986) 'History and Revelation in Vergil's Underworld', *PCPS* 32: 1-24

——— and Nelis, D. (2005) 'Two Virgilian Acrostics: *Certissima Signa*?', CQ 55: 644-646.

Fernandelli, M. (1997) '« Serpent Imager » e tragedia greca nel II libro dell' « Eneide »', *Orpheus* 18.1: 141-56

Flaschenriem, B.L. (1998) 'Speaking of women: "female voice" in Propertius', *Helios*, 25/1: 49-64

Flower, H.I. (2000) 'The Tradition of the *Spolia Opima*. M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus', *Classical Antiquity* 19: 34-64

Foley, H.P. (ed.) (1981) *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*. New York

Fowler, A. (1982) *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*. Oxford

Fowler, D.P. (2000) *Roman Constructions*. Oxford

——— (1991) 'Narrate and Describe: the Problem of Ekphrasis', *JRS* 81: 25-35

——— (1983) 'An Acrostic in Vergil (*Aeneid* 7. 601-604)?', *CQ* 33: 298

Fowler, W. (1918) *Aeneas on the Site of Rome*. Oxford

Fox, M. (1999) 'Propertius 4.9 and the Toils of Historicism', *Materiali e Discussioni* 43: 157-76

——— (1996) *Roman Historical Myths: The Regal Period in Augustan Literature*. Oxford

Fraenkel, E. (1957) *Horace*. Oxford

Gale, M.R. (2007) 'Lucretius and previous poetic traditions', in S. Gillespie and P. Harlie (edd.) (2007) 59-75

——— (2003) 'Poetry and the Backward Glance in Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*', *TAPA* 133: 323-52.

——— (2000) *Virgil on the Nature of Things.* Cambridge

——— (1994) (ed.) *Latin Epic and Didactic Poetry.* Swansea

Galinsky, G.K. (1996) *Augustan Culture.* Princeton

——— (ed.) (1992) *The Interpretation of Roman Peotry: empiricism or hermeneutics?* Frankfurt am Main

——— 'The Anger of Aeneas', *AJP* 109.3: 321-348

——— (1972) *The Herakles Theme.* Totowa, N.J.

George, E.V. (1974) Aeneid *VIII and the* Aetia *of Callimachus.* Leiden

Gibson, R.K. (2003) *Ovid:* Ars Amatoria *Book 3.* Cambridge

Gigante, M. (ed.) (1990) *Virgilio e gli Augustei.* Napoli

Gigante Lanzara, V. (1990) 'Virgilio e Properzio', in M. Gigante (ed.) (1990) 111-176

Gillespie, S., and Hardie, P.R. (edd.) (2007) *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretus.* Cambridge

Gold, B. K. (1993) '"But Ariadne was Never There in the First Place": Finding the Female in Roman Poetry', in N. S. Rabinowitz and A. Richlin (edd.) (1993) 75-101

Goold, G. P. (1990) *Propertius. Elegies.* Cambridge MA and London

——— (1989) 'Problems in Editing Propertius', in J.N. Grant (ed.) (1989) 97-119

——— (1988) 'On Editing Propertius', in N. Horsfall (ed.) (1988) 27-38

——— (1970) 'Servius and the Helen Episode', in S.J. Herrison (ed.) (1990) 60-126

——— (1967) '*Noctes Propertianae*', *HSCP* 71: 59-106

Gransden, K.W. (1976) *Virgil Aeneid Book VIII.* Cambridge

Grant, J.N. (ed.) (1989) *Editing Greek and Latin Texts.* New York

Green, S.J. (1999) *Ovid, Fasti I. A Commentary.* Leiden; Boston

Greene, E. (2005) 'Gender Identity and the Elegiac Hero in Propertius 2.1', in R. Ancona and E. Greene (edd.) (2005) 61-78

——— (1998) *The Erotics of Domination.* John Hopkins

Griffin, J. (1985) *Latin Poets and Roman Life.* London

Grimal, P. (1989) 'Jupiter, Anchise et Vulcain: Trois rélévations sur le destin de Rome', *PCPS* Suppl. 15: 1-13

——— (1952) 'Les Intentions de Properce et la composition du livre IV des « Élégies »', *Latomus* 11: 183-197, 315-326, 437-450

——— (1945) 'Notes sur Properce IV: La composition de l'élégie à Vertumne', *REL* 23: 110-119

Günther, H.-C. (ed.) (2006) *Brill's Companion to Propertius.* Leiden and Boston.

