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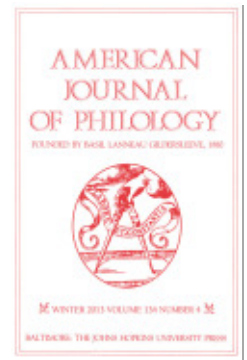
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THE REPRESENTATION AND MISREPRESENTATION OF VIRGILIAN POETRY IN PROPERTIUS 2.34

DONNCHA O’ROURKE



Abstract. Scholarly comment on Propertius 2.34 stretches back to antiquity, but there is more to learn from its salient intertext, the growing corpus of Virgilian epos, about the elegy’s difficult text and interpretation, and inversely about contemporary knowledge and opinion of that intertext. Propertius synopsis each of Virgil’s works, including the inchoate *Aeneid*, accurately in terms of form but tendentiously in terms of content. Propertius’ “optimistic” readings suggest that, with the “anxiety of influence,” he recognised in Virgil the elegiac sensibility his synopsis emulously erases. Structural (including “stichometric”) allusions militate against Ribbeck’s transposition of lines 77–80 and recommend Barth’s division at line 25 (without at the same time severing thematic continuities that also make a unitary reading of the elegy meaningful).

I. INTRODUCTION

THE TWENTY-LINE SYNOPSIS OF THE VIRGILIAN OEUVRE at the end of (what is transmitted as) Propertius’ second book (2.34.61–80) provides what has been recognised since antiquity as the earliest explicit *testimonium* of the *Aeneid*.¹ Donatus’ derivative of the lost Suetonian *Life* quotes the couplet 2.34.65–66 as a contemporary reaction to Virgil’s nascent epic (*VSD* 100–105 Hardie):²

¹Unless specified otherwise, citations from Propertius and Virgil correspond to the Teubner edition by Fedeli (1984) and the OCT by Mynors (1969), respectively. An asterisk denotes a word which occurs in the same *sedes* in both texts. The translations (in some sense original, though familiarity with / consultation of existing versions may give rise to some duplication) attempt to parallel in English the lexical similarities relevant to this discussion.

²The couplet does not appear again in the *Lives* until the fifteenth century, when it was (re)quoted, also as a laudatory response to the *Aeneid*, in the *Vit. Verg.* by Sicco Polenton (1426, rev. 1437) and Donatus Auctus (an expanded version of *VSD*): see now conveniently Ziolkowski and Putnam 2008, 328 (trans. 340–41), 349 (trans. 360–61), 378 (trans. 392). The couplet is also logged at *Anth. Lat.* 1.1.258 Shackleton Bailey.

Aeneidos uixdum coeptae tanta extitit fama, ut Sextus Propertius non dubitauerit sic praedicare:

“cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai:
nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.”

So great was the reputation of the *Aeneid* when scarcely yet begun that Sextus Propertius did not hesitate to make the following prediction:

“Make way, Roman writers, make way ye Greeks:
something greater than the *Iliad* is being born.”

This quotation of a quotation illustrates in a particularly literal way Harold Bloom's observation that “as literary history lengthens, all poetry necessarily becomes verse-criticism, just as all criticism becomes prose-poetry” (1975, 3). In the case of a poem as “strong” as the *Aeneid*, literary history does not have to lengthen long before poets and critics start to react.³ The strength of the *Aeneid* is also such that the Propertian lines about it have been subordinated to the construction primarily of Virgilian rather than of Propertian literary histories: scholars have recycled the terms in which Donatus frames his quotation in protracted arguments over how *uixdum coepta* the *Aeneid* was by the mid-20s B.C.E. (the chronology is indicated by the recency of Gallus' suicide: *modo*, 2.34.91) and the *fama* by which it was attended. Only more recently did scholarship stop to consider what the incorporation of Virgil at the heart of the Propertian corpus might signify for Propertian elegy. This article will reconsider the textual- and literary-critical implications for both Propertius and Virgil with arguments traditional and less traditional. Propertius 2.34 can disclose yet more about what was known and thought about the *Aeneid* when it was still a work-in-progress, while the Virgilian oeuvre can for its part shed new light on the Propertian poem which synopsis it—a poem of which interpretation is bedevilled by arguably the most notorious manuscript tradition known to classical literature.⁴

³For discussion of Bloom's “anxiety of influence” in the context of the reception of Virgil, see Hardie 1993, 116–19, and Martindale 1993, 36–39.

⁴In respect of elegy 2.34, Heyworth 2007a, 262, writes “these 94 verses are some of the most studied and difficult in the corpus.”

II. PROBLEMS OF TEXT AND INTERPRETATION IN PROPERTIUS 2.34

Taken as transmitted, elegy 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*),⁵ first rebuking him for moving in on the poet's mistress (1–24), then exulting over his submission to love (25–58), and concluding with a comparison between Virgilian poetry, summarised in a twenty-line survey, and the canon of love-poets, to which Propertius aspires to be admitted (59–94). This tripartite structure has occasioned considerable debate over the elegy's unity.⁶ Current scholarship tends towards unitary interpretation, with Fedeli's commentary and Heyworth's OCT agreeing that division is nowhere required.⁷ On this reading, the poem invites a triangulation of invidious comparison in which the elegiac genre emerges ever victorious (Stahl 1985, 173–83): across the first two movements Lynceus illustrates the greater utility of Propertian elegy; across the second and third, he emerges as a foil to a Virgil whose career has developed inversely from the bucolic *amor* of the *Eclogues* to the epic *arma* of the *Aeneid*; in the third movement comes the climactic syncrasis of Propertius, content to languish in the aftermath of an erotic symposium (57–60), and Virgil, now singing of the Battle of Actium (61–66) and therefore abandoning his earlier commitment to erotic poetry, as implied in the ensuing juxtaposition of the *Aeneid* (61–66) and *Eclogues* (67–76).

This passage of undisguised “verse-criticism” has been described as a “tribute that doubles as a *recusatio*” (Knox 2006, 137), a phrase which unpacks the ambivalence that is dynamic in Bloom's “anxiety of influence.” The more antagonistic aspect of that ambivalence reaffirms, here at the close of Propertius 2, the stance at the opening of the book(s):⁸ pleading

⁵In support of this identification, see (originally) Boucher 1958. See also Camps 1967, 234–35 (a short postscript); Fedeli 2005, 952–54 (with reservations); Cairns 2004 and 2006, 296–300 (with extensive bibliography at nn. 2–4).

⁶In fact, most MSS transmit 2.34 conjoined with 2.33, but there is no disagreement as to the necessity of their separation. On dividing poems, see the excellent discussion of Heyworth 1995a.

⁷Fedeli 2005, 950–52; Heyworth 2007a; 2007b, 263. So also Jacoby 1905, 94, n. 1 (a three-page note); Enk 1962, 433–35; Camps 1967, 223 (finding “smooth and natural” the transition in 21–26); La Penna 1977, 221–22, n. 10 (but “non senza perplessità”); Richardson 1977, 311–12, and on 2.34.25; Lefèvre 1980; Syndikus 2006, 315–18.

⁸So Butler and Barber 1933, 255. The affinities of 2.1 and 2.34 are discussed (with differences in interpretation) by Alfonsi 1943–44, 462–63; Vessey 1969, 70, 64; Stahl 1985,

the elegist's current stylistic unsuitability, the *recusatio* of Propertius 2.1 declines "to trace Caesar's name back to his Trojan ancestors" (*Caesaris in Phrygios condere nomen auos*, 2.1.42), thereby encapsulating the typological strategy of the *Aeneid* in the moment of eschewing it. At the same time, the juxtaposition in 2.34 of Propertius and Virgil, together with the construction of Lynceus and Virgil as poets who have moved in opposite directions, might also suggest a possible affinity between Propertius and Virgil insofar as their respective careers commence with erotic poetry. Despite the diversity of critical opinion regarding Propertius' overall attitude to Virgil, his far lengthier appraisal of the *Eclogues* is generally taken as an expression of his finding in them a spirit more congenial to that of elegy. In fact, as Richard Thomas has observed in an analysis which this article will revisit, Propertius' comparative evaluation of Virgil's three works is carried out with some precision, since it halves the twelve-book *Aeneid* into six elegiac lines (2.34.61–66) and the four-book *Georgics* into two elegiac lines (2.34.77–78), but awards a line apiece to each of the ten *Eclogues*, despite their relative brevity (2.34.67–76): for 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*."⁹ The juxtaposition of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues* in 2.34 thus reflects both the invidiousness and the admiration that come with influence-anxiety: on the one hand, it puts distance between Virgil and Propertius; on the other, it portrays Virgil 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 4.¹⁰

Potentially disruptive to aspects of this unitary reading of Propertius 2.34 is the subdivision of its totality into two or three separate elegies. Tripartite division has few advocates. The decision to read a new elegy from line 59 (Jacob) may explain the disappearance of Lynceus from the third movement and isolate the synopsis of Virgilian and neoteric poetry there

172–73; Newman 1997, 220. The division of Book 2 need not preclude ring-composition insofar as 2.34 could still offer a midpoint recapitulation of 2.1 in a four-book sequel to the so-called *Monobiblos* (for which idea, see Thomas 1983, 102, n. 56, and Nelis 2005, who argues that the bridge across Propertius' second and third books maps intertextually onto the bridge across *G.* 2 and 3).

⁹Thomas 1996, 242.

¹⁰On the tension in the Propertian career between sameness and evolution, see Heyworth 2010.

enclosed,¹¹ but the break is unclean¹² and, moreover, counterproductive thematically, since the dramatic and generic movements of the elegy are part of the same continuum, as in the *recusatio* of 2.1, where disunity is not suspected.¹³ Without division, the comparison of Virgilian epos and Propertian elegy in the third movement is as integral to the vindication of elegy as is Lynceus' unexpected enamourment in the second. Recent criticism is therefore disinclined to divide at 2.34.59.

A more perplexing dilemma is posed by the new dramatic situation which arises after the first movement of the elegy. The switch from Lynceus as a rival in love to Lynceus as a fellow infatuate seems to presuppose a development for which there is scope only if some sort of time-lag is felt to intervene.¹⁴ Resemblance to the scenario of the two non-consecutive poems addressed to Ponticus 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 development in 2.34 signals the start of a new but related elegy.¹⁵ Various divisions have therefore been postulated, unconvincingly at 23 (Heimreich) and 27 (ς), but not implausibly at 25 (Barth), the only proposal to have gained any real currency, having been adopted by Barber (1953) and, more recently, Giardina (2005 and 2010);¹⁶ as Butler and Barber (1933, 255) observe, 23–24 have “all the ring of a concluding couplet,” while 25 (*Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores*, “My Lynceus too is madly in love at last”) “makes an excellent opening.”¹⁷ However, in addition to the thematic

¹¹ Carter 1976, 41–44.

¹² Butler and Barber 1933, 255; Heyworth 2007b, 264.

¹³ Enk 1962, 434; Fedeli 2005, 950.

¹⁴ On “dramatically paired” elegies in Propertius and Ovid, see Davis 1977. See also several contributions in Liveley and Salzman-Mitchell 2008.

