Proceedings of the Virgil Society

Volume 19 1988

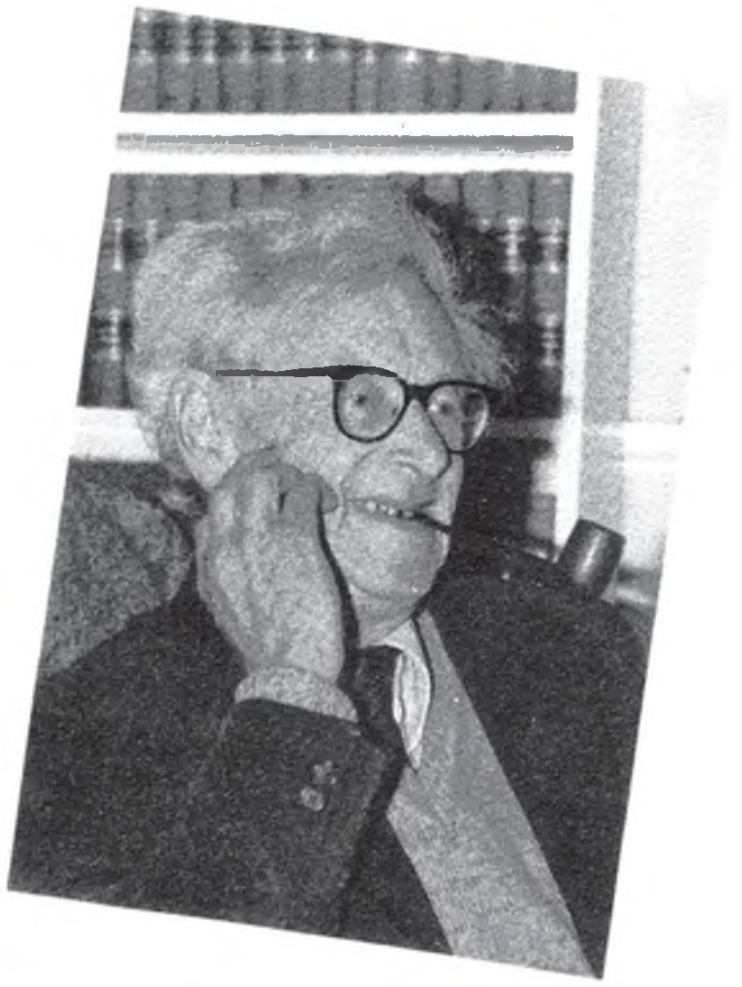
Proceedings of the Virgil Society

Volume 19 1988

Memorial Volume in Honour of R. D. Williams

Typeset by E. F. Buckley,
Clunton, Shropshire.

Printed in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd., Chippenham.



PATRONS OF THE MEMORIAL VOLUME IN HONOUR OF DERYCK WILLIAMS

Roland Bellamy
P.S.W. Betts
Dennis Bradley
Ward Briggs Jr.
John F. Burgess
Tony Camps
Stacy Colman
John Crook
Harry Currie
Belinda Dennis
Carlotta Dionisotti
A.E. Douglas
Nan Dunbar
R.G. Dyson
John Ferguson
Jonathan Foster
Michael Grant
Harold Guite
M.R.F. Gunningham
Barrie Hall
Ted Harrison
Elisabeth Henry
Alan Hudson-Williams
Herbert Huxley
Margaret Huxley
Guy Lee
David Leech
Frank Lelièvre
Wolf Liebeschuetz
J. Logan
G. A. Lucas
Alastair McCann
Iain Macleod
M.D. Macleod
Norma Miller
J.H.W. Morwood
Joan Newey
Gerald Nussbaum
Judy Plaister
Fred Robertson
Niall Rudd
Harry Sandbach
Malcolm Schofield
Brian Sparkes
Alan Turberfield
P.G. Walsh
Gwen Walter
Kenneth Wellesley
Janet Whaite
Malcolm Willcock
Susan Ford Wiltshire
R.P. Winnington-Ingram
Rosemary Wright

PREFACE

As members of the Virgil Society will know, this 19th volume of P.V.S. is dedicated to the memory of a Virgilian scholar known personally to many who will read this journal, an enthusiast for Latin studies and for Virgil in particular, a lecturer deservedly popular in the many countries he visited, a senior academic whose advice and assistance were readily given to all at whatever stage who valued our classical heritage.

The list of patrons who have given financial support towards the production of Volume 19 includes a few who knew him as an undergraduate at St. John's College, Cambridge, and a far greater number for whom many a classical gathering has been enlivened by the warm friendliness of R.D.W.

It is my sad duty here to record the recent passing of another loyal and learned member of the Virgil Society who did much for classical studies in Great Britain and who loved her Virgil no less than she loved her Tacitus. Norma Miller's tragically early death will be much lamented in many places.

For the late appearance of this volume the Editor *tardante senecta* takes a large measure of blame, though he feels he might have been spared the unhelpful 'action' of the Postal unions.

Cambridge,
September 1988

Herbert H. Huxley

CONTENTS

HOMER'S CHARIOT RACE AND VIRGIL'S BOAT RACE — Page 1
Lecture given by M.M. Willcock on 17 January 1987.

VERSIONS OF VIRGIL — Page 14
Reviews by H.MacL. Currie.

VERGIL AND PHILOSOPHY — Page 17
Lecture given by John Ferguson on 12 May 1987.

THE AENEID IN THE UNWIN CRITICAL LIBRARY — Page 30
Review by H.H. Huxley.

THE END OF THE THIRD *GEORGIC* — Page 32
Lecture given by Jonathan Foster on 7 November 1987.

VARIED VERSES — Page 46
Review by H.MacL. Currie.

VERGIL AS A POET OF WAR — Page 48
Lecture given by S.J. Harrison at a Joint Meeting with the London Branch of the Classical Association on 9 January 1988.

A VIRGILIAN IN MALTA — Page 69
News of one who joined the Virgil Society in its infancy.

VIRGIL'S INTRODUCTION OF MEZENTIUS: — Page 70
AENEID 7, 647–8
By E.L. Harrison.

Homer's Chariot Race and Virgil's Boat Race

Given the relationship between Homer and Virgil, it is of fascinating interest in our judgement of both poets to consider particular episodes where it is clear that Virgil's unique model was Homer. The most obvious of such points of comparison are the funeral games (*Aeneid* 5, *Iliad* 23), the night expedition (*Aeneid* 9, *Iliad* 10), and the final fight (*Aeneid* 12, *Iliad* 22). The visit to the underworld might be added, bringing in the *Odyssey* (*Aeneid* 6, *Odyssey* 11), but there is so much more to Virgil there, in the symbolism of death, the geography of the underworld, the pageant of future Romans, that the comparison is not between like and like. In the other three cases fruitful comparisons can be made; and what is immediately obvious is that whereas Virgil closely imitates the situations—funeral games presided over by the hero of the epic, night expedition of two warriors from the hero's side, final fight between the two leaders in full view of both armies—he changes as he imitates. If Homer does it one way, he does it another; if Homer is heroic and uplifting, Virgil introduces pathos and failure. And this principle of alteration is most noticeable in our present subject, for when Homer made a chariot race the most significant event in his games, and put it first, and gave it more lines of description than all the other events put together, and he had eight events in all, Virgil has four events in all, taking his last three (foot race, boxing, archery) from Homer's last seven; and he puts his own most prestigious event at the beginning, making it the longest, as Homer did, though not by so great a difference from the others, and the fullest of incident. But he makes a radical change. Although the chariot race was the most important event at funeral games in Greek heroic epic,[1] and at the classical Greek games, as we can see from Pindar, Virgil invents a boat race.

This was a brilliant idea. After all, they had been sailing, and the skills required would have been practised. They have just arrived back in Sicily, having left Carthage and Dido; the boats and crews are ready.

Where did he get the idea from? Not from literature, so far as we can tell. It is surprising how little reference there is to boat races in the

ancient world.[2] They must have had them; natural human competitiveness would lead to rivalry between oarsmen and steersmen. From the major classical authors available to us, there is a νεῶν ἅμιλλα in the review of his expeditionary force by Xerxes (Herodotus VII 44), the statement by Thucydides (VI 32) that the ships of the Athenian armada which set off in 415 for Sicily and disaster raced each other as far as Aegina, ἅμιλλαν ἤδη μέχρι Αἰγίνης ἐποιοῦντο, and (not included by Gardner) the wonderful stanza at the beginning of the *Fifth Isthmian* by Pindar, which actually brings into association chariot and boat races. This ode begins with an invocation to a divinity called Theia, treated by Pindar as a personification of human aspiration: 'Mother of the Sun, goddess of many names, because of you men put particular value on gold, and ships competing on the sea, and horses with chariots, are admired as they race round in pursuit of the honour that you bestow.' The word ἅμιλλα comes here as in the historians; the ships and the chariots are wonderful (says Pindar) in the 'swift-turning competitions'—ὠκυδινάτοις ἐν ἁμίλλαισι θαυμασταὶ πέλονται. Other evidence is patchy. Stephanus of Byzantium says that there was a regatta at the Actian Games, founded by Augustus to celebrate his victory; and this of course, if true, would be very significant for Virgil's choice. Dio Chrysostom[3] alleges that the ship Argo won a boat race at the proto-Isthmian festival, which encourages Gardner (*op. cit.* n. 2, p. 91) to believe that such races were at some time a part of the Isthmian Games; I find this difficult to believe in the absence of other evidence, although we may note that Pindar's reference above is for an Isthmian victor. Finally, in the ephebic inscriptions from Athens, starting around 330 BC, there are several references to victories in boat races.[4] In all these sources, the term used is ἅμιλλα (νεῶν ἅμιλλα or πλοίων ἅμιλλα) or the combatants are described as ἀμιλλώμενοι, so that we can reasonably assume not only a regular form of competition, but a particular name for it. From somewhere among all of this, most significantly if it was from Actium, Virgil got the idea for his epic.

I begin however with the Iliadic chariot race.

Homer's description is vividly and brilliantly exciting, the most memorable of the eight events in his games. What makes it particularly dramatic is the human element. We know most of the competitors, for the *Iliad* is now close to its end; and we, like the Greek spectators, are

keenly interested in the result. The competitors react to each other too, and to Achilles, and the crowd reacts, so that there is a kind of primary intensity about the whole.

There are some oddities in the tale. First Achilles sets out five valuable prizes; and five drivers stand up. Most are known to us: there are Diomedes and Menelaus from the foremost leaders, Meriones and Antilochus from those of the second rank (Meriones second in command of the Cretans, and Antilochus the young son of Nestor who plays a progressively increasing role in the *Iliad* as it moves towards its end). The fifth competitor, however, is one we have hardly heard of, a specialist at this event who has not been seen in the *Iliad* fighting at all, but only as leader of one of the contingents in the Catalogue of Ships in Book 2, namely Eumelus, son of Admetus and Alcestis, from Thessaly. He had the best horses in the Achaean army, after Achilles of course.[5]

So Homer has a cast of five: Eumelus, Diomedes, Menelaus, Antilochus, Meriones. And who do we think will win? To anyone who is au fait with the *Iliad*, it is unthinkable that Diomedes will come second in anything. He is a natural winner; or, to put it another way which meant virtually the same to Homer and his hearers, Athene loved him. We expect Diomedes to win, and will be surprised if he does not.

Before the race begins, there is a touch of Homeric humour. Ancient Nestor gives his son Antilochus some gratuitous advice about tactics, making a special point about how best to deal with the turn at the far end of the course. Nestor reckons that if you can come first out of the bend it will be very difficult for anyone else to catch you. We naturally expect there to be great competition and excitement at that point.

But in fact the description of the race is limited to two incidents on the way back from the turn, between the two leading chariots and between two further back—that is, between Eumelus and Diomedes about who is going to be first, and between Antilochus and Menelaus about who is going to be third. Meriones does nothing. He is not in competition, completes the course, and finishes last.

The incident between Antilochus and Menelaus in third/fourth position need not take much of our time, as Virgil does not make any attempt to imitate it. Briefly, it raises a question of gamesmanship. None of Virgil's captains is so keen to win that he bends the rules of the competition to improve his chances. But Antilochus, with the impetuosity of youth, got in Menelaus' way, almost causing a crash, and making the

older and most cautious man rein in his horses.[6] Thus Antilochus passed him, managed to hold his lead, and would have come in third, except that there had been an accident ahead; so Antilochus actually came in second, a result far beyond any possible expectations that he or his estimable father could have had.

More relevant to us is the incident ahead. Eumelus, the expert driver, was actually in front of Diomedes, by less than a chariot's length. Then three things happened in quick succession: Diomedes dropped his whip; somehow he had it in his hand again; and the yoke on Eumelus' chariot snapped, so that it crashed and he was thrown out. It is characteristic for Homer that at such a decisive moment he introduces the gods. It was Apollo, he says, who made Diomedes drop his whip. This is understandable, Apollo being the god who regularly frustrated the Achaeans, and in any case he had had a close personal connection with Eumelus' horses (*Il.* 2.766). In reaction to that, Athene moved in, returned the whip to her protégé, and caused Eumelus' chariot to crash. Two of these three things that happened could, from our point of view, have been accidents (the dropping of the whip and the crash of the chariot); the third (the return of the whip) looks like a miracle, a divine interference with the laws of nature. The gods are part of the world of the humans in the *Iliad*, and their influence is seen at moments of high tension or decisive importance. People win by the help of the gods as well as by their own qualities. It in no way lessens the achievement of Diomedes that he had the help of Athene. On the contrary, if we view the matter properly, it enhances it.

So the outcome of the race is decided by divine intervention, but the winner was the one who should always have won. Antilochus came second, Menelaus third, Meriones fourth. And Eumelus followed them in, pulling his broken chariot behind him and shepherding his horses in front. There is general sympathy for him, including from Achilles who is presiding at the games.

It is a very vivid narrative, both in the two incidents that are told in detail and also in the general descriptions. And the interest is enhanced by four verbal exchanges included by Homer for dramatic effect, showing the strength of feeling and the manners of both watchers and contestants. Virgil does not imitate this aspect either, so I just mention them. Before the winner comes fully into sight, there is a dispute between Idomeneus and the lesser Ajax about his identity; they get very heated

on the subject. Then, after all are in, Achilles proposes to give Eumelus the second prize as a consolation, and is surprised by the strength of Antilochus' objection. Thirdly, Menelaus complains about Antilochus' doubtful tactics out on the course, and is mollified with difficulty. And last, when the prizes have been distributed, Eumelus getting a special consolation prize, and the original fifth prize being therefore left unawarded, Achilles makes his way through the crowd and presents it as a mark of honour to aged Nestor, and stands there listening politely to Nestor's inevitable recollection of past successes. These dramatic episodes, with interchange of speech, add their part to the tale, showing the personalities of the characters and the humanity of the poet. This is how people do behave in sporting situations. We recognise the motivations. In Idomeneus and Ajax we may dimly see the unruly partisanship of football crowds; in Achilles' extraordinary suggestion of a change in the rules, the action of the President of the world chess organisation during the Karpov/Kasparov world title match in 1985; in Antilochus' action out on the course the soccer or rugby player who impedes an opponent with a straight run for the goal; and in Achilles' attention to aged Nestor, the polite spot-lighting of old retired athletes at such occasions as 'Sportsman of the Year'.