——— (1998) 'Word Play in Propertius', *Eikasmos* 9: 242-57

——— (1997) *Quaestiones Propertianae.* Leiden; Boston

Gurval, R.A. (1995) *Actium and Augustus: The Politics and Emotions of War.* Ann Arbor, Michigan

Gutzwiller, K. J. (1991) *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies. The Formation of a Genre.* Wisconsin

——— (1985) 'The Lover and the *lena*: Propertius 4.5', *Ramus* 14.105-115

Haan, E.A.M. (ed.) (1992) *From Erudition to Inspiration: Essays in Honour of Michael McGann.* Belfast

Habinek, T. (1998) *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome.* Princeton

——— and Schiesaro, A. (edd.) (1997) *The Roman Cultural Revolution.* Cambridge

Hallett, J.P. (1973) 'The role of women in Roman elegy: counter-cultural feminism', in J. Peradotto and J.P. Sullivan (edd.) (1984) 241-262

Halperin, D.M. (1983) *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry.* Yale

Harder, M.A. (2003) 'The invention of Past, Present and Future in Callimachus' *Aetia*', *Hermes* 131: 290-306

——— , Regtuit, R.F. and Wakker, G.C. (edd.) (2004) *Callimachus II. Hellenistica Groningana* 7. Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA

Hardie, C. (1971) *The Georgics: A Transitional Poem* (The Third Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture). Abington-on-Thames

Hardie, P.R. (2002) *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion.* Cambridge

——— (ed.) (2002a) *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid.* Cambridge

——— (ed.) (1999) *Virgil: Critical Assessments of Classical Authors*, vol. 1. London and New York

——— , Barchiesi, A., and Hinds, S. (edd.) (1999) *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on Ovid's* Metamorphoses *and its reception.* Cambridge

——— (1998) *Virgil.* Oxford

——— (1997) 'Virgil and Tragedy', in C. Martindale (ed.) (1997) 312-326

——— (ed.) (1994) *Virgil. Aeneid. Book IX.* Cambridge

——— (1993) *The Epic Successors of Virgil.* Cambridge

——— (1993a) '*Ut pictura poesis*? Horace and the Visual Arts', in N. Rudd (ed.) (1993) 120-139

——— (1992) 'Augustan Poets and the Mutability of Rome', in A. Powell (ed.) (1992) 59-82

——— (1987) 'Ships and ship names in the *Aeneid*', in M. Whitby, P.R. Hardie, and M. Whitby (edd.) (1987) 163-71

——— (1986) *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium.* Oxford

Harrison, E.L. (1972-3) 'Why Did Venus Wear Boots? Some Reflections on *Aeneid* 1.314f.', *PVS* 12: 10-25

Harrison, S.J. (2004) 'Hercules and Augustus in Propertius 4.9', *PLLS* 12: 117-131

——— (2002) 'Ovid and genre: evolutions of an elegist', in P.R. Hardie (ed.) (2002a) 79-94

——— (ed.) (2001) *Texts, Ideas, and the Classics: Scholarship, Theory and Classical Literature.* Oxford

——— (1990) *Oxford Readings in Vergil's* Aeneid. Oxford

——— (1998) 'The Sword-Belt of Pallas: Moral Symbolism and Political Ideology', in H.-P. Stahl (ed.) (1998) 223-242

——— (1997) 'The Survival and Supremacy of Rome: The Unity of the Shield of Aeneas', *JRS* 70-76

——— (1992) Review of Dimundo (1990). *CR* 42: 193

——— (1991) *Vergil,* Aeneid *10.* Oxford

——— (1989) 'Augustus, the Poets and the *Spolia Opima*', *CQ* 39: 408-414

Heath, T. (1921) *A History of Greek Mathematics. Volume 1: From Thales to Euclid.* Oxford

Heinze, R. (1915) *Virgils epische Technik.* Leipsig/Berlin (*tr.* 1993, H. and D. Harvey, F. Robertson *Virgil's Epic Technique*, Bristol)

Hemelrijk, E.A. (2004) 'Masculinity and Femininity in the *Laudatio Turiae*', *CQ* 54.1: 185-197

Herrmann, L. (1961) 'Tarpeius', *Latomus* 530-34

——— (1951) *L'âge d'argent d'oré.* Paris

Heyworth, S.J. (ed.) (2007) *Sexti Properti Elegi.* Oxford

——— (1999) 'Textual notes on Propertius 4.3, 4.4, 4.5', in S. Morton Braund and R. Mayer (edd.) (1999) 71-93

——— (1995a) 'Propertius: Division, Transmission, and the Editor's Task', *PLLS* 8: 165-185