¹⁵ Parallels with the Ponticus poems (1.7 and 1.9) are frequently noted, with consequent special pleading where the unitarian reading is maintained: e.g., Newman 1997, 221, with n. 68, holds that the dramatic development need not necessarily 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]). See also Wimmel 1960, 202–4; Boucher 1965, 384; Vessey 1969–70, esp. 53–63; Stahl 1985, 174–75; Álvarez Hernández 1997, 166; Fedeli 2005, 954; Coutelle 2005, 473–74; Robinson 2006, 199–200; Syndikus 2006, 315–16; Heyworth 2007b, 263. Comparable is the reversal of dramatic situation at Prop. 1.8.27 (Cynthia has not sailed off after all!), which many editions mark as the *incipit* of a new elegy.

¹⁶ See also Richmond 1928; Boucher 1965, 384–85; Lyne 1998, 30. Adherents to the various divisions proposed are listed in Smyth 1970, 81.

¹⁷ Heyworth 2007b, 263, reads 25–26 as exemplifying the generalising 23–24, but also moots their deletion as a solution to the “admittedly strange” switch from the second to third person in 25.

continuities which bridge this divide, it can be objected that the address to Lynceus in the third person is otherwise “a privilege reserved for Cynthia”¹⁸ and that Propertius never addresses two consecutive elegies to any individual other than Cynthia¹⁹ precisely so as to avoid confusion over poem division. The practice of ancient poetry collections suggests that change of addressee was a primary means of signalling the start of a new poem, a device all the more crucial in stichic metres, such as elegy, which cannot signal division by metrical variation.²⁰

Whether Propertius 2.34 was originally one, two, or three poems will matter less to readers sensitive to thematic continuities in contiguous as well as continuous elegies. As Butler and Barber (1933, 255) remark, albeit in support of division at 25, “continuity is not necessarily unity.”²¹ Further to this “third way,” it is worth contemplating that ancient poetry-books, whether by accident or design, may have been less cut-and-dried in the matter of poem-division than their modern editions tend to be.²² In this way, the disagreement among modern editors over whether or not to divide at, for example, Propertius 2.34.25 can be seen as a reflection of an ambivalence sustained and perhaps exploited in the formatting of the papyrus-roll. If ancient texts could engage the reader in a more active or “editorial” form of reading than their modern counterparts, then Propertius 2.34.24/25 might be seen as a false-closure/opening that serves to draw attention to the very sameness and difference in Lynceus that applies later in the elegy to Virgil and later in the corpus to Propertius. Such an effect would have its role to play in the Bloomian reading of the elegy offered above.

No such “third way” is possible when it comes to transposition. Entirely disruptive to the above interpretation, based as it is on the *textus receptus*, will be Ribbeck’s relocation of 77–80 after 66 to restore the synopsis of the Virgilian corpus to sequential (albeit reverse) arrangement. Although no critic is as perturbed by the identical organisation of Servius’ commentary (*Aeneid*, *Eclogues*, *Georgics*),²³ which may reflect a

¹⁸Newman 1997, 221.

¹⁹Heyworth 2007b, 263.

²⁰Heyworth 1995a, esp. 123–24.

²¹On thematic continuities in sequential reading, see, e.g., Hutchinson 1984; on narrative continuities, see Liveley and Salzman-Mitchell 2008.

²²On the conventions of the ancient papyrus-roll, see Van Sickle 1980. On the task of the modern editor in relation to division, see Heyworth 1995a and 1995b, 171–75.

²³Remarks in Servius’ preface to the *Aeneid* suggest the arrangement is not fortuitous: “sola superest explanatio, quae in sequenti expositione probabitur. haec quantum ad Aeneidem pertinet dixisse sufficiat, nam bucolicorum et georgicorum alia ratio est.”

much earlier critical decision, Ribbeck's reorganisation of Propertius 2.34 is adopted by Goold (1990) and Heyworth (2007b, 276), and endorsed by Günther (1997, 32) as "so patently correct that nobody who does not object to such transpositions in principle can fail to adopt them."²⁴ Insofar as it softens the juxtaposition of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, however, the logical reordering of the synopsis will be unhelpful to the view that Virgilian and Propertian poetics are in this poem meaningfully contrasted. With the textual-critical choice contingent on subjective criteria, it seems impossible to decide whether or not the interposition of the *Georgics* makes for a gain in logic or the loss of a pointed juxtaposition. In Bloomian terms, one might say that the greater the accuracy of Propertian "verse-criticism," the less acute is his "anxiety of influence," of which misrepresentation, or "misprision," is a key indicator. There is much at stake, therefore, both for the text and interpretation of Propertius 2.34.

By examining in sections III–V Propertius' pronouncements on the *Aeneid*, *Eclogues*, and *Georgics*, each in turn, this article proceeds by recognising in the present section that interpretation of these lines, and of the elegy as a whole, is hedged about by two longstanding textual uncertainties. First, does the elegy benefit from division at 25 and 59? Second, should the fixity of the Virgilian oeuvre prompt us to rearrange Propertius 2.34.61–80, which modern editions treat with little or no fixity, into a more logical (but perhaps less interesting) sequence? To add a third category of uncertainty, there is also the suspicion, held by an eminent minority, that the couplet quoted by Donatus belongs elsewhere and that the eighteen lines which follow it are spurious.²⁵ Finally, there remains the question raised in section 1 as to what, if anything, can be learned about contemporary familiarity with and opinion of Virgilian poetry in the mid-20s B.C.E., especially the then inchoate *Aeneid*. The possible identification of Lynceus with the historical reader and later redactor of the *Aeneid* situates Propertius 2.34 in intriguing proximity to the context within which Virgil's epic was produced and consumed, but modern scholars must do more than Donatus to satisfy themselves of Propertius' familiarity with the *Aeneid* at this early juncture.

²⁴ Conversely, Camps 1967 on 2.34.77–80 sees "no cogent reason" for the transposition.

²⁵ Butrica 1997, 201–4.

III. PROPERTIUS ON THE *AENEID* (2.34.61–66)

Actia Vergili<um> custodis litora Phoebi,
 Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis,
 qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitāt arma
 iactaque Lauinis moenia litoribus.
 cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!
 nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

Actium's shores under Phoebus' protection, Virgil
 can tell of these and of Caesar's brave ships,
 he who now is rousing Trojan Aeneas' arms
 and the walls established on the Lavinian shores.
 Make way, Roman writers, make way Greeks!
 something greater than the *Iliad* is being born.

In Hermann Tränkle's assessment, Propertius speaks of the *Aeneid* with unambiguously "expectant and confident words."²⁶ Yet the responses these lines elicit differ widely, first as to the sincerity, and second as to the accuracy, of Propertius' appraisal of the epic. The acrimony that characterises the "sincerity debate" can be witnessed in the exchanges in the 1940s and 50s between Luigi Alfonsi, for whom the couplet singled out by Donatus is "a sincere and even affectionate compliment . . . a cry of sure admiration,"²⁷ and Ettore Paratore, who wrote with "proto-Harvardian" scepticism that "although Propertius heaps great praise on his friend's new work, he subtly and craftily, albeit secretly, belittles the impotence and bluster of the long poems."²⁸ Propertius continues to be constructed according to one or other of these extremes: in recent criticism, the passage either is "accurate for its time, straightforward, and highly laudatory,"²⁹ signals "sincera ammirazione,"³⁰ "celebrates, as well as announces, the arrival of the epic,"³¹ and shows that "Propertius—of course—sincerely admired

²⁶Tränkle 1960, 53: "mit erwartungsvollen und zuversichtlichen Worten."

²⁷Alfonsi 1954, 205: "un complimento anche affettuoso e sincero . . . un grido di ammirazione convinto" (see also Alfonsi 1943–44, 464).

²⁸Paratore 1957, 75: "etsi novum sodalis opus magnis onerat laudibus, vafre ac versute quamquam occulte impotentiam atque redundantiam longorum carminum imminuit." See *ibid.* for a broadside against Alfonsi (*passim*) and p. 76 for a European anticipation of the so-called "Harvard School": "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."

²⁹Cairns 2006, 313, cf. 342.

³⁰Dimundo 2002, 303–4.

³¹Laird 1999, 32.

Virgil's achievement,"³² or else reads as "purely perfunctory and indeed may be seen as another critical thrust at the Augustan poetical establishment,"³³ "una reminiscenza che non denota completa ammirazione,"³⁴ "a very dubious, because ambiguous, compliment."³⁵ Among the few who steer a middle course are Joseph Farrell (1991, 337), for whom "it is not equivocal to maintain that there are elements of truth in both views," and Paolo Fedeli (2005, 988), who detects the courtesy of a *recusatio*.

This spectrum of scholarly opinion can be taken *in toto* as a response to the irreconcilable impulses of Bloomian anxiety. The intensity of this anxiety and the acuity of its articulation will be contingent on the intertextual proximity of Propertius 2.34 and the *Aeneid*. Fundamental to any interpretation of these lines, then, is the question of whether Propertius 2.34 was in a position chronologically to do anything more than express an elegist's conventional generic antipathy to epic (no measure of "sincerity"). That Propertius might 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 read his attitude. It has even been suggested that any discernable similarities to the *Aeneid* are the product of an allusive flow in the opposite direction.³⁶ Textual difficulties within these six lines are relatively minor,³⁷ such that variant

³²Newman 1997, 220. See also Paley 1853, 160 and on 83: "a fine eulogy on Virgil . . . Propertius pays his friend an elegant compliment"; Brakman 1926, 77 (who nevertheless admits to having doubts about Propertius' sincerity elsewhere); Vessey 1969–70, 64–65; La Penna 1977, 51 ("senza livore, con entusiasmo cordiale"), 222 ("senza ironia e senza riserve"); Álvarez Hernández 1997, 174–78; Syndikus 2006, 317.

³³Sullivan 1976, 25.

³⁴D'Anna 1979–80, 383.

³⁵Stahl 1985, 181. However, that Stahl 1998, xiii–xxxiii, can see the *Aeneid* as receptive to divergent political agendas makes it difficult to assume that Prop. 2.34.61–66 records an extremist view. Also in the sceptical camp are Lefèvre 1980, 128 ("une sorte de provocation"); Coutelle 2005, 473–87; Robinson 2006, 201, whose translation of *cedite* ("get out of the way!") sounds to be mediated by Ezra Pound's hyperbolic "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!" See also Miller 2009, 315, for the view that Propertius 3.1.7 (*a ualeat quicumque Phoebum moratur in armis*) brushes aside the *Aeneid* apparently celebrated in 2.34.

³⁶Alfonsi 1944–45, 129, speculates that Propertius versified part of Virgil's prose redaction of the *Aeneid* (cf. *VSD* 83–89 Hardie) in elegy 2.34, to which Virgil then looked when doing likewise.

³⁷The most significant quandary is whether to adopt (with, e.g., Barber 1953 and Fedeli 1984) the humanist emendation *Vergilium* (which takes its sense from the construction of the preceding couplet) for *Vergilio*. Heyworth 2007a prints *Vergilio est* (Baehrens). Butrica 1997, 203, proposes *Vergilio cordi sit*.

readings cannot be marshalled to the defence of any one interpretation. What is fundamentally at issue, then, is the extent of Propertius' access to the *Aeneid* at this point in the mid-20s B.C.E.: the text at 2.34.61–66 may be secure enough, but the intertext is not.