The story is so vivid that the little oddities rather surprise one. How come five prizes were announced before it was known that there were five contestants? Why is there no description of the tight situation at the turn? How exactly did Antilochus get in the way of Menelaus? The answers to these questions are peculiar to Homer, deriving from the conditions of oral poetry. The poet has described chariot races before; some features of the story have become regular by repetition; for some the explanation is no longer explicitly given.

This was the narrative that Virgil had in mind when he was composing his boat race.

His games, in honour of Anchises, are held at the west tip of Sicily, not so much funeral games as anniversary ones, for it is a year since Anchises died. In the mean time Aeneas has been in Carthage. He has now realigned himself, and is on his way to Italy. From Virgil's structural point of view, Book Five is an obvious place for the games, one of the odd-numbered books in the first half, transitional, at a quieter level, separating Four from Six. There is no place for games at the end, where

Homer placed his. For Virgil is going to build up to the killing of Turnus as the final scene. Games just before would disrupt the effect, games after diminish it.

Having decided that his relationship with Homer made games desirable, he made the imaginative decision to replace the chariot race with a boat race. A chariot race could only have been a pale shadow of Homer; the description of the charioteers, and the horses, and the tension of the race, had been done once and for all. Later writers could not compete. The chariot races in Statius (Book 6) and Quintus of Smyrna (Book 4)[7] and even in Sophocles' *Electra* are quite unmemorable. Virgil gave himself whole new opportunities by switching to a boat race. Secondly, he makes the action take place mostly at the turning point, a rock in the sea; in this he follows what we expected, but did not get, in Homer's narrative. And it is clear that races could be won or lost at that point. Thirdly, he has exactly four competitors. Homer's fifth, Meriones, had nothing to do. Virgil divides his four into two pairs, gives each a significant piece of action at the turn, and has them so close together that they merge after the turn, the winner of the second pair catching up and passing the loser of the first. In these details his treatment is more organised than Homer's.

At 116–123 he gives the names of the four competitors and of their boats. There are Mnestheus, whose boat is called Pristis ('Sawfish'); Gyas, with a huge boat called Chimaera; Sergestus on the Centaur; and Cloanthus on the Scylla. Pristis, Chimaera, Centaurus, Scylla: the names seem convincing. Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus, Cloanthus: here we have trouble.

The difficulty is that these names have no impact. Although all four have appeared in Virgil's narrative before, they seem totally unmemorable, nonentities, names to fill out lines. This is the greatest weakness, perhaps the only one, in Virgil's description. The effect of it can be shown by the simple question, 'Who won?'. I do not know how many times I have read Book Five, but I simply cannot remember the winner of the boat race; the names are virtually interchangeable. Sergestus stands out as different and thus memorable, for a reason to which I shall come. Otherwise, there seem to be no individual characteristics. Even Virgil seems to have forgotten who won! At line 493, when Mnestheus enters for another event (the archery), Virgil describes him as '*modo navali certamine victor*', when in fact he had not been the victor, but had

come second.

Contrast this with Homer. Diomedes is so outstanding that not only do we recognise his personality and achievements, but there is not the slightest likelihood that we could forget that it was he who won. And it would be absurd to confuse the others—Menelaus and Antilochus; even Meriones. Each is an easily distinguished individual. We do not know Eumelus, the newcomer; but having one unknown merely adds the spice of uncertainty to the race.

I find it difficult to understand why there is such a huge difference. Homer's greatest skill perhaps lies in character drawing, the presentation of human personalities. But Virgil is the humanist par excellence, and yet his characters are for the most part lifeless. Is it such a difficult thing to distinguish the characters in your story by giving them different characteristics—a thing achieved by even second-rate novelists? People excuse Virgil by pointing out that Homer's games come at the end of the *Iliad* when we have got to know the heroes, and he has the tremendous advantage of being able to build on rounded figures already familiar to his hearers. With Virgil's games in Book Five, they say, this cannot happen. But if Virgil's games had come at the end like Homer's, we would still have been as ignorant of any individual personality in Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus and Cloanthus as we are in Book Five.

He has made an attempt to make them familiar. After the storm in Book One, when most of Aeneas' fleet has been separated from him, one ship certainly sunk, others missing, he laments their loss (1.222); among those who are named are **Gyas** and **Cloanthus**: *fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum*, with what seems a strangely wooden, but evidently intended, repetition of the adjective. Later in Book One, at line 510, hidden in mist, Aeneas has the pleasure of seeing his lost comrades safe in the temple of Juno at Carthage; and among them are **Sergestus** and **Cloanthus**: *Sergestumque videt, fortemque Cloanthum* (*fortem* again). And when he shakes their hands, on being demistified, at 612, among those named are again *fortemque Gyan fortemque Cloanthum*. So at least we know that these are senior ship's captains, **Sergestus** and **Gyas** and **Cloanthus**. **Mnestheus** has not yet been named. But in Book Four, at 288, when the god Mercury has been sent down from the sky to warn Aeneas to be on his way, the leader summons those who would obviously be his chief lieutenants, **Mnestheus** and **Sergestus** and Serestus, and gives them orders to get the fleet ready to sail. So all

four of the competitors have been heard of before in the *Aeneid*. But it has not done much good. The most in the way of a defining adjective that we have heard has been *fortem*. We have not, as in the *Iliad*, learned to distinguish the characters by differentiation of behaviour, or even of epithets. Virgil's captains remain just names.

He tries again to distinguish them when they are introduced before the race, again with an ingenious idea, by making three of the four ancestors of known Roman families. This gives a wider dimension to the men, rather like the wider dimension given to the heroes in the Greek army at Troy by our knowledge of their background, their home and parents: Tydeus and all those stories about Thebes for Diomedes, Locris for the Oilean Ajax. The Catalogue of Ships places the current generation of heroes in a wider context. Virgil is perhaps trying to achieve something similar by using the future instead of the past. Mnestheus is said to be an ancestor of the Memmii, Sergestus of the Sergii, Cloanthus of the Cluentii. This might help, especially if those families had strong distinguishing features. But, at least to our knowledge, they did not; so again nothing much has been achieved. The Memmii were indeed an old Roman family. The best known representative is that C. Memmius to whom Lucretius addressed his *De Rerum Natura*. He was a distinguished orator, who was convicted of excessive bribery in the consular elections for 53 and went into exile, proceeding to live in Athens as a wealthy nabob.[8] He does not add a great deal of distinction to his ancestor.[9] Sergestus' position is worse. For by far the most famous representative of the ancient patrician family of Sergii was Lucius Sergius Catilina, Catiline, abhorred by one and all. As to the Cluentii, they were not even Roman (which adds to the doubts some have felt about about '*Romane Cluenti*' in 123),[10] but an Italian equestrian family, famous for one man, Aulus Cluentius, defended by Cicero in one of his greatest speeches, on a charge of poisoning. As for Gyas, his name is so clearly Greek, indeed mythological, that he could hardly be the ancestor of a Roman family.[11] So although Virgil's attempt to differentiate these ship captains by making them founders of Roman *gentes* was a promising one, he was not able to select really significant descendants. And once again no memorable connection is made. As Heinze says, if he had been able to get an Appius or a Fabius, something might have been achieved;[12] but perhaps in those names of such importance to early Roman history, victory or defeat in the boat race would have been

invidious.

In case the names have slipped the reader's mind, I give them again: Mnestheus, Gyas, Sergestus, Cloanthus. The race begins. And there are two incidents at the turning point, each involving two boats, and mirroring each other. The two in front on the outward stage were Gyas, with the biggest of the four boats, and Cloanthus. Gyas' steersman Menoetes tried to take a wide course round the rock, against the instructions of his impetuous commander. Cloanthus took the opportunity to cut inside and turn first, making Gyas so angry that he pushed Menoetes bodily off his position at the rudder and into the sea, taking over the job of steering himself. Menoetes, who was not a young man, managed with difficulty to clamber up onto the rock, much to the amusement of the watching Trojans, who thought it funny to see him swimming in the sea, and spewing up the salt water when he got to safety: *et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.*

The other two boats were close behind, Sergestus just ahead of Mnestheus. This time the boat in front took a course too close to the rock, as Sergestus tried to keep inside his pursuer; but there was not enough room, and he impaled his boat on the rock ledge down at water level, breaking the oars on his left side.

Those are the two incidents at the turn, and as I say they mirror each other. In the one case the boat that takes the inside line is second at that point, but gets through; in the other, it is leading, but is wrecked. The decisions are those of the captains and steersmen; no god causes the error of judgement or the accident.

Mnestheus' crew were rowing well now, on a high after getting clear away from Sergestus, and they caught up and passed the lumbering Gyas, rather oddly slowed down by having its captain instead of the usual steersman at the rudder. Mnestheus then pursued Cloanthus, out in front. And Virgil gets the excitement of a close finish with the efforts of the crews and the shouting of the onlookers. At this point he chooses to introduce the gods. Cloanthus, unwilling to lose the lead which he has held since the turn, prays to the gods of the sea for help, and a minor god called Portunus, worshipped from ancient times by the Romans as god of harbours and doors (*portuum portarumque*, Varro) puts up a large hand and gives the boat a push. Thus Cloanthus wins amid great enthusiasm, Mnestheus comes second, Gyas third; and a long time later Sergestus comes in under sail, the boat having difficulty steering

straight. This too caused laughter.

It is certainly a fine description. Virgil has picked the two key moments, the turn and the finish, and to that extent may be thought to have improved on Homer, who did not use the turn for his description, and had no excitement at the end for the first position at least, Diomedes coming in on his own far in front of the rest. There is however some lowering of standards of behaviour, as there is throughout Virgil's games. Gyas' act of throwing Menoetes overboard is both so excessive (reminding us of Publius Claudius Pulcher, in the First Punic War, throwing the sacred chickens overboard and thus leading to a major defeat for the Roman navy) and so self-damaging (if Virgil is right that the boat would not go so fast with an unfamiliar hand on the tiller) that it is sickening foolishness for us as well as for Menoetes. Such an action should not happen in a public event; the lack of control is a bad example to the young. Virgil admits this, because he is critical of Gyas' action, describing him as *oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis* (174), but he seems to excuse him on the grounds of youth (*iuveni* 172), as he later does Nisus and Euryalus.

Secondly, the laughter of the crowd at Menoetes is insensitive. To laugh at the unmerited misfortune of another human being is not the highest moral reaction. They laugh too at Sergestus' boat coming in crabwise. It seems to me indicative of difference that the Greeks did not laugh at Eumelus when he came down the course pulling his chariot behind him. Commentators point out that the Greeks laughed at Ajax, the lesser Ajax, when he fell in the foot race and got filth from slaughtered cattle in his mouth and nostrils; and they suggest that Virgil got the laughter from there. But in Homer the people laugh more with Ajax than at him,[13] and in any case he is not a very estimable person. Menoetes has done nothing to lose the sympathy of the crowd.

On Sergestus, there have been many who have thought that his hitting the rocks through courting danger is figuratively reminiscent of his most famous descendant Catiline. This is a line of interpretation which (as is well known) fits other incidents in the *Aeneid*, Pompey being alluded to variously under the guise of Priam and Palinurus.[14] Few surely would doubt that Virgil is capable of this second level of meaning, though perhaps it is not exactly to be called allegory.[15]

As to the gods, Virgil only brings them in at the end, with Portunus ensuring the victory for Cloanthus. Somehow I find this less successful

than the actions of Athene and Apollo in the *Iliad* story. They had been seen before in the poem involved with the achievements of the heroes. Whether we understand it or not, for Homer and his hearers these gods were an inherent part of human life, an explanation of events. Portunus is a bit of an irrelevance. The push he gives smacks of divine machinery rather than religious faith.

The poetry of Virgil is as always at the highest level; and his description of the efforts of the rowers bears comparison with Homer's of the crouch of the charioteers and the straining of the horses. In Virgil's conscious composition too there is a feature not present in Homer, that is, three brilliant and expressive similes to colour the description. These are long, 'Homeric', similes. As the boats get under way, in lines 144–147, he cleverly compares them with chariots starting a race, thus alluding to his model. Then, at the point after the turn, when Mnestheus has shaken off his opponent Sergestus, and pursues the wallowing Gyas, he is like a dove which has come out of a cave with a wild beating of wings, and then glides effortlessly down into the outside country (213–217). And, most memorable of all, the boat of Sergestus, damaged by having hit the rocks, comes along awkwardly like a snake on a track, its back broken by a wagon wheel or by blows from a wayfarer, 273–279:

> qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,
> aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu
> seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;
> nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus
> parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla
> arduus attollens; pars vulnere clauda retentat
> nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem.

All three similes, the chariots, the dove and the snake, are brilliant and vivid. In contrast Homer, following his usual practice, does not have similes where the narrative has its own excitement, preferring to use them to diversify passages of undiluted fighting; he has the occasional comparison here, but no imaginative simile until it is all over, and then he has one to embroider the softened feelings of Menelaus after his exchange of words with Antilochus.[16]

I pointed out that, for whatever reason, Virgil has not produced individual personality in the competitors. It may be of interest to learn

what happened to these four in the latter part of the epic, when surely Virgil could do with identifiable subordinates to Aeneas in the fighting in Italy. Two of the four competitors, the victorious Cloanthus and the rash Sergestus, are never heard of again. Gyas appears once, in the group of senior officers who escort Aeneas back into battle in Book 12,[17] when he has been miraculously healed of the wound he received at the treacherous breaking of the truce. This is a scene where Virgil is close to Homer, showing the victorious assault by one side in a quick succession of victories by a number of leaders from it.[18] Here Gyas kills an opponent, his one recorded achievement in all the fighting; but it is no small achievement, because his victim is Ufens, one of the leaders of the thirteen contingents in the Latin army, enumerated at the end of Book Seven. Mnestheus, in contrast, comes in frequently, and is virtually a staff officer to Aeneas like Achates. Indeed, he is named in the *Aeneid* more often than Achates.[19] He competes in another event in the games, the archery, and again comes second. He is one of those left in charge of the camp when Aeneas goes up river to see Evander in Eight and Nine, and he has the credit for leading the rally which drives the dangerous Turnus out of the Trojan camp at the end of Nine. He assists Aeneas when he is wounded in Twelve, and like Gyas comes out with him when he is healed, and kills an opponent in the ensuing attack. So Mnestheus is the one of the four who plays a large role; it is probably true to say that we simply have not noticed.

So—to compare chariot race with boat race. Homer wins overwhelmingly on human interest, and clearly on vividness of description. Both races, however, are full of incident, and Virgil does not fall short here. Structurally, it is Virgil who shows a more conscious control, planning his tale in a more logical way, and variegating it with three brilliant similes. Perhaps the distinction between *ingenium* and *ars* applies: the one poet the unconfined genius, the other the greater craftsman.