——— (1995b) 'Dividing Poems', in O. Pecere and M. D. Reeve (edd.) (1995) 117-148

——— (1994) 'Some allusions to Callimachus in Latin Poetry', *MD* 33: 51-79

——— (1986) 'Notes on Propertius Books III and IV', *CQ* 36.1: 199-211

Hinds, S. (2006) 'Venus, Varro and the *vates*: towards the limits of etymologising interpretation', *Dictynna* 3: 175-210

——— (2002) 'Landscapes with figures: aesthetics of place in the *Metamorphoses* and its tradition', in P.R. Hardie (ed.) (2002) 122-149

——— (2000) 'Essential Epic: Genre and Gender from Macer to Statius', in M. Depew and D. Obbink (edd.) (2000) 221-44

——— (1998) *Allusion and Intertext: dynamics of appropriation in Roman poetry.* Cambridge

——— (1987) *The Metamorphosis of Persephone.* Cambridge

——— (1987a) 'The poetess and the reader: further steps towards Sulpicia', *Hermathena* 143, 29-46

Hollis, A.S. (1977) *Ovid, Ars Amatoria Book I.* Oxford

——— (1970) *Ovid, Metamorphoses Book VIII.* Oxford

Horsfall, N.M. (2006) *Virgil*, Aeneid *3. A Commentary.* Leiden, Boston, Köln

——— (1999) *Virgil*, Aeneid *7. A Commentary.* Leiden, Boston, Köln

——— (1995) *A Companion to the Study of Virgil.* Leiden; New York; Köln

——— (1990) 'Dido in the Light of History', in S.J. Harrison (ed.) (1990) 127-44

——— (1988) *Studies in Celebration of Otto Skutsch's 80th Birthday* (*BICS* suppl. 51). London

Hubaux, J. (1957) 'Parthenius. Gallus. Virgile. Properce.', pp. 31-38 in *Miscellanea Properziana: Atti dell'Accademia Properziana del Subasio*, Serie 5. Assisi

Hubbard, M. (1974) *Propertius*. London

Hunter, R. (2006) *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome*. Cambridge

——— (1999) *Theocritus. A Selection*. Cambridge

——— (1993) *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies*. Cambridge

Hutchinson, G.O. (2006) *Propertius Elegies Book IV*. Cambridge

——— (1984) 'Propertius and the Unity of the Book', *JRS* 74: 99-106

Ingleheart, J. (2007) 'Propertius 4.10 and the end of the *Aeneid*: Augustus, the *spolia opima* and the right to remain silent', *G&R* 54.1: 61-81

James, S.L. (2003) *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion*. Berkeley.

——— (2002) 'Future Perfect Feminine: Women Past and Present in Vergil's *Aeneid*', in L.N. Quartarone (ed.) (2002) 138-146

Janan, M. (2001) *The Politics of Desire: Propertius IV*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London

Jenkyns, R. (1998) *Virgil's Experience: Nature and History: Times, Names, and Places*. Oxford

Johnson, W.R. (1997) 'Final Exit: Propertius 4.11', in D.H. Roberts, F.M. Dunn, and D. Fowler (edd.) (1997) 163-80

——— (1973) 'The Emotions of Patriotism: Propertius 4.6', *CSCA* 6: 151-80

Kaufhold, S.D. (1996) 'A Look *Back* at Propertius 4.1.150', *Eranos* 94: 29-33

Kay, N. (1970) 'Shostakovich's Fourteenth Symphony', *Tempo* N.S. 92: 20-21

Keith, A. M. (2000) *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*. Cambridge

Kennedy, D.F. (1993) *The Arts of Love: Five Studies in the Discourse of Roman Love Elegy*. Cambridge

——— (1992) ' "Augustan" and "Anti-Augustan": Reflections on Terms of Reference', in A. Powell (1992) 26-58

Kenney, E.J. (1983) 'Virgil and the Elegiac Sensibility', *ICS* 8: 44-59 repr. in P.R. Hardie (ed.) (1999) 68-83

Kidd, D.A. (1979) 'Propertius Consults his Astrologer', *G&R* 26.2: 169-180

Knauer, G. N. (1964) 'Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer', in S. J. Harrison (ed.) (1990) 390-412

Knox, B.M.W. (1950) 'The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*', *AJP* 71: 379-400

Knox, P.E. (2006) 'Propertius and the Neoterics', in H.-C. Günther (ed.) (2006) 127-141

——— (2004) 'Cynthia's Ghosts in Propertius 4.7', *Ordia Prima* 3: 153-169

——— (1995) *Ovid,* Heroides, *Select Epistles.* Cambridge

——— (1985) 'Wine, water, and Callimachean poetics', *HSCP* 89: 107-119

Kolde, A., Lukinovich, A., Rey, A.-L. (edd.) *Koruphaiô andri: Mélanges offertes à André Hurst.* Geneva