The six lines have been scrutinised long and hard for allusive accuracy, particularly by a Virgiliocentric criticism more concerned with how and when the *Aeneid* was composed, and usually without consideration of distortion or misrepresentation, or of the possibility that lexical sharing might be less necessary when the target text has, as here, been clearly specified.³⁸ Intensive scrutiny, however, has yielded little consensus as to how accurate or otherwise is Propertius' knowledge of the *Aeneid*. In a detailed compilation and analysis of parallel passages in Propertius and his contemporaries, Antonio La Penna (1950, 216) could find in these lines no precise allusion to the *Aeneid*. Other scholars, however, have posited numerous Virgilian parallels for each of the three couplets. In the first (2.34.61–62),

*Actia Vergili<um> custodis litora *Phoebi,
Caesaris et fortis dicere posse ratis,

allusion has been detected to Virgil's depiction of the Battle of Actium on the Shield of Aeneas, a theme arguably in Virgil's mind as early as the proem to the third *Georgic*. One specific comparand is *Aeneid* 8.675–76 (*in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella, / cernere erat*, “in the middle one could see bronze ships, the Battle of Actium”),³⁹ though *Aeneid* 8.704 (**Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat* *Apollo, “Actian Apollo, seeing this, stretched his bow”) looks like a closer match.⁴⁰ Alternatively or additionally, *Actia . . . litora* picks up on Virgil's bilingual pun at *Aeneid* 3.280 (*Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis*, and cf. 2.34.66: *maius . . . Iliade*), thus pinpointing an allusion to what Virgilians commonly consider to be the earliest book of the *Aeneid*, and therefore involving none of the chronological difficulties of reckoning with an allusion at this date to *Aeneid* 8.⁴¹ Literal-mindedness convinced other critics that

³⁸ An exception on this point is Boucher 1965, esp. 281–83 (on Propertius' *Eclogues*) and 292–93 (on Propertius' *Aeneid*).

³⁹ See Alfonsi 1944–45, 127–29. Referring more generally to the passage *Aen.* 8.671–728: Rothstein 1920; Butler and Barber 1933; Alfonsi 1954, 208; Fedeli 2005.

⁴⁰ See Miller 2009, 77.

⁴¹ For the echo, see Brugnoli and Stok 1991, 135; Fedeli 2005, 989; Heyworth 2007b, 275; Miller 2009, 76–77. On the bilingual pun, see Miller 2009, 76–77. Horsfall 2006, xxvi, n.27, notes the similarity is “scarcely significant” with a view to dating the *Aeneid* given

Propertius was referring to an entirely separate Virgilian poem on the Battle of Actium.⁴² Similar accuracy is expected by Tränkle (1971), who contends that Propertius made an educated but erroneous guess as to Virgil'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 date of elegy 2.34.⁴³ Horsfall (2006, xxvi) similarly contends that Propertius was unlikely to have written these lines with knowledge of *Aeneid* 8, but more positively credits him with "a (correct and eloquent) sense that the *Aeneid* would reach forward from myth to Actium."⁴⁴

Such conjunction of past and present is brought out in the next couplet with the transition from Caesar Augustus at Actium to his legendary analogue, Aeneas (2.34.63–64):

qui nunc *Aeneae* Troiani suscitāt arma
iactaque Lauinis moenia litoribus.

Its lack of this kind of contemporary reference is thought by Alfonsi to be what earned Homeric epic Propertius' condemnation, while its "interpenetration of the ancient and the recent" is what conversely recommended the *Aeneid* to his neoteric tastes.⁴⁵ Although Alfonsi here seems to base his reading on an over-literal interpretation of 2.1.17–34, where Propertius renounces the conventional topics of mythological epic but declares himself favourably disposed, though ill-suited, to "the wars and affairs . . . of Caesar" (*bellaque resque . . . Caesaris*, 2.1.25), there is nonetheless merit in the observation that the juxtaposition of Augustus and Aeneas at 2.34.62–63 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.

the earliness of *Aen.* 3 (the argument for which he sets out at pp. xx–xl). That 2.34.61–62 could be an allusion to both *Aen.* 8.675–76 and *Aen.* 3.280 is entertained by Horsfall 1999, 75, on *Aen.* 7.45.

⁴² Rothstein 1920; Richardson 1977.

⁴³ Some objections to Tränkle 1971 are set out by Stahl 1985, 350–52, n. 19.

⁴⁴ See, however, n. 41 above for a more pluralistic position by the same scholar.

⁴⁵ Alfonsi 1954, 206–9 on "compenetrazione di antico e recente," e.g., p. 208: "L'eroe moderne – *Cesare* – e l'eroe antico – *Enea* –, ecco i poli tra cui si muove per Properzio l'*Eneide*." See now Miller 2009, 76. An earlier formulation of this idea can be found at Alfonsi 1943–44, 263–64. It is on this point that Alfonsi is most severely lambasted by Paratore 1957, 76–78; Alfonsi's Virgilianization of Propertius is also rejected by Stahl 1985, 349–50, n. 18.

More specifically, Rothstein (1920) adjudged this couplet to be a positive evaluation of the opening of the *Aeneid*, which most later commentators agree must have been known to Propertius, such are the similarities between the two passages (*Aen.* 1.1–7):⁴⁶

Arma uirumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
 Italiam fato profugus Lauiniaque uenit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus 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.

Arms, I sing, and a man, the first who came from Troy's coast
 to Italy, a refugee from his fate, and to the Lavinian
 shores. Much confounded was he both on land and the deep
 by power from on high, and through cruel Juno's unforgetting anger;
 and much did he suffer in war too, until he founded a city
 and carried his gods into Latium: hence the race of Latins,
 and the Alban fathers, and the walls of lofty Rome.

The degree of lexical duplication makes a cogent case for seeing the seven lines of the epic proem compressed into a single elegiac distich, and has even been taken as decisive in the ancient disagreement (see Servius) over whether to read *Lauinaque* or (by synzesis) *Lauiniaque* at *Aeneid* 1.2.⁴⁷ The eponymous hero of Virgil's epic is now named, while its opening word, *Arma*, doubling as it can for the title of the epic,⁴⁸ is postponed to the end of the line as the object of Virgil's latest (*nunc*) poetic endeavours. Thematically, it might also be noted that the Propertian couplet has eschewed, perhaps not unwittingly, the preoccupation in the *Aeneid* with human suffering: the *iactatus* ("storm-tossed") hero of the Virgilian proem gives way in Propertius 2.34 to the more trium-

⁴⁶Rothstein 1920: "Deutlich ist hier der Anklang an die ersten Worte der Äneis"; Richmond 1917; Butler and Barber 1933: "[a] clear reference" to *Aen.* 1.1f.; Otis 1964, 419–20; Camps 1967: "[distinct] enough for us to be sure that Propertius had heard or heard of these opening lines when he wrote this couplet"; Vessey 1969–70, 63–70; Stahl 1985, 180; Fedeli 2005; Horsfall 2006, xxv–xxvi.

⁴⁷Conington and Nettleship 1884 read *Lauinaque* at *Aen.* 1.2 but note the inverse possibility of reading the quadrasyllable trisyllabically at Prop. 2.34.64. See also Williams 1972 on *Aen.* 1.2, and (in the opposite direction) Rothstein 1920 and Tränkle 1960, 53, with n. 2.

⁴⁸As noted by Fedeli 2005, 989. On *arma uirum* as both an epic tag and the *incipit* title of the *Aeneid*, see Barchiesi 1997, 16–17.

phant theme of Rome's *iacta . . . moenia* ("founded walls"), an arresting phrase for which commentators have preferred to compare *muros iacere* at *Aeneid* 5.631 (where, in any case, *ktisis* is precisely what the restive Trojan women lament to have been denied them).⁴⁹ As with the previous couplet, however, the impression of studied intertextuality has not won universal consensus and has been challenged with arguments based on chronology⁵⁰ and on the conventionality of subject matter and diction.⁵¹

Equally attractive, but no less problematic, are the possibilities suggested by the third couplet of the sequence, the lines on which most ink (ancient and modern) has been spilt (2.34.65–66):

cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!
nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

Under the influence of Gercke's theory that the *Entstehung* of *Aeneid* 7–12 was concluded before that of *Aeneid* 1–6 was ever commenced, Paratore (1957, 71–72) and his student D'Anna (1957) inferred from the references to Actium and the *Iliad* that Propertius knew only the Iliadic books of the *Aeneid*, and each accordingly took *nunc . . . suscitata arma* (2.34.63) rather literally to mean that Virgil is now writing about the Latin war. Once more, however, scholarship is far from unanimous. Opposed to the theory that Virgil began composing the *Aeneid* at Book 7, Rothstein sees Propertius' foregrounding of the martial *Iliad* as motivated by a "typical contrast between love-poetry and war-poetry" that here precludes reference to the Odyssean wanderings.⁵² While the Homeric dualism of the *Aeneid* was certainly known to ancient Virgilian scholarship (see Servius on *Aen.* 7.1), it cannot automatically be assumed that ancient readers were cognisant of the epic's bipartite architecture before it was finished.⁵³ Horsfall (2006, xxv) cautions that Propertius' reference to the *Iliad* may simply be synecdoche for "Homer as a whole," the elegist

⁴⁹ On *muros iacere*, see Rothstein 1920 and Fedeli 2005, 990, and (more for philological interest) La Penna 1950, 216. On *iactatus* as a markedly Virgilian epithet, see Austin 1971 on *Aen.* 1.3.

⁵⁰ Tränkle 1960, 53.

⁵¹ Boucher 1965, 292–97.

⁵² Rothstein 1920, 448 ("typische Gegensatz zwischen Erotik und Kriegsdichtung") and 500.

⁵³ On the Homeric architecture of the *Aeneid*, see Knauer 1964; Otis 1964, 215–312 ("The Odyssean *Aeneid*") and 313–82 ("The Iliadic *Aeneid*"); Camps 1969, 75–94. Cairns 1989, 177–214, offers a reading of the *Aeneid* as "a unitary *Odyssey* with significant Iliadic episodes" (178).

thus signalling Virgil's rivalry with Homer in general. Nevertheless, these arguments need to be evaluated in the light of the similarity detected in this couplet to the lines in which Virgil formally announces the Iliadic hexad of the *Aeneid* (7.41–45):

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.

You, goddess, you instruct your prophet. I will tell of horrific wars,
I will tell of armies and kings driven by their spirit into death,
and the Tyrrhenian troop, and—all mustered in arms—
Hesperia. Greater is the array of material being born to me,
greater the work I undertake.

The excited anaphora of Propertius' *cedite . . . cedite* conveys something of the agitation in Virgil's invocation (*tu . . . tu . . . dicam . . . dicam*) as he embarks upon his *maius opus*. As Philip Hardie (1998, 54–55) explains in a discussion which notes the similarity of the Propertian couplet, Virgil is here pointing 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).⁵⁴ Propertius duly specifies the Iliadic intertext but also hints at Virgil's ambition to surpass it (*maius . . . Iliade*)⁵⁵ and so to become what Bloom terms a “strong” poet. It may be disingenuous of Propertius to mask his own anxiety by pointing to Virgil's, but his assessment will be facetious in inverse proportion to the success with which Virgil is felt to have lived up to his ambition.