M.M. WILLCOCK
University College, London

NOTES

1. The chariot race dominated the games for Pelias (Pausanias V 17.9, Preller-Robert II 37) and those for Amarynceus (*Iliad* 23.640).

2. The evidence was assembled by P. Gardner in *JHS* 2 (1881), 90–97, 315–17.
3. *Orat.* 37.15.
4. Gardner, *op. cit.* n. 2, pp. 315–17.
5. *Iliad* 2.763–67, 770.
6. *Iliad* 23.418–37. The description is not wholly clear.
7. Much of Quintus' race is lost in a lacuna in the text, as Professor Huxley pointed out in discussion.
8. See Cicero, *Ad fam.* XIII 1.
9. E. Kraggerud (*Symb. Osl. Suppl.* 22, 1968, p. 142, n. 78) draws attention also to another C. Memmius, in Sallust, *Jugurtha* 27.
10. E. Kraggerud (*op. cit.* n. 9), 132–33.
11. The note by Servius (on 5.117) that Gyas was the ancestor of the Geganii, a family of importance in the early republic, is not to be taken seriously.
12. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 152.
13. See *Iliad* 23.780–84.
14. 2.557, 5.871.
15. Heinze protests against the term (*op. cit.* n. 12, p. 153).
16. *Iliad* 23.598–99. Menelaus' feelings are compared to morning dew on the young corn. For an explanation, see J. Latacz, *Zum Wortfeld "Freude" in der Sprache Homers* (1966), pp. 223, 226.
17. 12. 456–461.
18. See *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 29 (1983), p. 89.
19. The score is Mnestheus 23 :: Achates 21.

Versions of Virgil

VIRGIL, THE GEORGICS, translated by Robert Wells (Carcanet New Press, Manchester, 1982). Hardback, £8.95. ISBN 0-85635-422-8.

VIRGIL, THE AENEID, translated by C.H. Sisson (Carcanet Press, Manchester, 1986). Hardback, £16.95. ISBN 0-85635-660-3.

To translate poetry into prose is always a folly, for poetry has its own particular procedures and logic. To attempt to turn poetry into poetry involves enormous risks, and every effort will be in some way a failure. But Robert Wells in his rendering of the *Georgics* comes very near indeed to giving us a poem for a poem. His is not a literal version, but again and again he succeeds in striking the right note in language which is plain yet resonant. This is the best poetic translation of the *Georgics* I know. The beautiful passage on spring (2.315–345) provides what I find a particularly striking example of Wells's method and art:

> Pay no attention when busy neighbours warn you
> That your vines should be planted out before winter's end.
> What chance have the slips of taking hold in the soil
> When the north wind blows and a harsh frost seals the ground?
> Spring is your season, when the white bird returns
> And the long snake writhes in terror from its attack,
> Or that time in early autumn when the weather still holds
> But the year dwindles and the sun shines without warmth.
> Spring is the trees' best time, they live for the spring.
> Look how the soil swells, craving the lively seed,
> How the fostering sky lets go his pent up rains
> And body to body, with an enormous quickening,
> Pierces the earth to nourish all that she bears.
> The pathless thickets are resonant with birdsong.
> Animals return to their coupling at their settled times.
> Warm western winds stroke the soft bellies of the fields

And in everything the sap rises with tender desire.
Plants lift more trustingly to the sun each day.
The sprouting vine, unafraid of southern gales
Or rain driven down by big winds from the north,
Pushes out buds and unfolds leaf by leaf.
It must have been like this at the world's beginning.
I think of that early time when things took shape
In their first integrity. It was original spring,
The whitening days unflawed by winter winds.
Then cattle first drank the light; the earthbound race
Of men rose up head foremost from stony fields;
Beasts were sent into the woods, stars into the sky.
Young plants could never carry through their task of growth
If there were not this respite between heat and cold
When the sky looks welcomingly on the newborn earth.

C.H. Sisson is an Anglican, a patriot, and a high Tory of the kind that disappeared around 1649. He is also a poet and a man of letters who has produced some remarkable translations of Lucretius, Horace, Catullus, Du Bellay, La Fontaine, Racine, Gryphius, Heine. Now come his *Aeneid*. 'Of the contemporary versions,' he remarks in his introduction, 'I will say nothing, except that if any of them satisfied me I should not be offering this further attempt.' His medium is unrhymed pentameters and his English is contemporary and lucid. Here is Anchises greeting Aeneas in the Underworld:

But when he saw Aeneas
Coming over the grass in his direction,
He stretched out both his hands eagerly,
Tears started on his cheeks, he cried out:
'You have come at last, and filial devotion
Has found the hard way as I knew it would...
What dangers you encountered to be here!
How I feared that the powers of Libya
Might harm you in some way!'

Sisson regards Dryden as the greatest ever translator of Virgil's epic in English. His own contribution presents the matter of the original in

language which comes naturally to him. The reader who first encounters the *Aeneid* through Sisson will not have the distraction of mannered poeticism standing between him and the original. His chance of having the story work as it will on him will be much enhanced. Wells and Sisson, each in his own way, have performed admirably their chosen tasks which are distinctly different from one another in character and tone.

H. MACL. CURRIE

Vergil and Philosophy

I met Deryck Williams first in 1939. I was a freshman at John's; he had just graduated and was embarking on research. We were both disciples of that great teacher Martin Charlesworth. More, we were both members of that remarkable fellowship Congsoc, the Congregational Society, and together sat at the feet of the richly beloved Henry Child (Polly) Carter. We remained life-long friends. I am proud to share in this tribute to his memory.

The Romans were ambivalent towards the Greeks. Their great powers of assimilation never quite embraced them. They claimed their own ancestry from the Trojans. In 196 BC they gave the Greeks freedom; in 146 BC they took it away. To Juvenal the Greeks were interlopers and predators, the hungry Greekling who eats you out of house and home, unstable, all things to all men. Yet they stood in awe of Greek culture. Literature was Greek literature, and it is the proudest boast of Roman writers to introduce some new aspect of Greek literature into Latin.

> Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen
>
> I sing the song of Ascra through the towns of Rome

wrote Vergil (*G.* 2,176), and Propertius (2,34,66), paying his tribute to the nascent *Aeneid*, said

> nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade
>
> Something greater than *The Iliad* is being born.

Unless you were Cato the Censor, education was Greek. Aemilius Paulus had a variety of teachers for his children, all Greek (Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 6, 4–5). Quintilian recommended Roman children to embark on Greek before Latin (1,1,12). And philosophy was Greek. Cicero, the

great encyclopaedist of philosophy, who in the process gave Europe her philosophical vocabulary, wrote to Atticus (*Att.* 12,52,3)

> verba tantum adfero, quibus abundo.
>
> My contribution is merely words, and I have plenty of those.

That was true: he had.

Ennius knew something of Greek philosophy; there are touches throughout his writings and he gave extended accounts of the views attributed to Epicharmus and Euhemerus. In the second century BC philosophers from Greece began to make their way to Rome. In 173 BC two Epicureans were expelled for 'introducing pleasures' (Ath. 12,547 A). Twelve years later, in 161, there was a general decree expelling philosophers and rhetoricians: the senate did not like innovations they had not introduced. In 155 a political embassy from Athens consisted of the philosophical leaders (though the Epicureans were excluded), Critolaus the Peripatetic, Diogenes the Stoic, and Carneades the Academic. They caused a stir. They took the opportunity to give public lectures, to which the young Romans flocked, interestingly with the approval of their elders, Cato apart. Carneades was the chief sensation: he gave two lectures on justice on successive days, one pro and one con.

All three schools proudly and inventively traced their origins back to the magnetic, charismatic figure of Socrates. Socrates claimed to follow his mother's profession of midwife rather than his father's of sculptor: he did not mould people to his own design but enabled them to give birth to the thoughts that were in them. Nothing more clearly substantiates that claim than the extraordinary variety of beliefs held by his immediate associates.

Plato knew him only in old age and was perhaps not very close to him. Socrates had raised ethical questions. Plato found the answer to these and other problems in his Theory of Forms. According to this the things of this world, whether material objects or the manifestation of values, are imperfect and impermanent, dim reflections of the perfect, permanent Forms which are known to the intelligence only. The Academy was named after the area of Athens where he taught. By a curious quirk of history, for over a century they plunged into an epistemological scepticism which seems un-Platonic, modifying it by a doctrine of probability

(we can never say that an assertion is true, but we can say that it is probable). Hence Carneades. But Antiochus of Ascalon, who died about 68 BC, abandoned scepticism, and stressed the compatibility of the Academy with the Peripatetics and Stoics, especially in their common ethical stance traceable back to Socrates.

Aristotle did not know Socrates: he was born well after his death. But he studied with Plato. Ultimately his doctor father proved a deeper influence. Aristotle was the supreme biologist of antiquity, perhaps of all time. Darwin once said 'Linnaeus and Cuvier were the gods of my youth, but they were both of them schoolboys to old Aristotle.' In consequence he was ultimately committed, unlike Plato, to the solid reality of this world, to a material object as 'a sort of a this'. Theory was based on fact, biology on observation, political theory on the study of constitutions, literary theory on the study of works of literature. Dante called him 'the master of those who know'. His successors carried on. The great Museum or research-institute at Alexandria was the work of one of them. The first century BC saw the recovery of his lectures, lost from sight for a century, and the beginning of those commentaries which ossified rather than developed his achievement.

The Stoics were different. Their founder was Zeno, a Semite from Citium, a hundred years after Socrates. But Zeno was much influenced by Crates the Cynic (the word has changed its meaning). This school of thought went back to Diogenes who came from Sinope on the Black Sea, and was nicknamed the Dog. Socrates had a down-to-earth working-class associate named Antisthenes. A link was fabricated between him and Diogenes to complete the family tree. The Stoics placed a strong emphasis on ethical duty, preaching a high and somewhat priggish morality. They were pantheists, and in consequence predestinarians. The only thing God does not determine is our response. We are pawns in the divine game of chess. We may be sacrificed or we may be queened. Either way we are part of the divine plan. What matters is our willing acceptance of either role

> ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt
>
> Accept? The fates lead you. Refuse? They drag you.
>
> Seneca *Ep.* 107,11

At the period of Vergil's life there was a strong tendency among these schools to fusion and eclecticism. The creators of Roman Stoicism, Panaetius and Poseidonius, both had tendencies to Platonize. Cicero, who liked to think of himself as an Academic, actually studied with the Epicurean Phaedrus as well as the Stoic Poseidonius and the Academic Philo. Diodotus the Stoic went so far as to study Pythagoras (Cic. *TD* 5,39,113). The Sextii formed a school which was Stoic in its ethics, Pythagorean in its vegetarianism, Platonic in its doctrine of the soul, Aristotelian in its botany and medicine, and which claimed to be native Roman. M. Brutus the tyrannicide was an Academic with Stoic leanings. Favorinus held to an Academic doctrine of probability and said that the greatest degree of probability attached to the Peripatetics. The process continued. In the second century AD Albinus attributed Aristotle's logic and his doctrine that virtue is a mean to Plato; in the third a man can be described as 'the Platonist and Stoic' (Porph. *V. Plot.* 17).

The Hellenistic Age was an age of uncertainty. All the philosophies were pursuing *autarcy*, self-sufficiency, independence of and superiority to hostile circumstances, the quality which Aldous Huxley called 'non-attachment'.

Three sects stood apart from the mainstream.

The Pythagoreans experienced something of a revival in the first century BC in Rome and Alexandria. Pythagoras was a shadowy figure who in the sixth century BC migrated from Samos in the Aegean to Magna Graecia, and somewhere, perhaps in Babylon, had acquired a familiarity with Indian thought. His system embraced music, mathematics (Pythagoras's theorem may be authentically his) and mysticism (including the doctrine of the transmigration of souls) in a vast synthesis, which made a practical impact on politics. Cicero's friend Nigidius Figulus, astrologer and grammarian, was a Pythagorean. So, in the following century was the wandering ascetic Apollonius of Tyana, who was to be used as a pagan counterblast to Christ. Their vegetarianism (based on the idea that souls might transmigrate into the bodies of animals) made them unpopular with the upper classes who did not like people to be different. We might say that the Pythagoreans were in search of religious autarcy.

The Cynics or Dog-Philosophers renounced all attachments, including nationality, possessions and family, going against all forms of convention. About 100 BC Meleager of Gadara incorporated Cynic doctrine in a

satirical writing. In Roman imperial times they appeared as a kind of Stoic left-wing—though their non-attachment to politics was in marked contrast to Stoic attitudes—and it is hard to tell whether people such as Musonius Rufus or Epictetus were Stoics or Cynics. The Cynics practised personal autarcy.

More important than either of these were the Epicureans, who formed the fourth major school alongside Academics, Peripatetics and Stoics. They have been much maligned. True that Epicurus spoke as if pleasure was the goal of life, but in reality he was a pessimist who said that we should pursue the course which offered the least excess of pain over pleasure. He did not approve of 'pleasures', and lived a life of high simplicity. True also that he did not believe in gods who might be influenced by prayer or sacrifice, but he believed in gods, blissful philosophers from whom waves emanated which those properly attuned might pick up to their benefit. The fourfold prescription of salvation ran 'God is not to be feared. Death is not felt. Good can be procured. Evil can be endured.' The things which shake us are fears and desires outrunning their natural course. Fears can be eliminated by a scientific understanding of the atomic structure of the universe, desires by renunciation of political or military or literary glory, and living simply in retirement in the shelter of a Garden, honouring friendship, which 'dances round the world calling us to awaken to the life of happiness'. The Epicureans are among the most attractive of ancient thinkers in their pursuit of a sort of social autarcy.

There is thus a marked contrast between Epicureans and Stoics despite the fact that both asserted that the wise man would be happy even on the rack. The Epicureans spoke of pleasure where the Stoics lauded duty. The Epicureans believed in free will, the Stoics in determinism: it is a convenient view for those in power to hold that they are there by the determinate will of God, and to tell the poor that their poverty is determined by the inscrutable blessing of providence. The Epicurean would not enter politics unless compelled to do so; the Stoic entered politics unless he was compelled not to do so. The Epicurean belonged to the Garden, in private retreat, the Stoic to the Porch, in the public eye. We can readily see why Augustus might favour the Stoics.

The last period of the Republic was a great period for the Epicureans at Rome. There was the Greek Phaedrus to teach the true doctrine. There were C. Velleius and T. Manlius Torquatus, who speak for them

in Cicero's pages; T. Pomponius Atticus, Cicero's friend and publisher; L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, father-in-law to Caesar and patron to Philodemus; L. Cornelius Sisenna, historian and governor of Sicily; M. Fadius Gallus, who opposed Caesar; C. Trebatius Testa, converted in Caesar's camp in Gaul in 53; C. Cassius Longinus, whose conversion in 46 did not lead him to renounce either soldiering or political assassination; Hirtius and Pansa, consuls in 43; C. Memmius, patron to Lucretius; Lucretius himself, and Philodemus, and Siro; C. Catius Insuber, one of the more attractive Epicurean writers, and a dozen more whom we can name, and presumably hundreds whom we cannot. These Romans on the whole did not renounce political and military office any more than Christians have remained true to the precepts of their founder. A surprising number of them came from Gaul, Cisalpine at least.