Kraus, C.S. (2005) 'Hair, Hegemony, and Historiography: Caesar's Style and its Earliest Critics', in T. Reinhardt et al. (edd.) (2005) 97-115

——— (1994) *Livy Ab Vrbe Condita Book VI.* Cambridge

Kyriakidis, S. (1998) *Narrative Structure and Poetics in the* Aeneid. Bari

Lachmann, K. (1816) *Sextus Aurelius Propertius Carmina.* Leipzig, repr. (1973) Hildesheim, New York

Laird, A. (1999) *Powers of Expression, Expressions of Power: Speech Presentation in Latin Literature.* Oxford

——— (1996) '*Ut figura poesis*: writing art and the art of writing in Augustan poetry', in J. Elsner (ed.) (1996) 75-102

Lake, A.K. (1937) 'An Interpretation of Propertius 4.7', *CR* 51.2: 53-55

La Penna, A. (1977) *L'Integrazione Difficile – Un Profilo di Properzio.* Turin

——— (1951) 'Properzio e i poeti dell' età aurea' (Part 2), *Maia* 43-69

——— (1950) 'Properzio e i poeti dell' età aurea' (Part 1), *Maia* 209-336

Lee. G. (1991) *Catullus. The Complete Poems.* Oxford

——— (1984) *Virgil. The Eclogues.* Harmondsworth

Lee, M.O. (1979) *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's* Aeneid. Albany

Lieberg, G. (1998) 'De Propertio 4,3,49-50', *RhM* 141: 362-367

——— (1984-5) 'Prop. IV 7, 64 (*pectora/tempora*)', *Musaeum Criticum* 19-20: 205-214

Lindheim, S.H. (2003) *Mail and Female: Epistolary Narrative and Desire in Ovid's* Heroides. Madison

——— (1998) 'Hercules Cross-Dressed, Hercules Undressed: Unmasking the Construction of the Propertian *Amator* in Elegy 4.9', *AJP* 119: 43-66

Loupiac, A. (1999) *Virgile, Auguste et Apollon: Mythes et Politiques à Rome.* Paris

Luck, G. (1959) *The Latin Love Elegy.* London

Lucot, R. (1961) 'Problèmes de création chez Properce', *Pallas* 10: 59-68

——— (1960) '*Cervix Aeneae* (Prop. IV, 1, 39-44)', *Pallas* 9: 171-5

——— (1953) 'Vertumne et Mécène', *Pallas* 65-80

Lyne, R.O.A.M. (1998) 'Propertius 2. 10 and 11 and the Structure of Books '2a' and '2b' ', *JRS* 88: 21-36

——— (1995) *Horace: Behind the Public Poetry.* London and New Haven

——— (1994) 'Vergil's *Aeneid*: Subversion by Intertextuality. Catullus 66. 39-40 and other examples', *G&R* 41: 187-204

——— (1987) *Further Voices in Vergil's* Aeneid. Oxford

MacLeod, C.W. (1976) 'Propertius 4, 1', *PLLS* 1: 141-53

Mader, G. (1991) 'Changing Forms: An Addendum to Propertius 4,2,21-48', *WS* 13-147

——— (1990) 'The Apollo Similes at Propertius 4.6.31-36', *Hermes* 118: 325-334

——— (1989) 'Propertius 4,6,45–52: Poetry and Propaganda', *WS* 102: 141-147

Malamud, M. (1998) 'Gnawing at the end of the rope: poets on the field in two Vergilian catalogues', *Ramus* 27.2: 95-126

Maltby, R. (2002) *Tibullus: Elegies. Text, Introduction and Commentary.* Leeds

——— (1991) *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies.* Leeds

——— (1981) 'Love and marriage in Propertius 4.3', *PLLS* 3: 243-47

Marquis, E. (1974) 'Vertumnus in Propertius 4,2', *Hermes* 102: 491-500

Marr, J.L. (1970) 'Notes on Propertius 4. 1 and 4. 4', *CQ* 20.1: 160-173

Marrou, H.I. (1956) *A History of Education in Antiquity* (trans. G. Lamb, 1982). Wisconsin

Martindale, C. (ed.) (1997) *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil.* Cambridge

——— (1997a) 'Green Politics: the Eclogues', in C. Martindale (ed.) (1997) 107-24

——— (1993) *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception.* Cambridge