Putting together the various possibilities raised thus far, it seems tenable that these six lines show more than a passing familiarity with

⁵⁴ Richmond 1917 detected the allusions to *Aeneid* 1 and 8, and felt 66 would gain point if *Aen.* 7 were also known to Propertius at this time (he also transposed the passage to the start of Book 3). Stahl 1985 relegates the similarity to a footnote (352, n. 20), suggesting in the main discussion (180) that the reference to the *Iliad* signals Iliadic aspects of the poem to *Aen.* 1. Horsfall 1999 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.* 1.1ff., 3.274ff., and/or 8.675ff. Laird 1999, 32, explores the intertextuality of *maius nascitur* with both *Ecl.* 4.1.8 and *Aen.* 7.44–45. See also Heyworth 2007b, 275, and Robinson 2006, 206, n. 99.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ov., *Met.* 8.328, where *maius opus* signals Meleager's shift from erotic to epic mode.

the *Aeneid*. First, they juxtapose in two adjacent couplets (63–64, 65–66) allusions to the first and second proems in *Aeneid* 1 and 7, respectively; second, as Richard Thomas has argued, the allocation of six lines to the *Aeneid* pointedly halves its complement of books; third, the six lines assemble allusions to passages from up to five books of the epic in its final form. This combination of evidence suggests that at least the overall structure of the epic was in place by the mid-20s B.C.E. Affirmative assessments of Propertius' knowledge of the *Aeneid* commonly point to the indications preserved in Donatus (*VSD* 23–24 Hardie) that Virgil meticulously blueprinted the entire epic *ab initio*.⁵⁶ It also suggests that key passages had been aired to some sort of poets' workshop such as Horace speaks of in *Epistles* 2.2.90–105.⁵⁷ With J. F. Miller (2009, 76), then, we may feel encouraged "to read the elegy within the literary system that contains our *Aeneid*."

If Propertius' knowledge of the *Aeneid* was of this order, the six-line synopsis may repay further scrutiny. It has been suggested above that the allusion in 2.34.63–64 to the proem of *Aeneid* 1 turns a blind eye to Aeneas' sufferings. In a similar way, 2.34.65–66 overlook an aspect of the proem of *Aeneid* 7 even more congenial to elegy: the *diua* to whom Virgil appeals is Erato, the muse of love-poetry invoked also at the midpoint of Apollonius' *Argonautica*, the epic romance that here provides Virgil's model.⁵⁸ This aspect of the Virgilian proem is entirely absent in Propertius' reworking, but perhaps not because he was ignorant of it: the Latin translation of the *Argonautica* by Varro of Atax, a version presumably as familiar to Virgil as Apollonius' original, is 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*, "This too did Varro play when his Jason was finished, Varro the mighty flame of his Leucadia," 2.34.85–86).⁵⁹ Propertius'

⁵⁶ So, e.g., Alfonsi 1944–45, 127–29. However, Horsfall 2006, xxiii, cautions that the chapters in *VSD* about Virgil's writing methods "do not relate information preserved miraculously about what really and truly went on in Virgil's study."

⁵⁷ See in general White 1993 and Quinn 1982. The evidence for professional and personal relations between Propertius and Virgil is assembled by Boucher 1980. Camps 1967 on 2.34.63–64 is doubtful that anything in this regard can be inferred from this passage.

⁵⁸ On the significance of Virgil's appeal to Erato and on the erotic content of *Aen.* 7–12, see Nelis 2001, 267–69 (with extensive bibliography at nn. 5–6).

⁵⁹ As Hunter 1993, 170, n. 2, notes, Varro's version was "presumably" read by Virgil 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 *Argonautica* (see Courtney 1993, 238–43) offer no discernable similarities with Propertius 2.34.

reference to this work in his canon of love-poets and in contradistinction to the *Aeneid* seems teasingly to ignore the erotic dimension that Virgil's midpoint invocation of Erato had signalled as catalytic even in his epic's Iliadic hexad.⁶⁰ What is potentially most misrepresentative of Propertius' synopsis, indeed, is its complete omission of the erotic themes that dominate several books of the *Aeneid*.⁶¹

Ordinarily, of course, it would be unreasonable to characterise *Aeneid* 7–12 rather than *Aeneid* 1–6 as books about love, and many six-line summaries of the *Aeneid* might not mention love without any ulterior motive. In the case of an elegist privy to the contents of the epic, however, this is precisely the characterisation one might have expected. If *Tristia* 2.533–36 reworks the announcement of the *Aeneid* in Propertius 2.34, as Alessandro Barchiesi has suggested, then it is noteworthy that it is precisely the erotic content of Virgilian epic that Ovid for his purposes conversely reintroduces and chooses to accentuate.⁶² Elsewhere (and especially in Book 2), Propertius proves himself adept at capitalising on the erotic subject matter in epic poetry: 2.8.29–38 recasts the *Iliad* as a quasi-elegiac tale of unrequited love, and 2.9.9–18 follows up with a sequel;⁶³ inversely, the poet's erotic battles with Cynthia are elevated to Iliadic status at 2.1.13–16:

seu nuda erepto mecum luctatur amictu,
 tum uero longas condimus *Iliadas*;
 seu quidquid fecit siue quodcumque locuta,
maxima de nihilo *nascitur historia.

or if she wrestles naked with me, her dress ripped off,
 then truly we pile up long *Iliads*;
 or whatever she has done, whatever she has said,
 the greatest history is born from nothing.

⁶⁰Turnus' *amor* for Lavinia (*Aen.* 7.56–57) becomes his *amor ferri* ("love of the sword," *Aen.* 7.461); his cause is espoused by a would-be mother-in-law with a thematically apposite name, Amata (see *Aen.* 7.581); *amor laudis* ("love of praise," *Aen.* 7.496) causes Ascanius unwittingly to enrage the locals, whose simple love of country life is perverted into bloodlust (*omnis aratri / cessit amor*, "all love for the plough was gone," *Aen.* 7.635–36; cf. *Aen.* 7.550–51).

⁶¹See Cairns 1989, 129–50, on the elegiac credentials of Dido (spanning *Aen.* 1–4) and 151–76 on the lyric credentials of Lavinia (spanning *Aen.* 7–12); on the *amor* of Nisus and Euryalus (spanning *Aen.* 5–9), see Hardie 1994, 31–34; on the erotic charge to Aeneas' relations with Pallas (spanning *Aen.* 8–11), see Olensis 1997, 309, and Putnam 1995, 27–49.

⁶²Barchiesi 1997, 27–28; Ingleheart 2010 on *Tr.* 2.533–38.

⁶³Berthet 1980 supplies an impressive list of parallel passages. See also Dalzell 1980; Benediktson 1985 (on Propertius' "elegiacization" of Homer); Dué 2002, 91–113 (on Briseis as a "nexus for epic and elegiac agenda" [91] in Propertius and Ovid).

It may be instructive that the reception of the *Iliad* as an erotic work here in the *recusatio* that launches Propertius 2 trumps with a superlative the reception of the *Aeneid* as a martial epic greater than the *Iliad* (*nescio quid maius *nascitur Iliade*, 2.34.66) in the tribute-cum-*recusatio* at the other extremity of the book (again *pace* Lachmann's division).

It therefore seems worth considering the omission in Propertius 2.34 of the erotics of the *Aeneid* as a strategic occlusion ascribable to an elegist's poetic anxiety rather than as an ignorance attributable to his relative chronology with Virgil. It would corroborate this hypothesis if a similar strategy of misrepresentative reading (or "misprision," in Bloom's terminology) were found to be operative also in the synopses of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* which follow. These works, at any rate, enjoy the security of an unproblematic relative chronology with Propertius 2.34 and therefore offer a control for the manner in which the *Aeneid* appears to be received in the preceding lines.

IV. PROPERTIUS ON THE *ECLOGUES* (2.34.67–76)

- tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi
 Thyrsin et attritis Daphnin harundinibus,
 utque decem possint corrumpere mala puellas
 70 missus et impressis haedus ab uberibus.
 felix, qui uilis pomis mercaris amores!
 huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.
 felix intactum Corydon qui temptat Alexin
 agricolae domini carpere delicias!
 75 quamuis ille sua lassus requiescat auena,
 laudatur facilis inter Hamadryadas.
- You sing, under the pinewoods of shaded Galaesus,
 Thyrsis and Daphnis on worn reed-pipes,
 how ten apples can seduce girls
 70 and a he-goat sent from squeezed udders.
 Happy are you who buy cheap love with fruit!
 Even Tityrus can sing to his girl, ungrateful though she be.
 Happy is Corydon who tries his luck with virgin Alexis,
 a farmer's (his master's) sweetheart!
 75 Rest though he may, weary from his reed-pipe,
 he is praised among the easygoing Hamadryads.

If there is "misprision" in these lines, it should surely stand out from the accuracy with which the *Eclogues* are otherwise represented. To draw once more on Thomas' analysis, the ten lines relate to the ten *Eclogues*

not only proportionally, but also in a roughly sequential line-to-*Eclogue* correspondence. Accordingly, *tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi* in the first line evokes from the first *Eclogue* the second person pronouns and verbs (*Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi / . . . meditaris*, “Tityrus, reclining under the canopy of a spreading beech-tree, you practise,” 1–2) and the umbral setting (**tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra*, “you, Tityrus, relaxed in the shade,” 4).⁶⁴ Before the bucolic intertext is confirmed by the proper names in the pentameter, however, there comes a surprise which has left many critics bemused: the *pineta *Galaesi* (2.34.67) introduces an anomalous reference to the *Georgics*, for it is only at *Georgics* 4.126 (*qua niger umectat flauentia culta *Galaesus*, “where the dark Galaesus dampens the yellowing fields”) that the Calabrian river is mentioned in Virgil.⁶⁵ The intrusion of this Georgic decoy before the synopsis of the *Eclogues* gets going might not be arbitrary insofar as the historicising reader approaches these lines expecting the *Georgics* to be inserted between the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues* (and many such readers have transposed accordingly, as noted in section II above). As well as playing with the reader’s expectations, the migration of the Galaesus to the *Eclogues* intensifies rather than contaminates the pastoral overtones, for in the fourth *Georgic* it features in the ultra-pastoral interlude at Tarentum (a distinctly agro-pastoral hero has the same name in the *Aeneid* too: cf. *Aen.* 7.535–39, 573–75).⁶⁶ The synopsis of Virgil’s pre-heroic epos thus commences by stressing the pastoral homogeneity of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in a way that constructs their maximum disjunction from an *Aeneid* that, according to Propertius, is unremittingly martial.

In apostrophising Virgil as a singer of the *pineta Galaesi* (*tu canis*, 67), Propertius also takes up the invitation to read the georgic interlude autobiographically, since the Virgilian *praeceptor* there reports that he

⁶⁴ Brugnoli (Brugnoli and Stok 1991, 133–34) detects in 67 an allusion to Varius’ *de Morte* fr. 4.1 Büchner (*ceu canis umbrosam lustrans Gortynia vallem*). On the implications (for the contemporary literary coterie and the identity of Lynceus), see Fedeli 2005, 997, and Cairns 2006, 298–99.

⁶⁵ See Camps 1967: “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: “undoubtedly [an] arbitrary decision.”