Cassius was prominent among Caesar's assassins, M. Fadius Gallus among his opponents. Augustus had no reason to love the Epicureans. More importantly they ran counter to the principles he wished to inculcate. He wanted a sense of public duty; they stood for withdrawal. He wanted to use religion as a foundation to the established order; they spoke of gods uninterested in human beings. He stressed the military virtues; their creed was pacifistic. He, whatever his private life, was in public a stern moralist; they were thought to 'teach pleasures' and their ways ran contrary to the *mos maiorum*. Augustus was a skilled autocrat. He avoided direct censorship so far as possible. But Epicurean watchwords are replaced by Stoic watchwords: we can see the process in Horace and Vergil. There seems to be a conspiracy of silence: Lucretius is read, but not named. De Witt wrote rightly in *Epicurus and his Philosophy*: 'Thus Epicureanism, too strong to be uprooted, was forced to become anonymous' (p. 343).

Maecenas, patron of Horace and Vergil, is an interesting study in himself. Much of our knowledge of him comes from Seneca, who knew his Epicureans well. The famous verses (Sen. *Ep.* 101,11)

> Debilem facito manu, debilem pede coxo
> tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos quate dentes;
> vita dum superest, benest; hanc mihi vel acuta
> si sedeam cruce, sustine.
>
> Make me weak in hand and crippled foot,

> Pile on a crooked hump, shake my teeth loose.
> While life remains it is well; grant me that
> Even if I sit on the agonizing cross.

do not seem, as Seneca suggests, to be expressing an inglorious love of life so much as the authentic saying of Epicurus that the wise man will be happy even under torture. Other hints of Epicureanism appear—the lack of interest in the fate of his body (Sen. *Ep.* 92,35); the danger of high places (Sen. *Ep.* 19,9); the rejection of bloodshed (Sen. *Ep.* 114,7); and the story of his disapproval of Augustus's executions in the words *Surge tandem carnifex* 'Time you got up, butcher', as Cedrenus records them); the indifference to style; the amount of time he spent in his own house and garden. Particularly Epicurean is his decision to live as an *eques*, out of the public eye, and to exercise influence without holding a position in the power-structure. And there is his genius for friendship. The great trait of his character was loyalty (Prop. 3,9). He was patient with his lovely, infuriating wife, and 'remarried her a thousand times' (Sen. *Ep.* 114,6). Horace called him 'half of my soul' (*Od.* 2,17,5). Many of his literary circle had Epicurean associations, and the circle itself seems almost an Epicurean *contubernium*, the only one we know in the capital itself.

Vergil was one. We know that somewhere around 48 BC he went to Campania and spent at least six years in the Epicurean community whose leading professor was Siro. Tacitus speaks of Vergil's *securum et quietum...secessum* and *felix contubernium* (*Dial.* 13): *securitas* is precisely the *ataraxia* or freedom from disturbance which the Epicureans sought. This period is reflected in the *Catalepton* or *Miniatures* which seem to be mainly authentic. Two of the verses refer to Siro (5; 8); there are pleasant lines addressed to Tucca and Varius (1; 7). A well-known fragment from Herculaneum (*Rh. Mus.* 1890 p. 172) testifies to the presence of Varius and Quintilius, and, by a reasonable restoration, to Plotius and Vergil too. Particularly Epicurean are the expression of friendship for Musa (4), and the invocation of *dulces Camenae*. *Dulcis*, while an ordinary Latin word, becomes a word of special significance in Epicurean circles, meaning 'pleasure-bringing', somewhat as the word 'friend' is a special word to Quakers. *Ciris* was written by an Epicurean,who was looking for wisdom in the Garden (*Ciris* 3): if it was not by Vergil, it was close enough to his attitudes to be attributed to him.

Servius (on *Aen.* 6,264) testified to the continuing influence of Siro on Vergil's thought. At this stage Vergil was a committed Epicurean.

Among the other associates of Siro were Plotius Tucca, one of Vergil's executors, friend of Horace, and member of Maecenas's circle (Hor. *S.* 1,5,40; 1,10,81); Varius, Vergil's other executor, who wrote a poem on Death which may have been Epicurean, a panegyric on Octavian, and a tragedy *Thyestes*; Quintilius Varus, who died in 24 BC, lamented by Horace (*Od.*1,24); probably Octavius Musa, mentioned by Horace with the others (*S.*1,10,82); and perhaps C. Valgius Rufus, a miscellaneous author, the obscure Visci (*S.* 1,9,22) and Aristius Fuscus, recipient of two of Horace's poems (*Od.* 1,22; *Ep.* 1,10). Of these some were certainly found in Naples, some were certainly in the circle of Maecenas, all are associated directly or indirectly with Epicurean attitudes; all retained warm friendships. We may suspect that Epicureanism faded in them, but the friendships of the Garden remained sturdy.

Horace was not in the Naples community, but he had close associations with many of them. It looks as if his father, to whose early training he owed so much, was an Epicurean (*S.* 1,6,65–88); certainly he himself learned of the blessed unconcern of the gods (*S.*1,5,101), and he calls himself whimsically but sincerely enough *Epicuri de grege porcum*, 'a porker from the herd of Epicurus' (*Ep.* 1,4,16). Epicurean values shine from his poems at all periods, in his utilitarianism, his praise of the simple life, his attacks on Stoic paradoxes, his joy in friendship, his acceptance of death as the end, his refusal to take thought for the morrow, his independence of Fortune, his exaltation of Maecenas as his *praesidium* (*Od.*1,1,2) i.e. the guarantor of *securitas*, his search for *otium*, his calculus of pleasures and doctrine of choice and avoidance, his precept and practice of 'living out of the public eye'. Sometimes he is almost paraphrasing Epicurus; frequently he uses Epicurean technical terms, *falsis vocibus* (*Od.*2,2,19–21), or in one stanza *tutus*, *sordidus*, *invidenda*, *sobrius* (*Od.*2,10,5–8). Pleasure (*dulci*) and utility (*utile*) combine to produce the best poetry (*A.P.* 343): both are technical terms. *Dulcis* is important to watch for. Maecenas is his *dulce decus* (*Od.*1,1,2). The combination is almost an oxymoron. Indeed one is tempted to render the familiar *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* as 'To die for your country is both Epicurean and Stoic' (*Od.*3,2,13).

For Horace moved away from the faith of his youth. In *Odes* 1,34 he tells how as *parcus deorum cultor*, infrequent in worship, he heard

thunder from a clear sky, to believers an omen, to unbelievers an impossibility (Lucr. 6,400). Horace heard it and thought 'Lucretius and Epicurus are wrong.' So we have the exaltation of Jupiter, the plea for rebuilding the temples, the acceptance of the commission to write the *Carmen Saeculare*, the idealization of the Stoic sage, *iustum et tenacem propositi virum* (*Od.* 3,3,1). Not that he was a convert to Stoicism, as A.Y. Campbell wrongly inferred. Allegiance to any school sat lightly on him (*Ep.* 1,1,13–9), and he retained many Epicurean attitudes. Horace is interesting not least because his development in some ways parallels Vergil's.

By the time that Vergil wrote *The Eclogues* he was full of an assimilated Epicureanism. This comes out for example in Silenus's song (6,31) when he tells of the formation of the universe out of the seeds of the elements streaming through the void. But alongside this assimilated Epicureanism there is also a rejection of specific Epicurean doctrines, as in Damon's scorn *nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam* (8,35), referring to the Epicurean view of divine indifference and non-intervention. The keyline is at the beginning of the first poem, where Tityrus says *deus nobis haec otia fecit* 'a god has produced this peace for us' (1,6). The exact sense is important. *Otia* was an Epicurean concept, the pleasure in retirement promised by Epicurus. And because Epicurus had shown humans the way to peace, Lucretius said of him *dicendum est, deus ille fuit, deus, inclyte Memmi* 'I have to say it, he was a god, yes, noble Memmius, a god' (Lucr. 5,8). But Tityrus, by common consent, is referring not to Epicurus, but to Octavian. In other words Octavian has for Vergil taken Epicurus's place. The *pax Augusta* (as it was later called) has made irrelevant Epicurean quietistic philosophy. Political and public action has done the philosopher's work for him. The end is the same, but the means have changed.

The movement is still clearer in *The Georgics*. The keylines are in the second book (2,490):

> Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
> atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
> subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.
> fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis.

The exact translation is important.

> How happy was the man who could understand the causes of things
> And trampled underfoot every fear,
> Inexorable fate, and greedy Acheron's roar.
> Blessed by fortune also is he who has come to know the countryside gods...

The indicatives imply definite people. The first is Lucretius; the words echo his. In the second Vergil is alluding to himself. He has passed from disbelief to belief; he has 'come to know'. Epicurus believed in gods but not gods of the countryside. In this Vergil is blessed by that Fortune with whom Epicurean wisdom had no dealings (Epic. *fr.* 77).

The outcome is fascinating. We might say that Aratus and Lucretius are struggling for mastery within him, and Lucretius does not always lose. For example the spontaneous generation of bees from a carcase (4,295 ff.) comes from a very odd passage in Lucretius (3,713 ff.). In all Merrill reckoned that one line in every twelve was derived consciously or unconsciously from Lucretius. The passage about *dulces...Musae* (2,475) is referred to by Tacitus in the context of Vergil's Epicurean quietism (*Dial.* 13) and echoes the *dulces Camenae* of *Catalepton* 5. Even more interesting is the anthropology of the first book (1,125 ff.) At first blush he has abandoned the Epicurean view altogether; a closer view shows that he has incorporated the Epicurean picture (e.g. 1,133 *usus*) within a framework of myth (1,125; 1,147). The same Epicurean insistence on *usus* is even clearer in the next book (2,22). Again the horror of war which ends the first book (1,461–514) is strongly Epicurean. Vergil regrets the beating of sickles into swords, and welcomes the conversion of a Corycian pirate into a gardener (1,508; 4,125 ff.). He rejects *negotium* and all the busyness of public life, and welcomes the *latis otia campis* (2,461 ff. cf. Lucr. 2,29–33). Even more striking is the rejection of love. The third book of *The Georgics* (3,209 ff.) is nearly as bitter as the fourth of Lucretius. Sexual intercourse is enervating (3,209); the idealized bees do not indulge in it (4,197). Love in *The Georgics* is disastrous, whether to Leander, Aristaeus, or Orpheus; in the Thracian women it is a power of destruction. *Mutatis mutandis*, Vergil's standpoint on love, is not significantly different from those of the later satirists Petronius and Juvenal, who use the sexual passion as symbolic of the *luxuria* they are assailing from a broadly Epicurean point of view. Even in the famous passage which attributes to bees a share of the

divine mind and which asserts a kind of panentheism (4,219 ff.), Vergil retains a certain ambivalence, being content to attribute the view to others (*quidam...dixere*). Still, ultimately the movement already observed in *The Eclogues* has gone further, and in the last lines he contrasts the *ignobile otium* which he enjoyed in the past at *dulcis Parthenope*, with Augustus's military glory and divine destiny (4,559 ff.).

In *The Aeneid* the change is completed. The theme of the glory of Rome is an impossible one in Epicurean terms. The world-picture is dominated by destiny. The famous philosophical passage of the sixth book is eclectic, linking traditional mythology with Stoic pantheism and some Pythagoreanism and Platonism. Thus the *anima mundi* appears in the words *spiritus intus alit* (6,725), and in deference to the Stoics the energy comes from fire (6,730 *igneus...vigor*). The whole is framed within Pythagorean metempsychosis, and the body appears as the prison of the soul, *soma sema* (6,734). But Epicureanism is absent.

Aeneas is depicted as a Stoic hero who goes through various tests. At three key moments in the first half of the poem he allows his emotions to overcome his reason in an un-Stoic manner. At the fall of Troy his courage is indisputable but useless. He believes Sinon's lies. He and his associates are forgetful of the past and blind to the future (2,244); true courage is mindful of the past and provident of the future (Cic. *Sen.* 78). As he tells the tale he can see his weakness (2,314)

> arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis.
>
> Out of my mind I seize arms; there is little reason in them.

He is projected into the fray by frenzy and anger (2,316–7). In his confusion of mind he loses his wife (2,735–6). His second failure is over Dido. He is governed by his emotions and oblivious to his duty (4,267), and, notoriously, only when he acts like a Stoic, puts duty before love, and determines to abandon her, does he have the adjective *pius* restored to him (4,393). The third crisis is in the fifth book at the burning of the ships, when he thinks of abandoning the whole enterprise (5,700 ff.) to be recalled to his Stoic destiny (*fata*) by Nautes (5,709–10). Only now can he say in technical Stoic language *omnia praecepi* 'I have foreseen everything' (6,105).

The only expression of Epicureanism in *The Aeneid* is put into the mouth of misguided Dido, and patently repudiated. She scorns the idea that the gods intervene, and she is wrong (4,379 *scilicet is superis labor est*). The aim is still peace, but it is governed by destiny (1,205–6 *sedes ubi fata quietas / ostendunt*) and approached through world dominion (6,851–3), the *pax Augusta* again. In Lucretius the eternal wound of love subdues to peace the god of war (Lucr. 1,34); in Vergil the eternal wound of love (however disastrous to Dido and Lavinia) makes Vulcan consent to forge Aeneas's arms (8,394), and Vergil points the change by quotation. To Lucretius Venus is the personification of Epicurean Pleasure; to Vergil she is the mother of Aeneas and arbiter of Rome's destiny. Of course the influence of Lucretius remains strong, but it is verbal echo now rather than imagined thought, and Tenney Frank made too much of vaguely Epicurean phrases and the passing compliment to Memmius (5,117).

Yet Vergil could not completely throw off an attitude of mind so deeply implanted. The Epicureans were alone among Hellenistic philosophic schools in extolling pity as a virtue. Seneca actually called it 'the vice of a feeble mind which succumbs at the sight of suffering in others' (*Clem.* 2,5,1). The man who pities does not enjoy autarcy. His happiness, his peace of mind, depend on circumstances outside his control. But Aeneas is a man of pity. The spectacle of the Trojan War in pictures moves him to cry out in untranslatable words *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* (1,462). He pities Dido, even while leaving her. The tears which fall—vainly—like leaves from the sturdy oak are his (4,441–9). The sight of the unburied dead leads him to pity them (6,332). Yes, and he pities Lausus whom his own hand has killed (10,823). The pity does not and cannot lead to action: it is there for its own sake. It is Vergil's residual Epicureanism.