Marty, P. (1961) '*Cervix Aeneae bis*', *Pallas* 10: 55-8

McKeown, J. C. (1979) 'Augustan Elegy and Mime', *PCPS* 205: 71-84

McParland, E.H. (1970) 'Propertius 4.9', *TAPA* 101: 349-55

Meillier, C. (1985) 'La Composition numérique du livre III des Élégies de Properce', *REL* 63: 101-117

Miles, G.B. (1995) *Livy: Reconstructing Early Rome.* Ithaca, New York

Miller, J.F. (2004) 'Propertian Reception of Virgil's Actian Apollo', *MD* 52: 73-84

——— (1992) 'The "Fasti" and Hellenistic Didactic: Ovid's Variant Aetiologies', *Arethusa* 25: 1

——— (1982) 'Callimachus and the Augustan Aetiological Elegy', *ANRW* 2.30.1: 371-417

Miller, P.A. (2004) *Subjecting Verses: Latin Love Elegy and the Emergence of the Real.* Princeton and Oxford

Miralles, C. (1970) 'Propercio IV 10.1-4', *Emérita* 38: 375-8f

Moles, J.L. (1984) 'Aristotle and Dido's *hamartia*', *G&R* 31: 48-54

Montanari Caldini, R. (1979) *Horos e Properzio ovvero l'ispirazione necessaria.* Firenze

Monti, R.C. (1981) *The Dido Episode and the Aeneid.* Leiden

Morewood, J. (1991) 'Aeneas, Augustus, and the Theme of the City', *G&R* 38.2: 212-223

Morgan, L. (1999) *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's* Georgics. Cambridge

Morton Braund, S. and Mayer, R. (edd.) (1999) *amor : roma – Love and Latin Literature* (*PCPS* Suppl. 22). Cambridge

Muecke, F. (1974) '*Nobilis Historia*? Incongruity in Propertius 4.7', *BICS* 21 (1974) 124-132

Murgia, C.E. (2003) 'The date of the Helen Episode', *HSPC* 101: 405-26

——— (2000) 'The Division of Propertius 2', *MD* 45: 147-242

——— (1989) 'Propertius 4.1.87-88 and the Division of 4.1', *HSCP* 92: 257-272

Murray, J. (2004) 'The Metamorphoses of Erysichthon: Callimachus, Apollonius, and Ovid', in M.A. Harder, R.F. Regtuit, and G.C.Wakker (edd.) (2004) 207-242

Myers, K.S. (1996) 'The Poet and the Procuress: the *Lena* in Latin Love Elegy', *JRS* 86: 1-21

Mynors, R.A.B. (ed.) (1969) *P. Vergili Maronis Opera.* Oxford

Nelis, D. (2005) 'The Roman Callimachus: Structure and Coherence in the Propertian Corpus', in A. Kolde *et al.* (edd.) (2005) 235-248

——— (2001) *Vergil's* Aeneid *and the* Argonautica *of Apollonius Rhodius.* Leeds

——— (1994) 'From Didactic to Epic: Georgics 2.458-3.48', in M.R. Gale (ed.) (1994) 73-107

——— (1992) 'The Aristaeus Episode and the *Aeneid*', in E.A.M. Haan (ed.) (1992) 3-18

Nethercut, W.R. (1968) 'Notes on the Structure of Propertius, Book IV', *AJP* 89.4: 449-464

——— (1968a) 'Elegiac Technique in Propertius 4.1.71-150', *WS* 92-97

Newman, J.K. (1997) *Augustan Propertius: The Recapitulation of a Genre.* Hildesheim

Nisbet, R.G.M. and Hubbard, M. (1970) *A Commentary on Horace, Odes, Book 1.* Oxford

Nugent, S.G. (1999) 'The Women of the *Aeneid* – Vanishing Bodies, Lingering Voices', in C.G. Perkell (ed.) (1999) 251-70

Ogden, D. (2002) *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds.* Oxford

O'Hara, J.J. (2007) *Inconsistency in Roman Epic.* Cambridge

——— (1996) *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay.* Ann Arbor

——— (1994) 'They Might Be Giants: Inconsistency and Indeterminacy in Vergil's War in Italy', *Colby Quarterly* 30: 206-226

Oliensis, E. (1997) 'Sons and lovers: sexuality and gender in Virgil's poetry', in C. Martindale (ed.) (1997) 294-311

O'Neill, K. (2000) 'Slumming with Vertumnus?', *AJP* 121.2: 259-77

——— (1988) 'Symbolism and Sympathetic Magic in Propertius 4.5', *CJ* 94.1: 49-80

Otis, B. (1965) 'Propertius' Single Book', *HSCP* 70: 1-44

Paladini, M. L. (1958) 'A proposito della tradizione poetica sulla battaglia di Azio', *Latomus* 17: 240-269, 462-475