⁶⁶ See Alfonsi 1954, 213 (Propertius identifies an idyllic “squarcio” of the *Georgics*); La Penna 1977, 222 (“probabilmente una deformazione studiata, non casuale”). Fedeli 2005, 994–95 (“contaminazione”); Butler and Barber 1933 detect “probably a vague reminiscence” of the georgic Galaesus. On the pastoral connotations of the area (for which, cf. Hor., *Od.* 2.6.10–11: *dulce pellitis ouibus Galaesi / flumen*), see Rothstein 1920, 449–50, and Boucher 1965, 286–87. See also Paratore 1957, 81; Laird 1999, 32, n. 61.

had seen the locale for himself (*memini me . . . uidisse*, *G.* 4.125–27, straddling the description of the Galaesus).⁶⁷ This kind of biographical reading adheres even more readily to the *Eclogues*: in suggesting that the singer of the *Eclogues* is also a singer in the *Eclogues*, Propertius' *tu canis* connives with the familiar identification of Virgil with aspects of his shepherd-singers (cf. Servius on *Ecl.* 1.1).⁶⁸ The “worn reed-pipe” (*atritis . . . harundinibus*) in the second line seems to have been borrowed from the corresponding second *Eclogue* (cf. *calamo triuisse labellum*, “to have worn your lip on the reed,” 2.34), while the objects of Virgil's singing are, appropriately, the inaugural shepherd-singer of Theocritus' *Idylls* and the legendary founder of the bucolic genre respectively. In the final couplet of the synopsis, the identification between the pastoral poet and the protagonists of his verse is more playfully exploited. The ambiguity in line 75 over whether the *ille* who has given up pastoral song refers to Virgil or to Corydon in the preceding line has been denied by critics of a persuasion which prefers to distance Virgil from the tabloid trivia of the ancient *Lives* and commentaries (see Servius on *Ecl.* 2.1).⁶⁹ This penultimate line possibly hints at the less sensational details of Virgil's biography, too. Virgil's retirement from pastoral song in the ninth line of the synopsis offers a loose parallel with the dispossessed farmers who, in the ninth *Eclogue*, struggle to recall fragments of songs they once knew by heart.⁷⁰ Propertius' biographical recontextualisation of this scenario could be seen tacitly to acknowledge the dependence of Virgil's own poetic career on acts of agrarian confiscation and compensation.⁷¹ Finally, the *faciles Hamadryades* who laud the retiring Virgil in the tenth line of the synopsis have been found to conflate two passages of the *Eclogues*:⁷² more obviously, they recall, via their only appearance under this name in Virgil, the moment in the corresponding tenth *Eclogue* when Gallus, too,

⁶⁷ So Rothstein 1920, 449–50; cf. Fedeli 2005, 997.

⁶⁸ See Hunter 2006, 126–28, on how “biographical interpretation is . . . put at the heart of the *Eclogues*” (128) and 129, n. 46, for the possibility that Propertius 3.3 glosses the Tityrus of *Ecl.* 6 as “Virgil.” For discussion of Propertius teasing out biographical indications in the *Eclogues*, see Rothstein 1889, 5–7, and 1920, 449 on 2.34.67 and 452 on 2.34.75. See also Fedeli 2005, 994–95 (on *tu canis*), and Butler and Barber 1933 on 2.34.71 (*mercaris* equates Virgil with Tityrus).

⁶⁹ Emphatically in favour of a connection with Servius' “outing” of Virgil at *Ecl.* 2.1, see Butler and Barber 1933 (“This and this only can give the key to the next couplet. *ille* = Corydon-Virgil”); see also Rothstein 1920, 452; Richardson 1977. *Contra* any such inference, see Alfonsi 1954, 218.

⁷⁰ Thomas 1996, 243.

⁷¹ Cf. *VSD* 65–70 Hardie and Servius' prefaces to the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*.

⁷² Rothstein 1920; Boucher 1965, 285.

renounces bucolic song (*iam neque Hamadryades rursus neque carmina nobis / ipsa placent*, “now once more neither the Hamadryads nor even songs are pleasing to me,” 62–63); but the *faciles Hamadryades* also recall the *faciles nymphae* who snigger at the obliging Menalcas (3.9), and so Propertius concludes his summary of the *Eclogues* by reverting to the more salacious aspects of Virgilian biography.

The parallels in the central section of the *Eclogues* résumé are no less exacting but are concerned with generic/ethical rather than biographical/allegorical readings of the *Eclogues*. Although Propertius can be taken to respond warmly to Virgilian pastoral as “a species of love poetry” from the same neoteric provenance,⁷³ there is an uneasiness about the manner in which his allusions conspire towards a view of pastoral love as something far more carefree and attainable than its elegiac counterpart. When Propertius says in the third line that Virgil sings *utque decem possint corrumpere mala* puellas, not only does he bypass the homoeroticism of the corresponding *Eclogue* (*quod potui, puero siluestri ex arbore lecta / aurea mala decem misi*, “I sent what I could to the boy—ten golden apples picked from a woodland tree,” 3.70–71) to reinstate the heterosexual relations of the Theocritean original (also the third of the *Idylls*), he also reverses the fruitlessness of the latter, as if to emphasise a reciprocity in Virgilian *amor* that is alien to its more angst-ridden Theocritean and Propertian counterparts: for Propertius’ Virgil, ten apples *possint corrumpere*, whereas Theocritus’ δέκα μᾶλα (“ten apples,” *Id.* 3.10) are rejected by Amaryllis. The old assumption that “Propertius’ memory is at fault”⁷⁴ has ceded to general agreement that this intertextual “marquetry,”⁷⁵ or “window-allusion,” illustrates Propertius’ appreciation of, and indebtedness to, Virgilian allusive technique (so, e.g., Knox 2006, 138). This example enables us to see in the successfully gifted *haedus* of the next line an inversion of both the homoerotic *Eclogue* 2.40–44 (Corydon anticipates the rejection of his *capreoli* by Alexis) and its heterosexual Theocritean intertext, *Idylls* 3.34–36 (Amaryllis has already rejected the singer’s goat). These inversions conspire in flattening the *Eclogues* into

⁷³Fantazzi 1966, 171. Here Alfonsi 1954, 209, and Paratore 1957, 79–82, share a rare moment of concord. See also Knox 2006, 137–41; Fedeli 2005, 994; Farrell 1991, 335; Stahl 1985, 181; Boucher 1980, 43; Van Sickle 1974–75, 117–19; Rothstein 1920, 448–49, on 2.34.67. On the affinities between Virgilian pastoral and Propertian elegy, see Fantazzi 1966; Kenney 1983. See also Day 1938, 80–84, for a still useful demonstration of Virgil’s monopolisation of pastoral language in Propertius and Tibullus.

⁷⁴Butler and Barber 1933; cf. Richardson 1977.

⁷⁵So Alfonsi 1954, 213: “voluta compenetrazione e lavoro alessandrino di intarsio con squisiti sottintesi allusivi.”

poems of successful heterosexual courtship, a world apparently more facile than that inhabited by the suffering elegist.

This flattening and misrepresentation has given rise to diverse explanations and interpretations. Correcting the tendency in older scholarship to censure these alleged inaccuracies, Boucher (1965, 280–90) argues that Propertius' purpose is to provide an ultra-pastoral “résumé incomplet” of the *Eclogues* that highlights “la parenté de la Bucolique et de l'Élégie” (287); Marco Fantuzzi (2003; see also Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 170–90) argues that Propertius idealises pastoral love from the elegiac perspective under the influence of a now lost erotic-pastoral alternative glimpsed in the fragments of Bion; Éric Coutelle (2005, 481–87) sees Propertius distancing himself from Virgil by gently caricaturing the *Eclogues*, with an elegist's distaste, as “le monde idyllique et désincarné de l'Arcadie, hors du temps de l'histoire” (482); Francis Cairns (2006, 314, 317) describes a Propertian *deformazione* of the *Eclogues* into “pseudo-elegies” in which, for example, the homosexual predilection of pastoral is assimilated to the heterosexual ethic of elegy. However, in suggesting that the shepherd always gets his girl (or boy), Propertius seems to point out the fundamental difference between, not sameness of, Virgilian and Propertian *amor*. To be sure, the contrast between (requited) pastoral and (unrequited) elegiac love is one which emerges from the *Eclogues* themselves, particularly *Eclogue* 10, in which the elegist Gallus fails to find consolation for his heartache in pastoral surroundings.⁷⁶ Propertius thus endorses the view of Virgilian love-poetry, endorsed by Virgil himself, as a genre “weaned of its subjective throbbings and existing in an idealized world of song.”⁷⁷ Buying into this interpretation, scholars have variously found a Propertius concelebrating with Virgil, if not the attainment of love, then the abandonment to it,⁷⁸ a Propertius envious of the *Eclogues* as “an inspired paradise of love poetry,”⁷⁹ who makes the supercilious city-slicker's backhanded compliment,⁸⁰ or who registers a fundamentally serious expression of distance from Virgilian poetics.⁸¹

Yet the portrayal of the *Eclogues* as a genre of possibility (*possint*) and polygamy (*puellas*), all that elegy is not, gives an impression of Virgilian *amor* that is uncomfortably facile: Virgil's pastoral idyll is

⁷⁶ Conte 1986, 100–27; Fantuzzi 1966, 182–84, 190–91.

⁷⁷ Fantuzzi 1966, 190.

⁷⁸ Alfonsi 1954, 217.

⁷⁹ Fantuzzi 1966, 176.

⁸⁰ Van Sickle 1974–75, 118.

⁸¹ Stahl 1985, 182.

constantly threatened with disturbance by the urban passions of war and elegiac *amor*.⁸² Propertius' is therefore a highly "optimistic" reading of the *Eclogues* whereby the fragility of the Arcadian ideal and the gloominess of Roman reality, so pervasive in Virgil, are absent in Propertius' Virgil.⁸³ At 2.34.71–72,

*felix, qui uilis pomis mercaris amores!
huic licet ingratae Tityrus ipse canat.

too easily, or too tendentiously, does Propertius' view of the happy promiscuity and inexpensiveness of pastoral love invert the losses incurred by Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 (cf. 1.34: *ingratae premeretur caseus urbi*, "my cheese was pressed for the ungrateful city")⁸⁴ and dismiss his complaints with a facetious echo of Virgil's *makarismos* of Lucretian man in the *Georgics* (cf. *G.* 2.490: *felix qui potuit *rerum cognoscere causas*, "Happy is he who has been able to discern the causes of things").⁸⁵ A reader alert to this intertext might remember, however, that, after valorising scientific understanding *de rerum natura*, the georgic *makarismos* goes on to uphold the validity also of the irrational pastoral religiosity which Lucretius had demystified (*G.* 2.493–94; cf. *DRN* 4.586–89) and implicitly critiqued in his *Kulturgeschichte* (cf. 5.1398) as a downside of the otherwise exemplary Epicurean existence lived by primitive man.⁸⁶ For such a reader, the rustic charmer who attains the ataraxic state by bartering fruit for sex (2.34.71 above; cf. 3.13.25–34) bypasses Virgil's rehabilitation of rustic piety but seems to have learnt how to satisfy his needs from the account of primitive prostitution at *De Rerum Natura* 5.962–65, where Lucretius himself has been seen to be "mildly satirizing the conventions of pastoral wooing."⁸⁷ Propertius' upbeat Tityrus not only filters out the pessimism of the *Eclogues*, but also insists on the Lucretian principle, ultimately rejected by Virgil, that *ataraxia* is predicated on an uncomplicated attitude to love.⁸⁸

⁸² Hardie 1998, 12–13; Boyle 1976, 16–31.

⁸³ So Alfonsi 1954, 215 and 218: "L'Arcadia ideale, insomma, spogliata dei contrasti e delle attese pensose."