JOHN FERGUSON
Birmingham

NOTE

1. This paper is based on a lecture given to the Virgil Society on 12 May 1987.
2. Much of the material is contained within an extended article on

'Epicureanism under the Roman Empire', due for publication in *ANEW*.

3. It is not appropriate to give an extended bibliography of secondary sources. Note among much else:

Alfonsi, L. 'L 'Epicureismo nella storia spirituale di Vergilio' in *Epicurea: In memoriam Hectoris Bignone* (Genoa 1959).

Bailey, C. *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford 1935).

Bowra, C. M. *From Virgil to Milton* (London 1945).

De Witt, N. W. 'Vergil and Epicureanism' *CW* 25 (1932) 89 ff. 'Vergil, Augustus and Epicureanism' *CW* 35 (1941-2) 281-2.

Oroz-Rata, M. J. 'Virgile et l'Epicurisme' in Ass. G. Budé *Actes du VIIIe Congrès* (Paris 1969) 436-47.

THE AENEID in the Unwin Critical Library

THE AENEID. By R.D. Williams. London, Allen & Unwin, 1987. Hardback, £22.00, typeset in 10 on 12 point Trump. Pp.171. ISBN 0-04-80042-6.

Over two years have passed since the grievous death on 9 July 1986 of one of the Virgil Society's best-loved Presidents, Robert Deryck Williams, Emeritus Professor in the University of Reading. His close friends will know that even before the severe stroke which finally incapacitated him he had suffered for years from a spinal condition for which surgery was not advisable. Indeed we owe the appearance of this volume to the unselfish labours of his close friend and valued colleague Mr. Fred Robertson who stepped in at a time when the author, having just submitted the manuscript to the publishers, was too ill to give the book its final revision.

The contents comprise eight chapters (pp. 1–161), a Bibliography and Brief Critical Survey (pp. 162–166) and an Index (pp. 167–171). The plan of the book is most easily illustrated by a list of the chapter headings and sub-headings (the latter I give in abbreviated form—(1) Virgil's Life and Works, (2) The Political and Literary Background of Virgil's Times, (3) The Literary sources of the *Aeneid* (i. Homer, ii. Post-Homeric Greek Lit., iii. Latin Lit.), (4) The Composition of the *Aeneid* (choice of subject, method of composition, structure), (5) The Main Themes of the *Aeneid* (Opening scenes; Optimistic Vision of Rome's Greatness; Pathos and Sorrow), (6) The Characters (Aeneas, Anchises, Dido, Turnus), (7) Religion and the Gods, (8) The Influence of the *Aeneid* (Roman Empire, Middle Ages, Renaissance to Milton, Dryden to Present Day, Epilogue). There are numerous quotations from Virgil and from other authors (e.g. Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Ennius) each of which is accompanied by R.D.W.'s own prose translation.

It follows inevitably from the particulars I have supplied that the arguments are fairly concentrated; in a survey of this length no words can be wasted. Deryck, however, no mean Horatian scholar, knows how

to be *brevis* without being *obscurus*. Though some of today's scholars, too young to have served as he did in the R.A.F., may be unsympathetic to his interpretation of *pius Aeneas* and the epic's final scene, no-one can read this book without being convinced of the author's astuteness, soundness and sensitivity. After all Virgil has been his constant companion from boyhood. Professor Robert Lloyd (in *Vergilius*, No. 32, 1986, p.7) has expressed perfectly what so many of us feel—'In an age which is much given to faddism and gimmickry his scholarship is marked by the ultimate in sound judgement and good sense.'

Members of the Virgil Society, its N. American cousin the Vergilian Society, active Latinists, teachers at school and university, undergraduates and research students will profit from reading this book. But it also has much to offer those who teach and learn about classical civilisation, not to speak of the general reader. I hope we can look forward to a cheaper paperback edition.

In the expectation of such a publication I submit the following *corrigenda* (numerals refer to pages: 23. 1900 years (*must* be in letters); 27. *Virgilianae* (*bis*); 37. *tremefercerit*!; 57. (top) wrong spacing (so too 63, 64, 74, 127, 131 & 134); 69. *audit* (for *audiit*); 88. *volvuntar*!; 97. *exanimus* (for *exanimis*); 119. mindful (for unmindful); 129. *pereqi*! ; 152. Ennuis!; 160. accompianed!; 165. orde (for ordre); 167. Augustine (Octavian) for Augustus; finally, though Mr. Robertson's prefatory note gives the day of Deryck's death, in the 'Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data' the author is listed (i.e. 1917–) as though still with us.

R.D.W.'s references in this volume to his own critical articles are so modest that this reviewer suggests that in a second edition some of the half-dozen blank pages might profitably be filled with a selection from his valuable *Vergiliana*.

H. H. HUXLEY
Cambridge

The End of the Third GEORGIC

Once again, when addressing the Virgil Society, I take my starting point from the distinguished and original work of my friend Dr. E.L. Harrison. The paper which he gave to the Society on Virgil's *Georgics* Plague in January 1977[1] has, like Topsy, grow'd, and in its Liverpool reincarnation[2] is almost as vast a thing as the geographical area over which Virgil represents the plague as raging. As one involved in lively, on-going discussion with Dr. Harrison, I have for years wrestled to disentangle my own thoughts on this highly problematic but exciting and fruitful subject.

But let the poet himself have the first words:

> non tam creber agens hiemem ruit aequore turbo
> quam multae pecudum pestes, nec singula morbi
> corpora corripiunt, sed tota aestiva repente,
> spemque gregemque simul cunctamque ab origine gentem.
> tum sciat, aerias Alpis et Norica si quis
> castella in tumulis et Iapydis arva Timavi
> nunc quoque post tanto videat, desertaque regna
> pastorum et longe saltus lateque vacantis.
>
> (470–477)

> Thicker and faster than squalls of wind that tear at the sea's face
> Come many diseases of cattle,
> Killing not one here and there, but a whole summer pasture—
> The lambs, the dams, the whole lot of them root and branch.
> You'd bear me out, if you went to look at the lofty Alps,
> The Hill forts of Noricum, the fields by Iapydian Timavus;
> It happened long ago here, but you'd see the derelict ranches
> Of sheep, old grazings empty up to the far horizon.
>
> (tr. Day Lewis,
> slightly adapted)

Let it be clear that this anthrax plague,[3] if anthrax it be—I speak as one who long ago looked out with awe over the island of Gruinard in Wester Ross—is attributed to an area of which poetic picturesqueness is surely only a very secondary characteristic. All the allusions to the Alps in Virgil, and there are seven[4] have in them an element of potential menace, notably of course in relation to the Hannibalic invasion: the word *castella* suggests not merely mountain villages but fortified positions; *tumulis* suggests not just gentle hills but burial mounds, where Romans killed on military campaigns might be buried; it might also hint at the swelling pride (*tumere*) of those tributary peoples including the Iapydes, of whom Cassius Dio tells us (49.34.2) 'even before this they had been behaving in no decent manner towards the Romans'. (οὐδὲν μέτριον ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔπρασσον). For, as is widely acknowledged, Octavian turned his primary attention from his great-uncle's preoccupation with Britain to the northern frontier peoples.

There can be little doubt that one of the obsessive motifs of the *Georgics* is what would ensue in the Roman world if something were to happen to Octavian. The almost over-the-top panegyric of the proem to Book I is an only slightly coded plea to Octavian, 'Don't die yet, for heaven's sake!' And, as Dio himself tells us (49.35.2), in 35 BC 'Octavian himself led the campaign against the Iapydes and overcame those on the heights with no small trouble' (τοὺς...ἐπι τῶν ἄκρων: cf. *castella in tumulis*?). But what is most significant is that these insubordinate folk laid low κατέστρωσαν, Caesar himself (...αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον). The verb is one mostly used of fatal wounding, in tragedy and Herodotus (see LSJ *s.v*), so here we should take quite seriously this piece of impious presumption on the part of the Iapydes, who brought Octavian down as he was trying to step from a wooden tower upon the wall of Metulum.

Nor evidently was the official view of the frontier activity a light one, for in the triple triumph of 29 BC the first of the three days celebrated Octavian's victory over the Pannonians, Dalmatians, the Iapydes and their neighbours, and a number of Germans and Gauls, the second the naval victory at Actium, and the third the subjection of Egypt (Dio 51.21.5). The Norici continued to be troublesome, in common with other Alpine tribes, until enslaved in 15 BC (Dio 54.20). It seems legitimate, therefore, to posit that the area specified within Virgil's wide-ranging geographical determinants—I am tempted to call it Hapsburg country—was meant to convey something of topical urgency to the poet's rather

special audience, and that it is foolish to underplay this, or to talk (as has been done) as if the plague took place in Northern Italy as distinct from outside the northern boundaries of Italy.

The plague is a huge tragedy, not least because innocent beasts suffer for the impiety of their masters who have, as Harrison shows[5] lost the *pax deorum*. The basic injunction of 1.338, *in primis venerare deos*, has been forgotten: the plague comes about *morbo caeli* (478) in circumstances where, in the words of Euripides, *Trojan Women* 27, 'religion is sick' (νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν). And the consequences of this plague, as we see on looking back to 470 ff., represent at once a wiping-out like that of whole summer-camps at a stroke (*tota aestiva repente*) or the total extirpation of a doomed race (*cunctamque ab origine gentem*), like the historical Carthage, or like the sack of Troy that was to come in *Aeneid* 2, that too the immediate consequence of divine wrath, (though the role of destiny also emerges). Virgil's plague may have owed more to Lucretius 6 than to unvarnished historical fact, but the hostility to Rome of the peoples in the area where it is set certainly is historical. In this closing section then of Book 3, Virgil explores what it means to be the enemy of Rome in terms of a relationship with the Gods. We are in the presence of a sort of oblique panegyric of Octavian and of Roman values—and a warning.

For any reader who has not yet grasped that this is the background to the plague, the remarkable section on the misguided attempts of the frontiersmen to alleviate their horses' sufferings with wine shows the way:

> profuit inserto latices infundere cornu
> Lenaeos; ea visa salus morientibus una;
> mox erat hoc ipsum exitio, furiisque refecti
> ardebant ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra
> (di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum!)
> discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus.
>
> (509–514)

> Some use it was to insert a drenching-horn and give them
> Wine: it seemed the one thing that would restore the dying.
> But soon this remedy proved fatal; the sick revived
> Only to rave in madness till under the mortal plague

(God send better to good men, and leave to our foes that error!)
Teeth bared they savaged their own limbs and tore themselves to shreds.

(tr. Day Lewis)

Line 510 is fascinatingly compressed: the dative *morientibus* is not to be taken, as might at first appear, as one of judging, 'this seemed to the dying the one means of salvation', but rather as dative of advantage, 'this seemed (we must understand 'in the judgment of the frontiersmen') the one means of salvation for the dying (creatures)'. Of course this assessment of the appropriateness of wine as a restorative soon turns out to have been a terrible mistake. The phrase *furiisque refecti* at 511 anticipates the figure of pale Tisiphone at 552 driving in front of her *Morbos...Metumque*. We are in the area of demonic involvement or divine retribution. I do not regard *furiis* as a faded metaphor any more than in Aeneas's demonic possession at the end of Book 12 (946 f.) *furiis incensus et ira / terribilis*. The treatment of Turnus by Juno's hellish agent Allecto in *Aeneid* 7 is an explicit instance of this. But so too, on the doors of the great temple which Virgil imagines himself dedicating to Octavian at 3.37 f.,

Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
Cocyti metuet.

I will show the end of rebellion, tormenting Furies,
Hell's harsh rivers...

Robert Wells excellently interprets the sense of *invidia*. For this comes in the ambit of Rome's conquered foes such as the Nile (29) and would-be conquests such as the Britons (25) and Parthians (31). There is a marvellous painting by Bronzino in the National Gallery, 'An Allegory of Time and Love', in which a figure obviously to be identified as Jealousy tears her hair on the extreme left of the composition. Bronzino could have demonstrated more practically than certain modern scholars that Virgil is here thinking in pictorial terms of *Invidia* banished to the extremes of the temple door and the proximity of the punishments meted out to such archetypal sinners as Ixion and Sisyphus. The word *infelix* is the epithet of Dido at *Aeneid* 4.450, the word

applied to an accursed tree, a childless woman or perhaps a plague-ridden land: unblessed, cursed. *Ipso facto*, therefore, ill-will to the Roman people calls forth the fear of divine retribution: ring-composition links these *furiae* at the beginning with those at the end of Book 3.

This is the moment at which to quote an admirable remark of Kenneth Quinn[6] on Virgil's poetry in general: 'The words form not a pattern but an experience in time, the order or sequence of which we are not free to meddle with. We cannot begin in the middle of a sentence and work backwards.' Precisely. Nor can we, in the time-honoured way of schoolboys and schoolgirls, begin at the end with *artus*. Whereas, if we take 511 ff. word by word, an astonishing ambiguity is experienced:

furiisque refecti
ardebant ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra

I translate in accordance with the head-on metaphrasing techniques which we advocate in our course 'Learning Latin':[7]

> 'and revived by the Furies they burned and themselves* ('starred' i.e. an anticipated verb) their own—('blank' i.e. an anticipated accusative plural to agree with *suos*) already close to sickly death'.

The complete sentence, which we have not yet experienced, is so appalling that the poet breaks in with his *apopompé*; very well, we get to the verb and noun at 514, but not before the possibility has flashed across our minds that we might be in the presence of something like the horror of Glaucus at 3.266 ff., whose mares, because he kept them from breeding, in *furor* prompted by Venus tore him limb from limb. The way in which the clinching word *artus* is held back to the very last keeps us guessing: with *suos* at first we might reasonably hazard such a word as *magistros*, their trainers.

Line 513 and its general tendency has long been recognised as having its didactic forerunner in Nicander's *Theriaca* 186, which treats of the poisonous bite of the asp. Snake-bites are important in more than one book of the *Georgics*, though not here, and yet the fire of the plague is analogous. But Nicander's *apopompé* in no sense interrupts the syntax of its Greek context, unlike the remarkable passage in Virgil which I have analysed. Here is Nicander, translated by Gow/Scholfield:

> Thence it belches forth poison unassuageable on a body.
> Be they no friends of mine whose heads these monsters assail.
> For no bite appears on the flesh.

Virgil transforms this wish that the asp's bite shall not befall any friend of the poet into a highly elliptical imprecation expressed in polar fashion:

> Di meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum!