Paley, F.A. (1853) *The Elegies of Propertius.* London

Paoluano, G. (1968) 'Le Remeniscenze dell' Alcesti', *Maia* 21-28

Papaioannou, S. (2005) *Epic Succession and Dissension.* Berlin and New York

Papanghelis, T.D. (1987) *Propertius: A Hellenistic Poet on Love and Death.* Cambridge

Paratore, E. (1957) 'De Propertio Vergiliani Carminis Iudice', *Miscellanea Properziana: Atti dell'Accademia Properziana del Subasio*, Serie 5: 71-82. Assisi

——— (1942) 'Virgilio Georgico e Properzio', *A&R* 10: 49-58

Pease, A.S. (1935) *Publi Vergili Maronis Aenidos Liber Quartus.* Cambridge, MA.

Pecere, O. and Reeve, M. D. (edd.) (1995) *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to Renaissance.* Spoleto

Peradotto, J., and Sullivan, J.P. (edd.) (1984) *Women in the Ancient World.* New York

Perkell, C.G. (ed.) (1999) *Reading Vergil's* Aeneid. Oklahoma

——— (1981) 'On Creusa, Dido, and the quality of victory in Virgil's *Aeneid*', in H.P. Foley (1981) 355-77

Pillinger, H.E. (1969) 'Some Callimachean Influences on Propertius, Book IV', *HSCP* 73: 171-199

Pinotti, P. (1981) 'Properzio e Vertumno: Anticonformismo e restaurazione Augustea', in S. Vivona (ed.) (1981) 75-96

Platnauer, M. (1951) *Latin Elegiac Verse.* Cambridge

Platner, S.B. (1926) *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (completed and revised by T. Ashby). Oxford

Platter, C. (1995) '*Officium* in Catullus and Propertius: A Foucauldian Reading', *CP* 73: 211-24

Poliakoff, M.B. (1987) 'The Weapons of Love and War: A Note on Propertius IV.3', *ICS* 93-6

Pöschl, V. (1962) *The Art of Vergil.* Ann Arbor

Postgate, J.P. (1881) *Select Elegies of Propertius.* London

Powell, A. (1992) *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus.* Bristol

Powell Frost, C. (1991) 'Propertius 3.3.45-46: Don't go near the water', *AJP* 112.2: 251-259

Putnam, M.C. J. (1998) *Virgil's Epic Designs. Ekphrasis in the Aeneid.* Yale

——— (1995) *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence.* Chapel Hill and London.

——— (1980) 'Propertius' Third Book: Patterns of Cohesion', *Arethusa* 13: 97-113

——— (1970) *Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the* Eclogues. Princeton

Quartarone, L.N. (ed.) (2002) *Approaches to Teaching Vergil's* Aeneid. New York

Quint, D. (1993) *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton.* Princeton

Rabinowitz, N. S. and Richlin, A. (1993) *Feminist Theory and the Classics.* New York aıd London

Rambaux, C. (2001) *Properce ou les difficultés de l'émancipation feminine.* (Ed. Latomıs, Bruxelles)

Rehm, R. (1994) *Marriage to Death : The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Grek Tragedy.* Princeton

Reinhardt, T., Lapidge, M., Adams, J. N. (edd.) *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prse.* Proceedings of the British Academy, Volume 129. Oxford

Reisch, E. (1887) 'Properz-Studien', *WS* 9: 94-150

Rich, J.W. (1996) 'Augustus and the *Spolia Opima*', *Chiron* 26: 85-127

Richardson, L. Jr. (1977) *Propertius. Elegies I-IV.* Oklahoma

Richmond, O.L. (1918) 'A Reconstruction of the Text of Propertius', *CQ* 12:59-74

——— (1917) 'Propertius and the *Aeneid*', *CQ* 11.2: 103-105

Roberts, D.H., Dunn, F.M., and Fowler, D.P. (edd.) (1997) *Classical Closure: Reading he End in Greek and Latin Literature.* Princeton, New Jersey.