⁸⁴ See Rothstein 1920 and Butler and Barber 1933.

⁸⁵ "An echo and travesty," according to Van Sickle 1974–75, 118, n. 12, who notes the similar use of the line at Prop. 1.12.15. See also Laird 1999, 32, n. 61. Alfonsi 1954, 215, posits an affinity instead with *G.* 2.458–59.

⁸⁶ Gale 2000, 171; Hardie 1986, 40, 43–44.

⁸⁷ Costa 1984.

⁸⁸ For a different interpretation, see Cairns 2006, 314. For Lucretian influence on the *Eclogues* (and its limits), see Hardie 1998, 10–13 (with further bibliography); 2002, 131, 154–56; and 2006 (rev. in Hardie 2009, 13–40).

The double *makarismos* of *Georgics* 2 (*fortunatus et ille*, *G.* 2.493) is duplicated also in the next line of the Propertian sequence (2.34.73–74):

felix intactum *Corydon qui temptat *Alexin
agricolae domini carpere delicias!

Happy (*felix*), too, is Corydon, whose appearance here in the seventh line of the Propertian sequence corresponds to the extended quotation of his song in the seventh *Eclogue*. However, the specific allusion, which is sustained in the eighth line and displaces from the sequence any reference to the eighth *Eclogue*, is to Corydon's very *unhappy* predicament as described in the opening of *Eclogue* 2 (1–2):⁸⁹

Formosum pastor *Corydon ardebat *Alexin,
delicias domini, nec quid speraret habebat.

The shepherd Corydon burned for fair Alexis,
his master's sweetheart, but he had no hope.

Critics have long felt that Corydon's *Liebeslied* makes for "a truly elegiac pastoral"⁹⁰ or even "a complete translation of the elegiac situation to the pastoral mode."⁹¹ 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*, 2.73), leaving the reader to question the jilted lover's conviction in his platitude. Virgil continues to probe the attainability of pastoral detachment in the *Liebestod* of *Eclogue* 8, where the shepherd of Damon's song, having failed to win his beloved, resorts to the elegist's way out by taking his own life.⁹² Given Propertius' prevailing misrepresentation of the *Eclogues*, it is perhaps not coincidental that the bleak *Eclogue* 8 is the only case where, to the chagrin of the expectant reader, Thomas' line-for-*Eclogue* comparison can find no match in 2.34.⁹³ The pathology

⁸⁹ Rothstein 1920, 451, on 2.34.73, finds Corydon "glücklich" and "ein reicher Mann" on the basis of *Ecl.* 2.22, despite also citing the more specific parallel of *Ecl.* 2.1–2.

⁹⁰ Coleman 1977, 109.

⁹¹ Kenney 1983, 73. See also Fantazzi 1966, 178–84, on the elegiac aspects of *Ecl.* 2, 8, and 10, and Hardie 2002, 123–27, for the contrast, within the *Eclogues*, of "pastoral plenitude and presence" and "elegiac lack and absence."

⁹² On the elegist's obsession with his own death, see in general Papanghelis 1987.

⁹³ See Thomas 1996, 243, with n. 31, to which it might be added that 2.34.74 (i.e., the eighth line of the sequence) alludes nevertheless to *Ecl.* 2.1–2. The absence of *Ecl.* 8

of influence-anxiety is such that Propertius erases from the *Eclogues* the poem that has the greatest affinity with the elegiac condition.

Less conspicuous ruptures in the fourth and sixth lines of the sequence have similar effect. The fourth (*missus et impressis haedus ab uberibus*, 2.34.70) substitutes the generically ambitious *Eclogue* 4 (cf. 4.1: *maiora canamus*) with another echo of the more pastoral *Eclogue* 3, only without the frustration: *frustra pressabimus ubera palmis* (“in vain we will squeeze the teats with our palms,” 3.99) gives closer recall than *ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae / ubera* (“by themselves the she-goats will bring home their udders swollen with milk,” 4.21–22). As noted above, the *haedus* here sent as a successful love-token continues the previous line’s strategy of inverting the failure of homosexual Virgilian and heterosexual Theocritean courtship. The fourth line of the synopsis thus distances Virgilian pastoral from the urban and political intertexts of *Eclogue* 4 and amplifies instead the blissful scene of romantic courtship evoked by the third line’s misrepresentation of *Eclogue* 3. The sixth line follows suit in eschewing reference to the cosmic scope of Silenus’ song in *Eclogue* 6 (the reference to Tityrus is at best a weak link to *Ecl.* 6.4). In this way, Propertius characterizes the *Eclogues* as poems of requited love, and ignores the many other subjects raised in ten very diverse poems. As a result, just as the *Eclogues* have lulled subsequent poets into an increasingly rarified conception of the pastoral “green cabinet,”⁹⁴ so, too, has Propertius 2.34 lulled the critic into a view of the *Eclogues* as far more naïve and unworldly than in fact they are.⁹⁵

To the same extent as Propertius’ overview of the *Aeneid* eclipses that work’s pathetic and erotic hues, then, his tendentious reconstruction (or “misprision”) of the *Eclogues* misrepresents Arcadian *amor* as something more “pastoral” than it actually is. Thus, while there is validity to readings which see the *Eclogues* ironically misrepresented in Propertius 2.34, the effect of that irony is not to put distance between Virgilian and Propertian *amor*; and while there is validity to readings which see

(among others, however, for which Thomas discerns correspondences) is noted also by Boucher 1965, 282.

⁹⁴For an overview, see Rosenmayer 1969. On the *Eclogues* as themselves a “pastoralization” of Theocritus, as Theocritus’ *Idylls* are of Homer, see Halperin 1983.

⁹⁵See, e.g., Alfonsi 1954, 217: “Nella creazione di un tipo di vita per sè e per i propri sogni è il significato più profondo, per il nostro elegiaco, della bucolica vergiliana: dove il dolore non esiste perchè non esiste la storia e la realtà.”; Coutelle 2005, 482. Cf. Servius in his prologue to the *Aeneid*: “nam personae hic rusticae sunt, simplicitate gaudentes, a quibus nihil altum debet requiri.”

in Propertius 2.34 an affinity between Propertian elegy and Virgilian pastoral, that affinity is not apparent from the way the *Eclogues* are here represented. What is being ironized, rather, is the elegist's (and perhaps our) naïve reading of Virgilian pastoral. So obvious a misrepresentation of the *Eclogues* cannot but draw attention to the similarity of Virgilian to Propertian *amor* (rather than of Propertian to Virgilian *amor*), a similarity resurgent under its strenuous erasure. In rewriting *Eclogue 2* and omitting *Eclogue 8*, in particular, Propertius' synopsis targets the very poems that enabled Kenney (1983) to justify an article entitled, "Virgil and the Elegiac Sensibility." Although the synopsis of the *Eclogues* continues to construct Propertian elegy and Virgilian epos in opposition, therefore, a Bloomian analysis shows how, paradoxically, Propertius 2.34 might also look upon Virgil as a confrère and rival in elegiac poetics.

V. PROPERTIUS ON THE *GEORGICS* (2.34.77–78)

tu canis Ascraei ueteris praecepta poetae,
 quo seges in campo, quo uiret uua iugo.

You sing the teachings of the ancient poet of Ascra,
 on what plain thrives the grain, on what hill the grape.

With the evidence accumulating for meticulous thematic, lexical, and structural engagement in Propertius 2.34 with Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, the intertextualist reader approaches this short résumé of the *Georgics* with a degree of anticipation. The two lines resume the policy of allocating to Virgil's non-erotic works half the space their length demands, although the possibility of associating the ensuing couplet (see below) with the *Georgics* will allow for a potentially less depreciative evaluation of non-martial Virgilian epos. As scholars have noted since Rothstein (1920, 452), the hexameter recognises the Hesiodic inspiration of the *Georgics* (cf. *G.* 2.176), while the pentameter loosely recalls its *incipit* (*Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram / uertere*, "What makes the crops fertile, under what star to turn the soil," *G.* 1.1–2). It can also be noted, however, that the combined reference to *seges* (crop) and *uua* (grape) more intricately reworks *Georgics* 1.54:

hic segetes, illic ueniunt felicius uuae

here the crops come more bountifully, there the vines

The elegiac version of this line instantiates the only occurrence of *seges* in Propertius and is structurally as well as lexically similar to its georgic counterpart (*quo ... quo ~ hic ... illic*).⁹⁶ The allusion, however, seems curiously arbitrary insofar as *Georgics* 1.54 comes as a line of uncharacteristically random provenance in a passage in which the intertextual connections are otherwise so carefully organised. However, a reader induced to divide the elegy after the first twenty-four lines (see section II above) may go on to observe that, in the new elegy beginning at 2.34.25 (i.e., “2.35.1”), the allusion to *Georgics* 1.54 will now occur in an identical line position at line 54 (i.e., “2.35.54,” formerly 2.34.78). Falling in exact stichometric alignment, this apparently arbitrary allusion turns out to be consistent with Propertius’ obsessive intertextual exactitude in this elegy generally. For those who believe in such things as “stichometric intertextuality,” the most universally tolerated instance of which was first published in the pages of this journal,⁹⁷ this evidence will militate against Ribbeck’s transposition of 2.34.77–80 to a seemingly more logical position between the lines dealing with the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*. To the extent that poem-division is a more subtle issue dependent on reader-response (see section II above), this intertextual “stunt” may or may not recommend the absolute division of the elegy at 25 (see section VI below).

In other respects, too, the preceding strategy of intertextual selection and omission continues here: by confining itself to Hesiodic precepts for the cultivation of grape and grain, this résumé has focussed on the subject matter of *Georgics* 1 and 2⁹⁸ to the complete exclusion of the precepts in *Georgics* 3 and 4 relating to *amor*, which (contrary to Lucretian teaching) is shown by the Virgilian *praeceptor* to be a force that proves destructive to man and beast alike.⁹⁹ Propertius’ omission of georgic erotodidaxis is all the more conspicuous since a passage earlier in the poem betrays familiarity with precisely the point in *Georgics* 3 where the topic of animal *amor* is introduced. At 47–50, Propertius compares Lynceus to an unbroken bull:

⁹⁶ Fedeli 2005; Enk 1962; Shackleton Bailey 1956, 294.

⁹⁷ Scodel and Thomas 1984. For further examples and discussion, see Smith 1990 (on *Ov. Met.* 10.475 and *Aen.* 10.475), Morgan 1999, 23–25 (on *G.* 4.401 [=4.400?]) and Hom. *Od.* 4.400), Hinds 1998, 80, with n. 80 in agreement with Vessey 1969–70 (on *Stat. Theb.* 10.445–48 and *Aen.* 9.446–49).

⁹⁸ Rothstein 1920, 449, on 2.34.67, and 452, on 2.34.77; Boucher 1965, 291.

⁹⁹ Gale 2000, 96–97; Hardie 1986, 158–67.

*sed non ante graui[s] taurus succumbit aratro,
 cornua quam ualidis haeserit in laqueis,
 nec tu tam duros per te patieris *amores:
trux tamen a nobis ante domandus eris.

But no bull submits to the heavy yoke before
 he is caught by the horns in a strong lasso,
 nor by yourself will you suffer such hard love:
 though wild, you must first be broken by me.