The error, *errorem...illum*, is pointed to and deprecated in relation to its sequel described at 511 ff. It is a horrified authorial intervention in mid-syntax to avert this ill-omened error from the Romans on to such as are their enemies. In the contextof *furiae* and divine retribution the corollary of *pii* must be *impii*, with whom the *hostes* are to be identified. And in such a context *error* must naturally mean a disastrous error of judgment, such as ensued when Ἄτη overtakes those who are under a curse. In my last lecture to the Society[8] I suggested that Anna, as a member of the house of Belus, tragically misconstrues the divine motive in causing Aeneas to reach Carthage: significantly, she and Dido, like the frontiersmen, seek the *pax deorum* which they have lost (4.50). Equally Anna later misunderstands her sister's intentions in ordering the pyre, so that Anna unwittingly supplies Dido with the means for her suicide. Ἁμαρτία may or may not be considered at present the *mot juste* for such an error. The frontiersmen think that they are helping the suffering creatures (for the practice of the drenching-horn was known to ancient mulomedicine,[9] but in fact they are making their inevitable end all the more ghastly. Virgil averts this error of judgment, surely not the act of auto-cannibalism itself, which would be merely grotesque, as in the case of Erysichthon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 8, on to Rome's enemies, whom we have identified. It thus seems impossible to thrust aside this interpretation of *error*, which proceeds organically from the context, in favour of Dr Harrison's forced one,[10] as if to say, 'that ritualistic blunder, cf. 531 ff.'

As for the lines 531 ff., I hope to offer an interpretation different from Harrison's, and one which proceeds more naturally from the Latin and from the content and implications of these six lines:

tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis
quaesitas ad sacra boves Iunonis et uris
imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus.
ergo aegre rastris terram rimantur et ipsis
unguibus infodiunt fruges montisque per altos
contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra.

At no other time, or so they tell us, in those parts
Were cattle sought in vain for Juno's rites and chariots
Hauled to high votive-shrines by ill-matched urus-beasts.
Painfully men scratched at the soil with mattocks, used their
Own nails to cover the seed corn, harnessed their necks
To drag the creaking waggons over a towering hillside.
(tr. Day Lewis, slightly adapted)

This is clearly a highlighted passage: 'zweifellos der höchste Punkt den die Betrachtung erreicht', in Büchner's words.[11] Dr Harrison is creatively impatient with the traditional interpretation, namely that these lines 'merely add more detail'. 'Or how,' he asks, 'can the actual availability of buffaloes, however ill-matched, possibly explain why men have to pull carts themselves?' His solution is[12] to take 531 ff., in sequel to his interpretation of *error* examined above, as a description of the original offence against the goddess Juno. He is thus obliged to take *quaesitas* as indicating negligence in the search and (dare I say it of my friend?) with comparable negligence to understand *uris* as any old buffaloes. The Norici, he believes—I prefer the term 'frontiersmen' as embracing Iapydes and others—at this very time, just prior to the plague, had not bothered scrupulously to fulfil their ritual obligations to the goddess. *Hinc illae lacrimae*!

I do not believe that 531–3 refer to the cause of the plague. But let me do honour to R.D. Williams by quoting from his commentary his lucid and judicious account of the traditional view: 'The meaning is that never before had it been impossible to find appropriate cows for the sacrifice to Juno, so that wild cattle, *uri*, which did not match each other, had to be used as offerings.' I would risk the speculation that the fact that the creatures which they did manage to find did not match would in itself have constituted flawed ritual and thus a secondary offence to Juno: the wrong creatures, not ritually matched. But there

is more to it than this.

At 2.374 Virgil describes how *silvestres uri* and nagging wild goats make sport of vines; W. Richter in his commentary attempts to distinguish between the creatures in Book 2 and those in Book 3 on account of the adjective *silvestres*. Of that more in a moment.

Urus is (according to Macrobius 6.4) a Celtic loan-word denoting the aurochs. Richter, having already declared that Virgil's two references in the *Georgics* refer to two different creatures, further asserts that in neither place can he be referring to the aurochs, which lived only north of the Danube. Now this word *urus* occurs only once in extant Latin before our poet, in Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 6.28, in an extraordinary catalogue of the wild beasts (including unicorns) that frequent the vast Hercynian Forest, stretching from the Helvetii in the West along the Danube as far as the Dacians in the East. E.H. Warmington[13] assures us that it was not until the exploratory campaigns of Tiberius and Drusus that the *Hercynia silva* was clearly distinguished from the Alps. Its relevance to our present enquiry is thus clear. For the adjective *silvestres* at 2.374 may be seen as an allusion to the provenance of these exotic creatures: the 'Foreign Lands Theme', as L.P. Wilkinson has shown,[14] is an important one in the *Georgics*. And if at 3.406 ff.

> numquam custodibus illis
> nocturnum stabulis furem incursusque luporum
> aut impacatos a tergo horrebis Hiberos
>
> You'll never need to fear
> Robbers by night in your cattle-pens or a raid of wolves
> Or Spanish brigands creeping up behind you, while they (dogs)are on guard (tr. Day Lewis),

why then should exotic *uri* not threaten your vines?

It is time now to examine the Caesar passage in detail:

> Tertium est genus eorum qui uri appellantur. hi sunt magnitudine paulo infra elephantos, specie et colore et figura tauri. magna vis eorum est et magna velocitas; neque homini neque ferae quam conspexerunt parcunt. hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt; hoc se labore durant adulescentes atque hoc genere

> venationis exercent, et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus quae sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. sed assuescere ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. haec studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.
>
> Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 6.28

> A third species is the aurochs, an animal somewhat smaller than the elephant, with the appearance, colour, and shape of a bull. They are very strong and agile, and attack every man and beast they catch sight of. The natives take great pains to trap them in pits and then kill them. This arduous sport toughens the young men and keeps them in training; and those who kill the largest number exhibit the horns in public to show what they have done, and earn high praise. *It is impossible to domesticate or tame the auroch, even if it is caught young.* The horns are much larger than those of our oxen, and of quite different shape and appearance. The Germans prize them greatly; and they mount their rims with silver and use them as drinking-cups at their grandest banquets.
>
> (tr. S.A. Handford)

The italicized sentence is the one in which I believe that the key to Virgil's intention is contained. Was it Conington who gave this whole passage the kiss of death when he wrote (on 2.374 f.) 'The *urus* was properly a wild animal mentioned by Caesar and Pliny. Here and in 3.532 the name is applied to the buffaloes of Italy (*sic*).'

But if we sustain the logically economical possibility that the creature in question in Virgil's plague-stricken Alpine area and in Caesar's Alpine forest is one and the same, the consequences are stunning! *Tempore non alio*: Conington translates, 'This was the first time'. I would go further and say, 'This was the first and only time'. It is what we northern Scots call an 'unco': a story told, compare *dicunt* (531), of something wonderful or uncanny. Conington parallels, without going into ungentlemanly details, the unique display the mermaids gave to the Argonauts when the first ship so amazed them that they stood right

up out of the water:

> illa atque <haud> alia viderunt luce marinas
> mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas
> nutricum tenus exstantes e gurgite cano.
>
> (Catullus 64.16 ff.)

The unique and unprecedented happening is that, in the desperation produced by the plague, these rebellious, self-indulgent frontiersmen went far afield into the forest and succeeded in capturing and yoking the untameable. No wonder that they were *impares*: the nicety of exact pairing would hardly have been open to their captors on this unparalleled occasion. What they did they did for Juno, but it was too late, and flawed, and did them no good. I would like to call this an ἀριστεία on their part; it is a mark of Virgil's art, as Austin showed,[15] that he can afford to evoke sympathy or even admiration for what in his final judgment is discarded or condemned. These frontiersmen and their terrible plague belong in the company of such as Dido and Turnus. For these desperadoes succeeded in an *adynaton*.

> ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi,
> et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis,
> ante pererratis amborum finibus exsul
> aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim,
> quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.
>
> (*Eclogue* 1.59–63)

> Sooner shall lightfoot stags go grazing on thin air,
> Or the sea contract, leaving its fishes high and dry;
> Sooner the Germans and the Parthians, migrating
> Across each other's frontiers, drink of each other's broad
> Rivers, than I'll forget the look that young prince gave me.
>
> (tr. Day Lewis)

So sang Tityrus, beyond reasonable doubt of Octavian. Perhaps Virgil tended to think of the Julian family in terms of *adynata*. That achieved by the frontiersmen, according to the argument advanced above, took place some while before the poet wrote: cf. *nunc quoque post tanto* (475).

Recalling the campaigning of 35 BC we see that unspecified representatives of these folk in general yoked the untameable sooner than the Iapydes and other tribes in particular were able to overwhelm Octavian, for it was in fact quite the reverse: it was he, this *divi filius*, who overcame them, he, hostility to whom and to Rome was commensurate with neglect of the old Italian goddess Juno Regina—or her Alpine equivalent—and marked these frontiersmen with *impietas*.

The information which Julius gives about the *uri* is contained in a context where he sees (i.e. reads) that the Alexandrian scholar Eratosthenes, the founder of systematic geography, and certain Greeks knew of the *Hercynia Silva* by report:

> ...Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant).
>
> (*de Bello Gallico* 6.24)

In other words, this is a 'learned' reference, entirely in place in Virgil's 'didactic' poem, but, most important of all, it reiterates the link between Octavian and his great-uncle. This link has already been made in the corresponding part of Book 1, where the portents announcing the murder of Julius and hideous civil war are offset by the great prayer to the *di patrii* at 500 f. to spare Octavian to save the world and be the man of the *saeclum*:

> hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo
> ne prohibete...

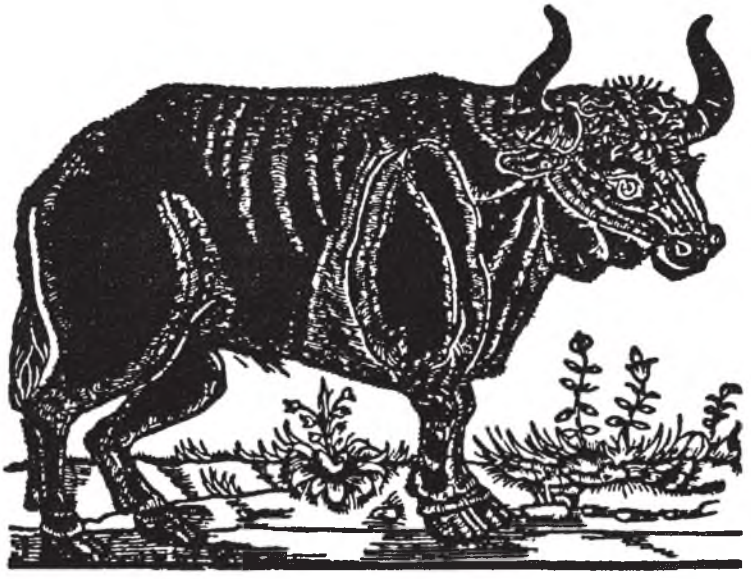
There are a few details of interpretation to clear up before I proceed finally to a possible triumphal motif.

Richter holds that *quaesitas* means 'sought with difficulty (but found)'. The use of cows for sacrifice to Juno/Hera is set against the use of bullocks for drawing the processional waggon, a Greek thing from the Hera cult. Cows, Richter says, never pull such waggons. But what held good for the Greco-Roman world need not apply to the Alpine regions. Indeed Tacitus (*Germania* 40), writing of the Germans' devotion to Nerthus says, 'The priest can feel the presence of the goddess in his holy of holies, and attends her, in deepest reverence, as her car is drawn by kine (*bubus feminis*).' (tr. H. Mattingly). Therefore, to make a disjunc-

tion between *boves* and *uris* in 532, instead of regarding the second as a substitute for the first, simply because cows were not used in the Greco-Roman world for religious processions, seems to me misleading and unnecessary.

Francis Cairns has suggested to me that Virgil may be establishing something akin to a Homeric Question in regard to the exact identity of the *urus*; Servius on 2.374 seems to draw on Caesar's information: *sunt autem exceptis elephantis maiores animalibus ceteris*; he continues in a way confirming the Homeric Question idea: *dicti uri* ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων *id est a montibus*. The interpretation of Gary B. Miles,[16] that bears (*sic*) instead of cows had to pull the processional chariots to the temple of Minerva (*sic*), is too novel for my taste: it would need a Housman or a Jocelyn to do justice to it. There is no textual justification for *ursis* instead of *uris* known to Geymonat: he who runs does not always read accurately.

But when we survey the evidence for *uri*, when we read of their elephantine proportions, of their fierceness, and contemplate their huge horns in Count Herberstein's representation of the creature which died out in 1627 (reproduced by Otto Keller[17])



how is it possible to say with Harrison[18], 'they used inferior beasts...'? I cannot accept this or his taking *quaesitas* as if it were *non conquisitas, parum quaesitas*, a kind of imperfect participle passive, if such existed. In the sense of *requisitas*, sought in vain, all is well.

There remain the difficulties of 534. *ergo* now, in the light of the

above account of the *uri*, does not have to be taken, as Harrison deprecatingly took it, in reference to the traditional view, of men having to pull the carts themselves in consequence of the actual availability of buffaloes (*sic*). Sir Roger Mynors, in a generous preview of his much-awaited commentary, translates beautifully, 'No wonder...'. There are no domestic cattle surviving the plague; the desperadoes have made their supreme effort in yoking the *uri*, and it has failed. No wonder they have to assume the tasks of the beasts themselves. Unlike Dr Harrison[19] I do not see *contenta cervice* (536) as ironical punning: these people are now under the yoke themselves, a symbol of their eventual subjugation to Rome. It is well to remember the speech which Octavian made before Actium, according to Dio (50.28 tr. Scott-Kilvert): 'You who are serving with me here fought valiantly against the Taurisci, the Iapydes, the Dalmatians and the Pannonians, and often it was only to take a few walls and a patch of barren soil. You subdued all these tribes, although they are among the most warlike opponents in the world.' Yes, they were no pushover, but now they pull carts—in Virgil's poem at least—up their steep mountainsides.

I spoke of a possible triumphal motif. Both Suetonius (*Augustus* 43) and Dio (51.22) stress Octavian's lavish shows of exotic beasts. In the sequence of ceremonies following the triple triumph 'a rhinoceros and a hippopotamus were seen in Rome for the first time...the rhinoceros, which is less familiar, resembles the elephant in some respects.' He might almost be describing the *urus*. Hannibal had his elephants, the Alpine tribesmen their *uri*; elephants were associated as draught-animals with Dionysus, other gods and semi-divine rulers. Augustus is shown on a *denarius* of 18 BC on a *biga* of elephants.[20] All the more does what the Alpine tribesmen did for Juno seem an exemplary effort.

With her admirable lucidity Miss Jocelyn Toynbee[21] does not turn the *urus* into an Italian buffalo, nor confuse it, like Martial (*de Spectaculis* 23.3) with the *bubalus*, an African antelope. The *urus*, with the *vison*, bison, with which it was more understandably confused (as having much in common, see Keller *l.c.*), yielded to Carpophorus, the celebrated *venator* described by Martial. Virgil already appreciated the imaginative appeal of such a creature and he did something remarkable with it in the Third *Georgic*.