Robinson, M. (2006) 'Augustan Responses to the *Aeneid*', in M.J. Clarke, B.G.F. Curıe, and R.O.A.M. Lyne (edd.) (2006) 185-216

Romussi, B. (1952) 'La realtà familiare e sociale in Properzio come superamento dd' eziologia', *GIF* 5: 149-55

——— (1943) 'Rapporti tra la Poesa Eroticɔ del IV libro do Properzio e Quella cei Libri Precedenti', *RFIC* 57-65

——— (1940-41) 'Lo sviluppo di Properzio verso la concezione di una nuova poeia poetica ed etiologica', *Philologus* 94: 175-196

Rosenberg, D.M. (1981) *Oaten Reeds and Pastoral Trumpets. Pastoral and Epic in Virgil, Spenser, and Milton.* London and Toronto

Rosenmeyer, T.G. (1969) *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric.* Berkeley and Los Angeles

Ross, D.O. (1975) *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy, and Rome.* Cambridge

Rothstein, M. (1889) 'Properz und Virgil', *Hermes* 24: 1-34

——— (1966) *Propertius Sextus Elegien.* Dublin/Zürich

Rothwell, K.S. (1996) 'Propertius on the Site of Rome', *Latomus* 55: 829-54

Rudd, N. (ed.) (1993) *Horace 2000: A Celebration.* London

——— (1976) *Lines of Enquiry.* Cambridge

Russell, D.A. (1979) '*De Imitatione*', in A.J. Woodman and D.A. West (edd.) (1979) 1-16

Sandbach, F.H. (1962) 'Some Problems in Propertius', *CQ* 12.2: 263-276

Santirocco, M.S. (1986) *Unity and Design in Horace's* Odes. Chapel Hill and London

Schuster, M. (ed.) (1954) *Propertius.* Leipzig

Scodel, R.S. and Thomas, R.F. (1984) 'Virgil and the Euphrates', *AJP* 105: 339

Severy, B. (2003) *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire.* New York

Shackleton Bailey, D.R. (1956) *Propertiana.* Cambridge

Sharrock, A. (1996) 'Representing Metamorphosis', in J. Elsner (ed.) (1996) 103-130

——— (1990) '*Alternae voces* – again', *CQ* 570-571

Shea, C. (1988) 'The Vertumnus Elegy and Propertius Book IV', *ICS* 63-71

Skutsch, O. (1985) *The Annals of Q. Ennius.* Oxford

——— (1975) 'The Second Book of Propertius', *HSCP* 79: 229-233

——— (1969) 'Symmetry and Sense in the *Eclogues*', *HSCP* 73: 153169

——— (1963) 'The Structure of the Propertian Monobiblos', *CPh* 58: 238-239

——— (1953) 'The Fall of the Capitol', *JRS* 43: 77-8

Smith, R.A. (1990) 'Ov. *Met.* 10.475: An Instance of "Meta-allusion"', *Gymnasium* 97: 458-460

Solmsen, F. (1975) 'Properz' literarische Beziehungen zu Tibull und Vergil', in W. Eisenhut (ed.) (1975) 224-246

Stahl, H.-P. (ed.) (1998) *Vergil's* Aeneid*: Augustan Epic and Political Context.* Swansea

——— (1985) *Propertius: "Love" and "War". Individual and State under Augustus.* Berkeley

Suits, T.A. (1969) 'The Vertumnus Elegy of Propertius', *TAPA* 100: 475-486

Sullivan, J.P. (1993) 'Form Opposed: Elegy, Epigram, Satire', in A.J. Boyle (ed.) 143-16

——— (1984) 'Propertius Book IV: Themes and Structures', *ICS* 9.1: 30-34

——— (1976) *Propertius: A Critical Introduction.* Cambridge

——— (1964) *Ezra Pound and Sextus Propertius.* Austin, Texas

——— (ed.) (1962) *Critical Essays on Roman Literature I: Elegy and Lyric.* London

Sweet, F. (1972) 'Propertius and Political Panegyric', *Arethusa* 5: 169-75

Syme, R. (1959) 'Livy and Augustus', *HSCP* 64: 27-87

Tarrant, R. (2002) 'Ovid and Ancient Literary History', in P.R. Hardie (ed.) (2002) 13-33

Thaniel, G. (1973) '*Lemures* and *Larvae*', *AJP* 182-187

Theodorakopoulos, E. (1997) 'Closure: the Book of Virgil', in C. Martindale (ed.) (1997) 155-65

Thibodeau, P. and Haskell, H. (edd.) (2003) *Being There Together: Essays in Honor of Michael C. J. Putnam on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday.* Minnesota

Thomas, R.F. (1999) *Reading Virgil and his Texts: Studies in Intertextuality.* Ann Arbor

——— (1996) 'Genre through Intertextuality: Theocritus to Virgil and Propertius', *Hellenistica Groningana* 2: 22-46

——— (1988) *Virgil: Georgics* (2 vols). Cambridge

——— (1988a) 'Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Virgil', *TAPA* 118: 261-73

——— (1986) 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference', *HSCP* 90: 171-98

——— (1985) 'From Recusatio to Commitment: The Evolution of the Vergilian Programme', *PLLS* 5: 61-73