Compare *Georgics* 3.206–11:

... namque ante domandum
ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt
 uerbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis.
 *Sed non ulla magis uiris industria firmat
 quam Venerem et caeci stimulos auertere *amoris,
 siue boum siue est cui gratior usus equorum.

... for before their breaking
 they kick up a mighty fuss, and when seized they will refuse
 to suffer pliant whips or to consent to the hard bit.

But no endeavour firms up their strength more
 than warding off Venus and the spurs of hidden love,
 whether one's preference is the business of cattle or of horses.

As well as being marked and clustered, the allusion unfolds in inverse arrangement, Virgil beginning *ante domandum* and ending *sed non*, Propertius beginning *sed non* and ending *ante domandus*. The intervening duplications maintain the sequence of inversion, such that Virgil's *ingentis tollent animos* furnishes an anachronistic gloss for Propertius' more compact *trux*.¹⁰⁰ The inversion is not merely lexical: whereas the georgic *praeceptor amoris* vainly warns the farmer to protect his bull from love (interposing mountains and rivers if need be: *G.* 3.213), Propertius intends to teach the truculent Lynceus how to submit to the yoke of love. In likening Lynceus to a bull, Propertius inverts Virgil's anthropomorphising account of bovine love,¹⁰¹ thus reverting to the Lucretian comparison of humans to animals (cf. *DRN* 4.1264–67) but retaining the corrective Virgilian insinuation that elegiac angst is common to all

¹⁰⁰Rothstein 1920 glosses *trux* as “die Unfähigkeit des Stubengelehrten, sich die im Verkehr mit Frauen notwendigen feineren Formen anzueignen.”

¹⁰¹See Gale 1991 and 2000, 94–97.

creatures. Lynceus' anticipated submission to harsh love (*duros . . . patieris *amores*) also seems to understand the elision in the Virgilian passage of the beast's endurance first of the literal spurs of its breaking (*uerbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis*) and later of the metaphorical spurs of love (*stimulos . . . *amoris*).

To the extent that this allusion shows Propertius' ability to usurp and subvert georgic erotodidaxis when it suits his purpose, the later résumé of the *Georgics* decidedly continues the tactic, now familiar from the foregoing treatment of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, of tendentious non-reference to Virgil's anticipation of Propertian *amor*. Moreover, the reiteration of an introductory *tu canis* sets the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* in parallel by foregrounding the pastoral content of the former and effectively merging Virgil's agro-pastoral work in contradistinction to his epic.¹⁰² Inversely but with the same effect, the reference after the first *tu canis* (67) to the georgic Galaesus (see section IV above) uses the *Eclogues* to highlight the pastoral dimension of the *Georgics*. The georgic Epicurean masquerading as a pastoral shepherd who enjoys requited *amor* (also section IV above) continues this careful interlacing of Virgil'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. In creating this impression, Propertius is complicit with Virgil's construction of his own career: by rounding off his synopsis of the *Georgics* and Virgilian agro-pastoral poetry generally with a lingering re-evocation of the *Eclogues* (*tu canis*), Propertius' ring-composition precisely retraces the steps of a Virgil whose own *sphragis* concludes the *Georgics* with a synoptic retrospective which similarly omits reference to *Georgics* 4 and the "erotic" content of *Georgics* 3, and in which a wistful reprise of *Eclogue* 1.1 (*Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi, G. 4.566*) also casts Virgil as one of his shepherd-singers.¹⁰³ While Propertius' present-tense

¹⁰² See La Penna 1977, 222. The "vicinanza" (p. 213) between the lyric aspects of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* is well analysed by Alfonsi 1954, esp. pp. 209–20; Paratore 1957, 81, similarly points out the "haud tenue discrimen" by which Propertius separates the *Aeneid* from Virgil's earlier works, which are "eodem sensu, eodem animo praedita." See also D'Anna 1979–80, 382.

¹⁰³ See Theodorakopoulos 1997, 162–64, on Virgil's (apparent) closure of his agro-pastoral career at the end of the *Georgics*. The disjunction between Virgil's different registers of epos 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*). On Virgil's autobiographical play with the *Eclogues* at the end of the *Georgics*, see Hunter 2006, 126–27.

tu canis acknowledges Virgil's talent in general,¹⁰⁴ it might also be taken to register the surprise that the poet of war and heroes (*Arma uirumque cano*, *Aen.* 1.1) is also a poet of shepherds and farming.¹⁰⁵ Comparing the verb-tenses, the epic poet tells us that he “sang” (*cecini*) of Tityrus and “is [now] singing” (*cano*) the *Aeneid*, whereas for the elegist it is Virgil's agro-pastoral poetry which remains current (*canis*). Once again, on this reading, the *textus receptus* of Propertius 2.34.61–78 makes good sense, and is more interesting, as it stands, with the *Aeneid* juxtaposed with the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* in that order.

The reference to Virgil's *doctrina* in the ensuing 2.34.79–80, following as it does the couplet dealing more specifically with the *Georgics*, is sometimes taken as a tribute to the Alexandrian refinement specifically of that work (in which case only the *Aeneid* is “halved” in value).¹⁰⁶

tale facis carmen docta testudine, quale
Cynthius impositis temperat articulis.

With your learned tortoise shell you make such song as
Cynthian Apollo plays with the pressure of his fingers.

However, the non-specific formulation (*tale . . . carmen*) and the absence of any direct georgic evocation, in comparison with the allusive density of the previous lines, make it difficult to restrict the reference to the *Georgics* alone.¹⁰⁷ Learnedness is an equally characteristic aspect of the neoteric *Eclogues*, as acknowledged by the Propertian “window-allusions” in the foregoing section. 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.* 5.45–46):¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Rothstein 1920, 452–53.

¹⁰⁵ See Robinson 2006, 201.

¹⁰⁶ The couplet is taken as part of a four-line summary of the *Georgics* by La Penna 1950, 216; Stahl 1985, 182–83; Coutelle 2005, 482; Heyworth 2007b, 276–77.

¹⁰⁷ Rothstein 1920, 448 (see also 452) reads the couplet as a “Gesamturteil”; see also Camps 1967: “a couplet concluding the praise of Virgil with a general compliment to his gift”; Fedeli 2005, 1000. See also Boucher 1965, 290–91, Vessey 1969–70, 66, and Farrell 1991, 335, for the view that *Georgics* receive the attention of just one couplet.

¹⁰⁸ See Rothstein 1920, Camps 1967, and Fedeli 2005. Alfonsi 1954, 219, and Paratore 1957, 81, draw attention to the couching of a laudation of the *Georgics* within an allusion to the *Eclogues*.

*Tale tuum *carmen nobis, diuine poeta,
quale sopor fessis in gramine

For us, divine poet, your song is such
 as is sleep on the grass for the fatigued

The ham-fistedness (or backhandedness?) of Menalcas' compliment on his younger colleague's poem may also have its role to play intertextually in the context of Propertius' ambivalent admiration for the work of his older contemporary.

The uncertainty as to whether Propertius is here referring to the *Georgics* or the *Eclogues* further integrates Virgil's pre-heroic epos into an agropastoral continuum. The reference to Cynthian Apollo is thus strategically placed, for the epithet is used only twice by Virgil, once in the *Eclogues* (6.3) and once in the *Georgics* (3.36), each time in a midpoint proem. Propertius thus spotlights, possibly at the midpoint of his oeuvre, the very moment when the palpably Callimachean epithet *Cynthius* was, as far as can be told, introduced to Latin literary history.¹⁰⁹ For Stahl (1985, 182–83), *Cynthius* points to the difference between Virgilian and Propertian poetry, the latter explicitly stated to have been inspired by the mortal Cynthia rather than the divine Apollo (2.1.3–4). For those who read Cynthia as a literary construction based on the same epithet, however, the allusion could be seen to draw the learned poetics of Virgil and Propertius closer together.¹¹⁰

Comparison of Virgil to Cynthian Apollo is high praise indeed from a poet whose verse claims all its inspiration from the Cynthia it immortalises. With praise and esteem, however, the anxiety of influence goes hand in hand, for in a poet the appreciation of a strong precursor provokes parricidal acts of misprision such as are witnessed in Propertius 2.34. Lest Virgil displace from the centre of the Propertian corpus the literal and literary *prima donna* of Propertian elegy (*Cynthia prima*, Prop. 1.1.1), this book closes with a *sphragis* in which Propertius reasserts his own pre-eminence in Cynthian poetics (2.34.93: *Cynthia . . . uersu laudata Properti*, "Cynthia . . . praised in the verse of Propertius"). In paying trib-

¹⁰⁹ On Virgil's appropriation of the epithet, see Clausen 1976. Pace Butrica 1996, 102–3, it seems possible to agree with Clausen 1977 that the epithet was appropriated by Virgil as Callimachean, even if it had not been exclusively such. On the Propertian allusion, see Boucher 1980, 42–43; Newman 1997, 227; Loupiac 1999, 290; Robinson 2006, 202.

¹¹⁰ Not dissimilarly, Farrell 1991, 336–37, 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." See also Vessey 1969–70, 66.

ute to Cynthian Virgil, then, Propertius also intimates, with more than a touch of the emulous, that Virgil resembles Propertius as much as, if not more than, Propertius resembles Virgil.

VI. FINALE

In the synopsis of Virgil's poetic output to date at Propertius 2.34.61–80, the same representative strategies can be observed for the Virgilian poetry which the relative chronology comfortably antedates (*Eclogues*, *Georgics*) as for that which was contemporaneously nascent (*Aeneid*). Structurally, the first six lines of the synopsis reveal almost as much about the length and architecture of the *Aeneid* (its twelve books anchored around Odyssean and Iliadic proems) as do the following ten lines about the *Eclogues* and the final two (or four) about the *Georgics* (the structures and content of both being acknowledged through stichometric tracking and systematic exclusions). That structure is as important to Propertian as it is to Virgilian poetics is evidenced by the fact that this passage locates Propertius' only (explicit)¹¹¹ reference to Virgil at what, on most reckonings, is the midpoint of the Propertian corpus, where the elegist moves further away from the amatory strains of Book 1 and closer to the so-called "Roman *Aetia*" of Book 4.¹¹² Thematically, too, the Propertian synopsis showcases the Theocritean and Hesiodic intertextuality of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, respectively, just as it seems to anticipate the aetiological (i.e., Callimachean) dialogue of past and present that was to permeate the *Aeneid*.¹¹³ Conversely, but no less instructively, just as the Propertian synopsis suppresses the themes of love, loss, and suffering that overhang the green cabinet of the *Eclogues* and threaten to upset the agricultural balance of the *Georgics*, so, too, are the erotic and pathetic themes so pervasive and catalytic in the *Aeneid* conspicuously absent in Propertius' *Aeneid*. Thus, just as Propertius explicitly recommends Callimachean and erotic poetry to Lynceus after he has fallen in love (2.34.31–32, 42–44), his allusions "in negative" to these same aspects of the *Aeneid*, *Eclogues*, and *Georgics* implicitly recognise Virgil's prowess in Hellenistic poetics and credentials in elegiac *amor*.

¹¹¹ Hubaux 1957 explains a pun on Virgil's name at Prop. 1.8a.10. See also Fedeli 1980, 204–5 and 212–13; Cairns 2006, Index II s.v. *Vergiliae*.

¹¹² See n. 8 above.

¹¹³ For Propertius' consciousness of Virgilian Callimacheanism in the nascent *Aeneid*, see La Penna 1977, 51.