JONATHAN FOSTER
University of Liverpool

NOTES

1. *PVS* 16 (1976–77) 9 ff.
2. *PLLS* 2 (1979) 1 ff.
3. E. Flintoff, *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* N.S. 13.1 (1983) 85 ff.
4. The others are: *Georg.* 1.475: *insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes* (among the portents attending Caesar's assassination); *Aen.* 10.11 ff.: *adveniet...tempus / cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim / exitium magnum atque Alpis immittet apertas* (Jupiter discloses 'classified' information at a council of the gods); *Aen.*4.442: *Alpini Boreae* (Aeneas compared to an ancient oak tree buffeted by winds); *Ecl.*10.47: *Alpinas...nives* (Lycoris without Gallus); *Aen.*6.830: *Alpinis...aggeribus* (Caesar in the Civil War), *Aen.*8.661 f.: *Alpina...gaesa* (weapons of the invading Gauls in 390 (or 387) BC.
5. 1979, 25 f.
6. 13th Jackson Knight Memorial Lecture, Exeter, 1980, 4.
7. *Learning Latin*, an Introductory Course for Adults by John G. Randall in collaboration with J.C.B. Foster and D.F. Kennedy, Liverpool, 1986.
8. *PVS* 13 (1973–74) 35 f.
9. Sir Roger Mynors kindly supplies me with a reference to wine as a stimulant for horses, Columella 6.30.1: a horn is used for administering wine to oxen, *id.* 6.2.7.
10. 1979, 27 f.
11. *RE* II.VIIIA.3.1301.
12. 1979, 37.
13. *OCD* (2nd edn) *s.v.*
14. *The Georgics of Virgil, a Critical Survey*, Cambridge, 1969, 67, 77 etc.
15. Introduction to his Commentary on *Aeneid* 4, xiv, quoting L.C. Knights, *Scrutiny* xvi (1949) 322 on *Antony and Cleopatra.*
16. *Virgil's Georgics, a New Interpretation*, Berkeley, 1980, 221.
17. *Die Antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909–13, 342, fig. 120.
18. 1976–77, 14.
19. *ibid.*
20. *CREBM* 1.75.432.
21. *Animals in Roman Life and Art* <London> 1973, 148 f.

Varied Verses

H.H. HUXLEY, 'WHAT PROPER PERSON? An Anthology of Latin Verse, Quantitative and Accentual' (Bristol Classical Press, 1984). Paperback, £5.95. ISBN 0-86292-109-0.

The ingenuity and elegance of Professor Huxley's translations into Latin verse, published over many years in various periodicals, have delighted the sadly dwindling number of those able to savour their bouquet and appreciate the skill and artistry lying behind them. This interesting and charming anthology will cheer the hearts of the *cognoscenti* wherever they are still to be found. It was, I believe, Thomas Arnold who as head of Rugby last century described verse composition in the classical tongues as 'a contemptible prettiness'. The English tradition of polished erudition was deeply ingrained, but gradually European ideals of scholarship have had their effect, and English learning at its best has succeeded in combining taste with *Gründlichkeit*. Huxley himself is a witness to this.

As versifier he is truly versatile. Some fifteen metres are represented in this collection, ranging from the Elegiac Couplet by way of the Sapphic and the Alcaic stanza to the Hipponactean, First and Second Archilochian, Glyconic, Choliambic, and the accentual Trochaic and Iambic Dimeter. Sometimes he is translating, sometimes directly composing. Here is his parricidal Lizzie Borden :

Filia bis denis (quatiebat dextra securim)
Ictibus ipsa suum stravit Elissa patrem.
Et necis infandae virgo non inscia matri
Ter septem ferro vulnera saeva dedit.

In his *Sapiens Insipientia*, *Christmas Carol* and *Eucharistic Hymn* Huxley strikes a different and serious note, while his rendering of Paul Scarron's epitaph from the French into an accentual Trochaic Dimeter is neat and very effective. In many ways the spirit of Ovid pervades

these pages. Herbert Huxley has a profound feel for the Latin language and we thank him for, and congratulate him upon the achievement embodied in this book.

H. MACL. CURRIE

Vergil as a Poet of War

Most literate Anglophones of the present day, pressed to name a war-poet, would probably come up with the name of a poet of one of the two World Wars of this century, Wilfred Owen, Rupert Brooke, Siegfried Sassoon or Keith Douglas, to name but a few amongst many. The common picture of war-poetry is essentially the reaction of educated young men to the prospect of battle or to the horrors of the war-zone into which they are thrust—in both cases a world strongly contrasting with that of their other experiences. This generalization is of course not strictly true (one thinks of the First World War poetry of the middle-aged Housman and the septuagenarian Hardy, both writing at home in England), but it points an appropriate double contrast with the world of classical antiquity in general and with that of first century BC Rome in particular, a world which we must endeavour to re-enter for a proper appreciation of Vergil as a war-poet. Two statements could safely be made concerning educated Roman society at that period which would not be true of contemporary Britain: first, basic experience of military campaigning was widespread amongst the literate population, and second, poetry on the subject of war was not only common but respected as the highest form of literature. A young man of the educated upper class at Rome would expect to serve a term as a junior officer in a provincial army, partly for military experience and partly for self-enrichment; good examples are the unlikely soldiers Catullus, who served under Memmius in Bithynia in the 50s BC but failed to increase his bank-balance (Catullus 10 and 28), Tibullus, who seems to have gone with Messalla on his Eastern expedition after Actium, only to fall ill at Corfu *en route* (Tibullus 1.3), and Cicero, who, though a reluctant and unmilitary governor of Cilicia in 51–50 BC, engaged the enemy and won a victory or two (Cicero Att. 5.20).

Thus the violence of war and the rigours of military life would be well-known to many of Vergil's readers through personal experience—certainly not the case for modern readers of Wilfred Owen, for whom the impact of these factors is considerable. As I have already suggested,

they consequently had a different attitude to the depiction of war in literature. For the poets and readers of First World War poetry, the harsh facts of war are remote from the general practices of society, and therefore shocking when fully revealed; for the Romans, such things were a common element of life, not only through the role of military experience as part of the social framework, but also through the frequent watching of gladiatorial shows, in effect mock wars staged for general delectation. Most Romans went to the games, and gladiatorial allusions and imagery are a natural feature in Roman writers, especially the poets.[1] War was similarly a matter of entertainment when written down: the literature of war would be read by a market of connoisseurs, and this literature included not only direct reports of actual fighting, such as we see enshrined in literary form in the Commentarii of Julius Caesar, but epic poetry on martial subjects with detailed battle-descriptions.

A strain of martial epic runs through the whole of Roman literature, from Naevius in the second century BC to Corippus in the sixth AD; indeed, Roman writers tend to define epic subject-matter as 'kings and battles'.[2] though poets such as Lucretius had produced long hexameter poems on non-military subjects (such length and metre being more generally the requirements for epic in antiquity[3]).

As a highly practical race, the Romans saw martial epic not only as an appropriate form of entertainment for a military-minded people, but also as a means to two socially valuable ends: the glorification of the Roman state, enlarged and preserved by continuous warfare, and the laudation of its outstanding individuals, great generals all and examples for the future. Sometimes these ends could be dealt with separately, as in the case of Ennius, who wrote a separate panegyric of Scipio Africanus as well as his monumental *Annales*, which traced the rise of Rome through miltary might from its humble beginnings to the status of a world power. More often they were dealt with together: the typical Roman military epic was the history of an important campaign, written for the benefit of a particular general. Thus in the first century BC we hear of an epic by the poet Archias, famously defended by Cicero, on the exploits of Lucullus in the Mithradatic Wars,[4] and two poems on the military achievements of Caesar, one by Furius which seems to have dealt with the Gallic War in general, perhaps as part of a longer poem,[5] and another by Varro of Atax which chronicled the so-called *Bellum Sequanicum* of 58 BC, Caesar's first Gallic campaign.[6] In Vergil's own

time, another Caesar naturally took the centre of the stage, Octavian/Augustus: we know little of the *Panegyricus Augusti* of Varius, friend of Vergil and Horace, but our evidence suggests that it contained some military matter;[7] similarly, the lost work of Cornelius Severus on the Sicilian War of 38–6 BC, whether it was a separate epic or part of a longer work,[8] no doubt included substantial praise for Octavian, who celebrated an ovation on the successful conclusion of that war.

Beginning the Aeneid in the 20s BC, Vergil was thus faced with powerful precedents in Roman literature for military epic based on historical, usually contemporary, events, with a panegyrical function for both state and individual, and certain demands and expectations from literary consumers. This was his inheritance as a Roman; as a poet he also felt the weight of an even greater authority—that of Homer. Homer, prince and principal of poets, was also the greatest writer of martial epic in the form of the *Iliad*, and the form of martial epic concerning the legendary period of which he was the earliest representative had been influential ever since. Here too was a poem with great descriptions of miltary activity, usually hand-to-hand fighting, written like Roman epics for a war-like society which appreciated the finer details of combat; the difference between its legendary material and the historical basis of the traditional Roman epic was not as sharply perceived in antiquity as it is today. This dual pressure of Rome and Homer resulted in a poem which on the surface combines the essential qualities of both traditions. The *Aeneid* centres about a legendary hero rather than a contemporary one, but the greatest of contemporary figures is far from absent; equally, it concerns events which are distant chronologically from Vergil's own time, but which are constantly shown to be crucial antecedents to the military achievements of his own day.

This novel combination may be seen as a natural modification of the Roman tradition given the characteristics of Vergil himself. Hardly a conventional Roman, he was born in Mantua, an area described by the poet himself as possessing three different racial traditions (probably meaning Etruscan, Gaulish and Italic[9]) and only included in the Roman citizenship by Julius Caesar in 49 BC when the poet was twenty-one.[10] Thus by birth he did not necessarily share traditional Roman views and assumptions; by choice he seems to have inclined towards the culture and values of Greece, and in later years he seems to have preferred to

reside in the highly Hellenized area of Naples rather than in Rome itself (cf. Georgics 4.563–4). His poetic career before the *Aeneid*, too, does not necessarily point to a future writer of Roman epic: conscious imitations of Greek models, Theocritus in the *Eclogues* and Hesiod and Aratus in the *Georgics*, are conjoined with a new awareness of the subtleties of poetic style emanating from the neoteric poets of Rome and ultimately from the Hellenistic Greek poets of Alexandria. However, both these earlier works show some concern with politics and national issues, and with the dominating figure of Augustus, and the *Aeneid* seems a logical next step. Vergil's epic, like his previous essays in pastoral and didactic, follows a Greek model in the form of Homer, but combines this with some elements of the Roman epic tradition. This is partly a matter of style, for the *Aeneid* constantly harks back to the archaic language of Ennius, particularly in its battle-descriptions, but it is also a question of purpose and content. Like the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius and the *Annales* of Ennius, the *Aeneid* is a national epic celebrating the rise of Rome, but it also follows Ennius' *Scipio* and Archias' epic on Lucullus, and more particularly the epics of Varius and Cornellus Severus on the achievements of Augustus, in praising in three prominent prophetic passages and in occasional analogies with Aeneas the successes of a contemporary great man—that same Augustus.

Thus the traditional readership of Roman epic, brought up to an appreciation of war for Rome in life and literature, would have found much familiar about the *Aeneid*. But much would have seemed misleading and unconventional—a consequence of the poet's origins outside traditional Roman aristocracy, his saturation with the poetry and culture of Greece and his originality and complexity as a literary artist. A closer look at the poem itself will illustrate the point. The familiar opening of the poem is interesting here:

> arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
> Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit
> litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
> vi superum, saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram,
> multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
> inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.

> I sing of arms and a man—the first man to come from Troy's shores to Italy, a fated wanderer to the Lavinian coast; storm-tossed he on land and sea by force of the gods, for the sake of the mindful anger of Juno, and suffering also much in war, until he could found a city and bring his gods to Latium. From him came the Latin people, the fathers of Alba, and the walls of lofty Rome.

The famous 'arma virumque' suggest a poem about war and an outstanding individual, a description suiting both the Roman and Homeric traditions, while the subsequent emphasis on the growth of the nation founded by Aeneas to the ultimate greatness of Rome ('altae moenia Romae') has the familiar nationalistic flavour of Ennius and Naevius. As a programme to the *Aeneid*, this preface is in fact misleading; the emphasis on war, reflecting the Roman tradition, is not as strong in the poem as its introduction suggests. Most obviously, there is little fighting in the first 'Odyssean' half of the poem; its only military interest is in the sack of Troy in Book 2, where Aeneas involves himself in desperate and irresponsible resistance to the triumphant Greeks until brought to a realization of his destiny and proper concerns by his witness of the death of Priam, recalling the father and family he has abandoned, and the epiphany of his mother Venus, who reveals to him that Troy is suffering a fated and divinely-sponsored fall. This is some way from the canons of Roman historical epic, designed for the celebration of Roman victories: Aeneas, the proto-Roman general, is here on the losing side, and fails to show the rational planning and controlled courage held up as Roman military ideals. Thus far not much for the connoisseur of Roman epic.

It has commonly been argued that *arma virumque* is not a misleading description of the *Aeneid*, claiming that the phrase describes the two halves of the poem in reverse order, *arma* applying to the more military and 'Iliadic' Books 7–12, and *virum* to the 'Odyssean' 1–6, in which Aeneas' journey to Italy is related and his character established. There is some plausibility to this view, but even in the second half of the poem the predominance of fighting is not as extensive as one is led to expect. In Book 7 we have a new preface, which like that of Book 1 stresses the centrality of the military theme (7.41–5) :

> dicam horrida bella,
> dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,

> Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
> Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
> maius opus moveo.
>
> I shall tell of terrible wars, and of armies, and of kings driven by passions to death, of the banded Etruscans and of all Italy compelled to arms. A greater order of events now comes to birth for me, and a greater work I stir forth.

However, this new preface also resembles that of Book 1 in being in one sense misleading. Its superficial stress on wars, armies, and kings and their peoples in battle suggests that what follows will be essentially a catalogue of battles and military achievements in the manner of the later books of Ennius' *Annales*; what we actually get is something rather different.

One of the most notable features of the second half of the *Aeneid*, when considered from this angle, is the way in which the poet avoids actual description of fighting until the last possible moment; a programme of war is announced at the beginning of Book 7 and war duly begins in that book, but the poet's detailed description of the conflict does not begin until Book 9. The 'real' start of fighting is effectively and plausibly held back, after the complex of events surrounding the inception of the war, the assembly of Italian allies for Turnus and Aeneas' answering search for an an alliance with Evander and the Etruscans, but held back it is, defeating the expectation of the modern reader and disappointing the anticipated pleasure of the Roman connoisseur of war. This pattern of restricting the actual amount of fighting described in the *Aeneid* is visible not only in the overall structure of the second half of the poem, but also within each individual book. Thus even in Book 9 there is no description of actual conflict until the night-expedition of Nisus and Euryalus (314 ff.); Turnus' attempt earlier in the book to burn the Trojan ships is supernaturally foiled by Cybele, and no clash between the two armies takes place since the Trojans keep to their camp in the absence of Aeneas. Similarly, in Book 10 the action is postponed by a divine council until line 118; the fighting resumes thereafter for less than thirty lines and is then interrupted by the Etruscan Catalogue, resuming only when Aeneas lands over a hundred lines later. In Book 11 the burial-truce and Latin Council take up half the book, and war is only resumed

at 447, while in 12 Turnus' arming-scene and the formalities of the duel-truce postpone the fighting until 257 ff. Such reluctance to get down to the details of fighting contrasts strongly with Homer in the *Iliad*, of which only six books out of twenty-four, including the first and last pairs of books which clearly balance each other in this respect, are not wholly dominated by the detail of battle-scenes.