——— (1983) 'Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices* and Roman Poetry', *CQ* 33: 92-113

——— (1982) *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry. The Ethnographical Tradition. PCPS* Suppl. Vol. 7

——— (1982a) 'Gadflies (Virg. *Geo.* 3.146-148)', *HSCP* 86: 81-85

Tordeur, P. (1988) 'Structures symétriques chez Properce', *Latomus* 47.1: 105-116

Tränkle, H. (1971) 'Properz über Virgils Aeneis', *MH* 28: 60-63

——— (1960) *Die Sprachkunst des Properz und die Tradition der lateinischen Dichtersprache.* Wiesbaden

Tueller, M. A. (2000) 'Well-Read Heroes: Quoting the *Aetia* in *Aeneid* 8', *HSCP* 100: 361-80

Van Sickle, J. (1980) 'The Book-Roll and Some Conventions of the Poetry Book', *Arethusa* 13.1: 5-42

——— (1978) *The Design of Virgil's* Bucolics. Rome

——— (1974-5) 'Propertius (*vates*): Augustan Ideology, Topography, and Poetics in Eleg. IV, 1', *Dial. di Arch.* 8: 116-145

Veyne, P. (1988) *Roman Erotic Elegy: Love, Poetry and the West*, trans. D. Pellauer. Chicago and London.

Vivona, S. (ed.) (1981) *Colloquium Propertianum (Tertium)*, Accademia Properziana del Subasio. Assisi

Volcov, S. (2004) *Shostakovich and Stalin.* London

——— (ed.) (1979) *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich.* London

Warden, J. (1996) 'The Dead and the Quick: Structural Correspondences and Thematic Relationships in Propertius 4.7 and 4.8', *Phoenix* 50.2: 118-129

——— (1982) 'Epic into Elegy: Propertius 4.9.70ff.', *Hermes* 110: 228-42

——— (1980) *Fallax Opus: Poet and Reader in the Elegies of Propertius.* Toronto

——— (1978) 'Another would-be Amazon: Propertius 4, 4, 71-2', *Hermes* 106: 177-87

Waszink, J. H. (1949) 'Mors immatura', *Vigiliae Christianae* 3: 107-112

Weeber, K. (1978) 'Properz IV 1, 1-70 und bas 8. Buch der Aeneis', *Latomus* 37: 489-506

Weiden Boyd, B. (1992) 'Virgil's Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis (*Aeneid* 7.803-17)', *AJP* 113.2: 213-234

Welch, T.S. (2005) *The Elegiac Cityscape: Propertius and the meaning of Roman monuments.* Ohio

——— (2005a) '*Amor* versus Roma. Gender and Landscape in Propertius 4.4', in R. Ancona and E. Greene (edd.) (2005) 269-317

West, D.A. (1975-6) '*Cernere erat*: The Shield of Aeneas', in S.J. Harrison (ed.) (1990) 295-304

Whitaker, R. (1988) 'Did Gallus write Pastoral Elegies?', *CQ* 38.2: 454-8

Whitby, M., Hardie, P. R., and Whitby, M. (edd.) (1987) Homo Viator: *Classical Essays for John Bramble.* Bristol and Bolchazy-Carducci

White, P. (1993) *Promised Verse: Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome.* Cambridge MA

Williams, G. (1968) *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry.* Oxford

Wills, J. (1996) *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion.* Oxford

Wilson, E. (1994) *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered.* London

Wiseman, T.P. (1999) 'The Games of Flora', in B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (edd.) (1999) 194-203

Woodman, A.J. (1998) 'Propertius and Livy', *CQ* 48.2: 568-569

——— (1989) 'Virgil the Historian: *Aeneid* 8. 626-62 and Livy', *PCPS* Suppl. 15: 132-45

——— (1988) *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography.* London

Woodman, A.J., and West, D. (edd.) (1984) *Poetry and Politics in the age of Augustus.* Cambridge

——— (edd.) (1979) *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature.* Cambridge

Woolley, A. (1967) 'The Structure of Propertius Book III', *BICS* 14: 80-83

Wyke, M. (2002) *The Roman Mistress.* Oxford

Yardley, J.C. (1987) 'Propertius 4.5, Ovid *Amores* 1.6 and Roman Comedy', *PCPS* 33: 179-189

——— (1977) 'Cynthia's Ghost: Propertius 4.7 again', *BICS* 24: 83-87

Zanker, P. (1988) *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus.* Michigan

Zetzel, J.E.G. (1983) 'Re-creating the Canon: Augustan Poetry and the Alexandrian Past', *Critical Inquiry* 10: 83-105