In this way, the elegy's strategy of tendentious exclusion and misrepresentation constructs Virgil as a poet both like and unlike Propertius. The *Eclogues* evidence Virgil's credentials in love-poetry, but apparently not of the Propertian variety, while the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* show that Virgil has moved yet further away from the direction taken by Propertius. Virgil's output thus seems to become another example, following the philosophical, didactic, epic, and tragic texts enumerated after 2.34.25, of the sort of literature that will avail Lynceus not a whit now that he has actually fallen in love. Yet Propertian tendentiousness and misrepresentation also work in the opposite direction. Propertius' representation of pastoral love is so obviously skewed (*felix* Corydon?) that it ultimately draws attention to the proximity of Virgilian and Propertian *amor*. Propertius' nostalgia for Virgil's Arcadia is itself a function of the nostalgia with which the crepuscular *Eclogues* are already imbued. In a similar way, the erotic themes of Virgil's subsequent works are conspicuous by their absence, a recommendation *sous rature* that the poet of the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* be co-opted to, rather than excluded from, the canon of love-poets which formally begins with Varro in line 85 and into which Propertius aspires to be admitted at the close of the elegy.

Whether or not Virgil qualifies for canonisation seems, to judge from the disagreement among critics, to be a question posed by the lines which make the transition to this conclusion (2.34.81–85):

non tamen *haec* ulli uenient *ingrata* legenti,
 siue in *amore* rudis *siue* peritus erit.
 nec minor his *animis* aut sim minor ore canorus¹¹⁴
 anseris in[]docto carmine cessit olor.
haec quoque perfecto ludebat Iasone Varro

Yet these poems will not come unwelcome to any reader,
 whether he be unschooled or expert in love.
 Be I no less than them in spirit, no less in word, the tuneful
 swan concedes to the gander's [un]learned song.
 These poems too did Varro play, when his *Jason* was completed

¹¹⁴For 83, Fedeli 1984 (following Housman) reads *nec minor hic animis, [a]ut sit minor ore, canorus*. Square brackets have been added to the pentameter to signal a potential ambiguity between *indocto carmine* and *in docto carmine* (see n. 115 below). The translation offered here does its best for the *textus receptus*.

Leaving aside the vexed 83–84,¹¹⁵ a first ambiguity hangs on whether *haec* in 81 refers to Virgilian epos or Propertian elegy.¹¹⁶ The more straightforwardly complimentary tone adopted in this couplet is taken by overly decisive critics to refer either to Virgil, if they construe an act of genuine homage in the poem, or to Propertius himself, particularly if they take him to be an opponent of Virgilian poetry.¹¹⁷ This ambivalence, however, might rather be read as a function of poetic anxiety. The connective *tamen* is not so adversative as to dictate that *haec* implies “these poems [by Propertius], *though they have not the same status as Virgil’s*” rather than “these poems [by Virgil], *though they are agropastoral rather than elegy.*” The latter reading, though less popular, allows for the view that Propertius found Virgil’s earlier works (*haec*) so elegiac in sensibility that Virgil effectively stands as a precursor in that tradition, and by implication is subsumed into the elegiac canon that begins officially with Varro of Atax in 85 with a resumptive *haec quoque*.¹¹⁸ As Fedeli points

¹¹⁵*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 interpolation, though notes that 83 “yields faultless syntax and even makes some feeble sense in the context, if we accept *si* instead of the dittography *sim*.” Heyworth 2007b, 278–79, deletes the “incorrigible couplet” as a marginal comment which has crept into the text. Housman (followed by Barber and Fedeli) proposed *nec minor hic animis, ut sit minor ore, canorus / anseris indocto carmine cessit olor*, which requires a degree of special pleading by those who second it (see, e.g., Fedeli 2005, 1003, and Camps 1967).

¹¹⁶For *haec* = Virgilian poetry, see Alfonsi 1954, 119–220; Shackleton Bailey 1956, 134; La Penna 1977, 222–23, n. 13; Coutelle 2005, 483–84 (also noting allusion to *Ecl.* 10.70 and *G.* 4.559); Syndikus 2006, 317, with n. 219; Butrica 1997, 202, would take it so, but then excises the foregoing lines. For *haec* = Propertian elegy, see Rothstein 1920; Butler and Barber 1933; Camps 1967 (*haec* “surely means personal love-elegy, and more specifically the personal love-elegy of Propertius himself”); Vessey 1969–70, 81; Richardson 1977; Fedeli 2005; Heyworth 2007b, 276; Stahl 1985, 183.

¹¹⁷More pluralistically, Robinson 2006, 202, with n.107, construes a “mischievous hint” as to Propertius’ estimation of Virgilian epic on a reading that takes *haec tamen* to refer momentarily to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, but then in retrospect to love-elegy. That *uenient* is future need not be decisive against the identification of *haec* with Virgil’s previous poetry, as Fedeli 2005 argues, since poetry continues to be read after its production (this applies as much to Propertius’ poetry as to Virgil’s). That *haec* is confined to Propertian elegy on the grounds that it is resumed by *haec quoque* (85, referring to the elegy of Varro et al.), as argued by Butler and Barber 1933, reads too retrospectively (and the resumption is not in any case so definitive that *quoque* could not also convey a degree of alterity).

¹¹⁸Propertius’ possible enumeration of the Virgil of the *Eclogues* as love-poet is recognised by La Penna 1977, 51.

out, Varro's prominent position at the head of the catalogue draws attention to the similarity of his poetic career to Virgil's, even if it developed inversely from epic (i.e., his translation of Apollonius' *Argonautica*) to love elegy.¹¹⁹ This view can be supported by further allusion in these lines to the *recusatio* of *Eclogue* 6, sustained from the reference in line 80 to *Cynthius* at *Eclogue* 6.3 (6.9–12):¹²⁰

si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae,
te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebō gratior ulla est
quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.

Yet if any read this too, if any
captivated by love, you, Varus, our tamarisks
will sing, you every grove; no more welcome to Phoebus is any
page than that which has Varus' name as its heading.

As Virgil 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. As well as highlighting a onetime poetic affinity, therefore, Propertius' scrutiny of Virgil's *recusatio* of the very themes to which he has since graduated also draws attention to his generic volte-face and to the bifurcation of the Propertian and Virgilian erotic traditions.¹²¹

The next couplet (the vexed 83–84) describes Propertius' relationship to Virgil in terms of competing bird-song. This analogy gestures again to the anxiety of influence and makes arguably the best case for accepting sustained ambivalence as Propertius' coping-strategy, for an abstraction of this order cannot but foster multiple interpretations: who is the gander, and who the swan? At *Eclogue* 9.35–36, the shepherd Lycidas likens the poets Varius and Cinna to swans, and himself to a gander (*anser*), perhaps

¹¹⁹ Fedeli 2005, 1005–6, on 2.34.85–94.

¹²⁰ See Rothstein 1920; Camps 1967; Fedeli 2005; Heyworth 2007b, 227; Stahl 1985, 353, n. 28 (Propertius "expressly leaves Vergil's modesty behind and exceeds the self-limitation of the *Bucolics*").

¹²¹ So Fedeli 2005: "Raffinato risulta l'espedito di prendere le distanze dalla poesia di Virgilio servendosi di terminologia virgiliana." The commencement of the catalogue with Varro, who like Lynceus lately turned to erotic pursuits, could equally point out the road not taken. The *Argonautica*, as a romance (an aspect perhaps accentuated in Varro's neoteric translation), could be seen as a specimen of a kind of epic poetry more acceptable to an elegist.

punning on the contemporary poet(aster) named Anser (as identified by Servius and contrasted with Cinna also by Ovid at *Tr.* 2.435):

nam neque adhuc Vario uideor nec dicere Cinna
digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.

For as yet I seem to compete neither with Varius nor with Cinna
in song, but rather to squawk like a gander among tuneful swans.

At 2.34.84 (*anseris in[]docto carmine cessit olor*), however, it is beyond determination whether Virgil is the gander, squawking epic, and Propertius the swan, singing elegy (thus subverting *Ecl.* 9),¹²² or whether Virgil has been promoted to a swan and Propertius now plays the self-deprecating gander of generically humble poetry (thus inverting *Ecl.* 9),¹²³ or whether Virgil is the swan, sweetly singing his epic, having superseded Varius, now the gander (thus updating *Ecl.* 9).¹²⁴ Each alternative has had its proponents and no emendation has been able to resolve the ambiguity.¹²⁵

Once again, then, a view of sustained ambivalence seems the most productive way of reconciling a difficult text with the kind of nuanced interpretation it seems to demand. Once again, too, the figure of L. Varius Rufus comes into focus, now through intertextual allusion to the poet whose epic he was later to edit. If there is a connection between Propertius' Lynceus and the historical Varius, the poetic rivalry with Varius in *Eclogue* 9 will have its counterpart not only in Propertius' poetic rivalry with Virgil in the third movement of 2.34, but also in Propertius' erotic

¹²²So Fedeli 2005; Camps 1967: "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."

¹²³So, with different emphasis, Butler and Barber 1933 (concentrating on Virgil), Alfonsi 1943–44, 465–66 (seeing Propertius identifying with and complimenting Virgil), and Stahl 1985, 183 ("in what was once his own field, Vergil has given way to Propertius"), noting that *cessit* (84) picks up *cedite* . . . *cedite* (65).

¹²⁴So Rothstein 1889, 10–11, perhaps not without point if Lynceus can be identified with L. Varius Rufus.

¹²⁵Housman's emendation (see n. 115 above) has been adduced in support of competing interpretations (it is adopted by Fedeli and Camps with one interpretation, by Butler and Barber with another). In the pentameter the phrase *in[]docto carmine* sustains ambivalence on the (ancient) page and in recitation: Rothstein 1889, 11, and Stahl 1985, 184, 353, nn. 29–30, print *in docto carmine* (but arrive at different interpretations), while Alfonsi 1943–44, 465–67, prints *indocto carmine* (only to arrive at another interpretation again). Heyworth 2007b, 278–79, considers the alternatives but ascribes the allusion to a marginal commentator.

rivalry with Lynceus in the first movement. The elegy is therefore meaningful as a single unit, even if the reader is encouraged to contemplate division where Lynceus is revealed as a fellow sufferer rather than an arch-rival in love. Based on an incipit at 2.34.25, the stichometric allusion at 2.34.78 (or “2.35.54”) to *Georgics* 1.54 (see section V) will encourage the view that Lynceus’ conversion to the elegiac lifestyle across the first and second movements of the elegy is a departure as dramatic as Virgil’s inverse conversion from agropastoral to heroic epic within the third, but it will not at the same time obliterate the continuities between the first two movements (Lynceus’ elegiac evolution) that are to be detected also within the third (the evolution of Virgilian epos). Therefore, while Ribbeck’s transposition does violence to the delicate balance of Propertius’ anxiety of influence (see section II), a unitary reading of the poem will still be compatible with, if not contingent on, a sense of a new beginning at 25. In this way, Propertius’ anxiety that his love is threatened by a friend (2.34.1, 25), who is perhaps identifiable with the future redactor of the *Aeneid*, is transposed as Propertius’ anxiety of influence that the author of the *Aeneid* is a “stronger” poet, whether in the elegiac poetics of their shared past, or the epic themes of their respective futures.¹²⁶

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