Why this strategy of avoidance? A possible explanation which seems to underlie at least some modern views on the *Aeneid* is that the cultured and civilised Vergil, by contrast with his contemporary Roman readership, had a squeamish distaste for the 'blood and guts' descriptions of wounds and fighting traditional in both Roman and Homeric epic and was consequently concerned to avoid them as much as possible. This view seems to be superficially supported by the quantitative argument just outlined, i.e. that Vergil seems reluctant to describe the details of combat and has proportionally less of this than Homer, but qualitative considerations, i.e. the degree of gore and violence in the battle-scenes which Vergil actually includes, need to be brought into play. Let us take some examples from each of the four books in which fighting plays a real part—9, 10, 11 and 12.

In Book 9 Turnus, with Aeneas absent on his expedition up the Tiber to find allies, reigns supreme on the battle-field, matching the Hector of the *Iliad* in the absence of Achilles. There is substantial fighting, during which Mezentius kills a Sicilian fighting on the Trojan side with a sling-shot (9.588–9):

> et media adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo
> diffidit, ac multa porrectum extendit harena.
>
> And he pulped the middle of his opponent's forehead with the lead and split it apart, laying his enemy stretched out in a cloud of sand.

The description is short but graphic—no squeamishness evident here. It is mild stuff compared to Turnus' killing of Antiphates with a spear, which follows at 698–701:

> volat Itala cornus
> aera per tenerum stomachoque infixa sub altum
> pectus abit; reddit specus atri vulneris undam

spumantem, et fixo ferrum in pulmone tepescit.

The Italian spear-shaft flew through the soft air, and piercing his stomach, sped on deep into his chest: the cavern of the dark wound gave out a foaming billow [of blood], and the iron weapon fixed in his lung and grew warm.

The anatomical precision, here as often not greatly plausible (stomach, chest and lung?), not only points back to Homer, keen on identifying parts of the body in wounds,[11] but no doubt appeals to the taste of a Roman readership familiar with hand-to-hand combat and gladiatorial spectacle. The metaphors of the cavernous wound and the billow of blood add vividness rather than literary colour, and these together with the final warming of the spear in the lung produce a gory scene of great effect. Similarly unsqueamish is Turnus' killing of Pandarus with a sword (750–4):

et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem
dividit ... / ... /
conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro
sternit humi moriens ...

And he sliced with his sword through the middle of the other's forehead, between his two temples ... the other, dying, cast to the ground his collapsing limbs and his armour bloodied with his brains.

Sliced foreheads we have already seen; scattered brains are something of a favourite for Vergil, an inheritance from Homer (e.g. *Iliad* 11.97–8, 17.297–8, 20.399–400).

Examples from Book 10 are similar. At 340–41 Alcanor, aiding his brother, is struck down by the same weapon which has passed through his brother's body:

protinus hasta fugit servatque cruenta tenorem,
dexteraque ex umero nervis moribunda pependit.

The spear flew on and kept its course, now bloodied, and his right

arm hung lifeless by its sinews from the shoulder.

The source is again Homeric (*Iliad* 16.323–4), as is the use of the spear as subject of the verb (e.g. *Iliad* 3.357–8, 5.65–7, 7.251–2); severed arms are common in Vergil as well as Homer (*Iliad* 5.81–2). Indeed, at 395–6 in this same book Pallas has cut off the arm of a certain Larides, and describes the severed arm in a well-known passage which seems to owe much to several previous Roman poets (cf. Ennius *Annales* fr. 483–4 Skutsch, Lucretius 3.652–3):

te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit
semianimesque micant digiti ferrumque retractant.

Your severed right arm, Larides, misses its master, and its dying fingers quiver and grasp again at the sword.

The grotesqueness of the passage is patent; if there is pathos here, it is tinged with a certain grim humour. Again one suspects an appeal to Roman taste for scenes from the arena rather than a straightforward echoing of Homer, who has nothing quite similar to this. A final exampie from Book 10, Halaesus' dispatching of two warriors on the Trojan side (414–6):

Strymonio dextram fulgenti deripit ense
elatam in iugulum, saxo ferit ora Thoantis
ossaque dispersit cerebro permixta cruento.

Strymonius' right arm, raised to attack his own throat, he whipped off with his shining sword, and he struck the face of Thoas with a rock, scattering wide bone mixed with bloody brains.

Here two favourite motifs are combined: the severed arm and the scattered brains.

Book 11 continues the trend. Here the warrior maiden Camilla, seen at other times as young, glamorous and with a taste for elegant things, shows the other side of her personality as a ruthless killer, dispatching various victims with glee. Amongst these is Eunaeus, struck by a spear in the chest (668–9):

sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit atque cruentam
mandit humum moriensque suo se in vulnere versat.

he fell, retching streams of blood, and bit the bloody dust, and as he died writhed about his own wound.

The metaphor of 'streams of blood' is already familiar; 'biting the ground' is Homeric (e.g. *Iliad* 22.17), but Vergil has added the final touch of the victim writhing in pain—no doubt a familiar sight in the arena. Another of Camilla's victims strikes a similarly familiar note (696–8) :

tum validam perque arma viro perque ossa securim
altior exsurgens oranti et multa precanti
congeminat: vulnus calido rigat ora cerebro.

then, rising higher, she doubled her blows with her mighty axe, striking through the man's armour and bone as he supplicated and beseeched her with many words: the wound soaked his face with warm brains.

Book 12 provides two final examples, both connected with Turnus. At 339–40 Turnus drives his chariot over corpses:

spargit rapida ungula rores
sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena.

the flying hooves scattered dews of blood, and gore was trampled in to mix with the sand.

This is impressionistic, but vivid enough, concentrating on the idea of blood which occurs twice in this short passage. Striking in content rather than language is our final example, where Turnus kills two opponents and keeps their heads as a trophy (12.510–12):

hunc venientem cuspide longa,
hunc mucrone ferit, curruque abscissa duorum
suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat.

> the one he struck down charging with his long spear, the other with his sword, and hung the severed heads of the two of them on his chariot, carrying them around dripping with blood.

It is the shocking fact of displaying heads which strikes the reader here: only 'rorantia sanguine' is explicitly gory, and the act of decapitation is swiftly passed over.

This lengthy catalogue of horrors is surely more than sufficient to refute any notion that Vergil is reluctant to pursue the harsher details of war; on the contrary, he expends considerable artistic energy on them, varying a number of bloody themes which he considers dramatically effective to achieve grotesquely vivid effects. Thus we cannot explain Vergil's comparative avoidance of battle-details on the grounds of personal distaste; we must therefore look for another reason.

Here we must return for a moment to the *Iliad* of Homer. As mentioned earlier, eighteen of that poem's twenty-four books, three-quarters of the work, are more or less devoted to detailed descriptions of fighting. Readers of Homer tend to select and remember the numerous compelling passages from this vast tract of battle-narrative, the duels of Paris and Menelaus and of Ajax and Hector, the successes of Diomedes and Agamemnon, the deaths of Sarpedon, Patroclus and Hector, but a continuous perusal of the whole *Iliad* leads inevitably to the view that the details of war are unmanageable on such a scale in poetry. Even Homer's great genius for individualizing victims and for organizing battles in patterns, two factors emphasized in recent years,[12] fails to hold out over three hundred pages of combat, and there are undoubtedly considerable passages of tedium in the poem. These might not have affected the original audience, who would have probably heard the *Iliad* recited only in particular sections rather than all the way through at once, but was a serious factor for Vergil, by whose time epic poetry was decidedly literary, something to be read continuously on the page. Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes had avoided the literary problems of long martial Homericizing epic by writing lengthy poems of a different kind, the strategy later followed by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*; Vergil chose to solve the difficulty by producing an avowedly military epic ('arma virumque') which in fact spent less than 20 per cent of its space describing battles. The *ennui* produced by over-extended military narrative is thereby excluded, and the combat which is included can therefore be

highlighted by contrast with its surroundings.

These considerations of Homer, and the preceding investigation into Roman tastes and Vergilian 'blood and guts', may seem to suggest that Vergil is simply following the Homeric and Roman tradition of violent military epic, albeit with his own restrictions. This would be misleading, for the success and classic status of the *Aeneid* lies in the multiple strategies which Vergil uses to impart breadth, depth and originality to his fundamentally traditional subject-matter, particularly in the more explicitly military second half of the poem. The relationship with the *Iliad* is not one of straightforward use of material, but a subtle re-working and re-evaluation of a literary classic, as Knauer and others have recently stressed;[13] the relationship with Roman tradition is visible in many ways, but we often find a more philosophical and humane attitude juxtaposed with or even opposed to simple glorification of the Roman state and its military success.

This complex modification of tradition is particularly interesting in the more explicitly military second half of the *Aeneid*, where both Roman and Homeric expectations about military epic, as outlined above, are easily set against other material introduced by the poet. Let us return to the programmatic preface which introduces the poet's description of the war in Italy (7.41–5):

> dicam horrida bella,
> dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges,
> Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam
> Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo,
> maius opus moveo.

Two important and interconnected attitudes to the forthcoming war seem to emerge from this passage: first, that this particular war is tragic, and second, that it is a civil war between future partners in Italy. I shall take the tragic element first, for it has high prominence in the text.[14] Tragedy is here suggested by 'horrida bella' and 'actosque animis in funera reges'. These battles are terrible and will inspire the tragic emotion of fear, and their narrative will include royal personages driven by grand passions to death, reminiscent of the high emotions and spectacular falls experienced by the usually royal heroes and heroines of Greek tragedy. Many have claimed with some justice that Homer's *Iliad*

is pervaded by a tragic spirit,[15] but what we see here in the *Aeneid* is a new departure from Homer, and indeed from the Roman tradition, a conscious cross-reference in epic to the features of tragedy as a literary genre. Such 'crossing of the genres' is a feature of a sophisticated age, and of Augustan Latin poetry in particular.[16] The aspect of civil war is less explicit here than later on in the poem, but nevertheless seems present in 'totamque sub arma coactam / Hesperiam': all Italy is going to be under arms, but not all on the same side.

One character evidently tinged with tragedy is Turnus, though he is also seen re-playing several roles from the *Iliad* (announced as a second Achilles by the Sibyl in Book 6 but turning out in Book 12 to be a second Hector). He seems to meet the criteria of Aristotle's *Poetics* for the tragic hero or heroine: he or she must fall from a position of high repute, great fortune and splendid family, yet be neither extraordinarily virtuous or wicked and come to grief not through vice but 'because of some piece of ignorance' (a translation of the notorious phrase δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινά[17]). Turnus is first introduced to the reader at the beginning of Book 7 as the first amongst Lavinia's Italian suitors (7.55–6):

> petit ante alios pulcherrimus omnis
> Turnus, avis atavisque potens.
>
> She was sought by Turnus, handsome above all the others, mighty in his forebears.

Here Turnus is given the kind of social stature appropriate not only to an epic hero but also to a tragic one. The description also suggests tragedy in a more general sense, for his heroic beauty, in which he matches Aeneas, is of course to be destroyed in death at the end of the poem.

Many Vergilian scholars have claimed that Turnus has no right to consideration as a tragic hero, since he commits at least two wholly reprehensible acts, neither of which can be justified as proceeding from a mistake: his share in initiating the impious war in Italy, and his killing of Pallas in the course of it.[18] However, both these can be seen as analogous to tragic ignorance. Turnus' share in the cause of the war is at least partly down to the gods: the daemonic Allecto is sent by Juno to stir him to action, and her force is clearly described as irresistible by the

crucial simile Vergil uses: Turnus, initially reasonably cool when he hears of the Trojan arrival and even of the promise of his own expected bride Lavinia to the newcomer Aeneas (7.435–444), is metamorphosed by the torch Allecto is said to thrust into his breast to resemble a cauldron boiling over under the force of heat (462–6).[19] Though Allecto is cunningly working on Turnus' natural tendency to over-excitement, one cannot feel that Turnus is wholly responsible for his subsequent actions in raising Italy against Aeneas. The motif of infuriation to fatal action by a daemonic agent of Juno clearly owes much to the figure of Lyssa, sent by Hera in Euripides' *Heracles* to madden Heracles into slaying the very children whom he has just rescued.[20] We do not blame Heracles there, and there seems little more reason for blaming Turnus in the *Aeneid*. *As* in Euripides, the gods cause the downfall of men for their own reasons: Juno knows that resistance in Italy is ultimately hopeless, but persists in her destructive enterprise all the same (7.313–6).

Turnus' killing of Pallas, the event which effectively seals his own death at the hand of Aeneas in the final lines of the poem, can also be seen in a tragic light. There is no doubt that Turnus behaves reprehensibly here, but there is a tragic sense that 'he knows not what he does'; it is not so much the killing of Pallas, perfectly permissible in war, but its over-confident and even brutal manner, symptom of Turnus' characteristic impetuosity, which takes him to the point of no return. The taking and wearing of the baldric symbolizes this, for the wearing of spoils by the spoiler is unwise and generally fatal elsewhere in the *Aeneid*,[21] and it is at the point of the despoiling and not at that of killing that the poet makes significant comment (10.501–5):

> nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae
> et servare modum rebus sublata secundis!
> Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
> intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque
> oderit.
>
> Ignorant is the mind of men of destiny and his future lot, and of how to preserve the mean when uplifted by success! There will be a time for Turnus when he will wish to buy Pallas' safety at a great price, and when he will hate these spoils and the day he got them.

The note of ignorance struck in 'nescia', though it recalls Homer's use of νήπιος, often in the same initial position in the hexameter, of foolhardy or presumptuous characters in the *Iliad*.[22] can be seen as tragic in Aristotelian terms: Turnus' error is his excessive glee at Pallas' death, signified in the act of displaying his spoils, and he is ignorant of the proper way to behave in such circumstances. The character of the poet's entrance into his narrative also suggests a tragic link; the gnomic pose of the poet's generalization about the lot of men, a type of remark unfamiliar in Homer, resembles the generalized comment of a tragic chorus on the action unfolding before it, and there are other cases where interventions by the poet in the *Aeneid* seem to owe more to the chorus of tragedy than to the foreshadowing apostrophes of Homer.[23]

Another tragic character, though naturally not directly involved in the fighting, is Amata, queen of Latinus.[24] Like Turnus, she begins as royal and reputable, and ends by falling to the misery of death, in her case the ultimately miserable death of suicide. Like Turnus she is involved in beginning the war through the daemonic agency of Allecto; like Turnus, she furnishes likely material for persuasion to folly, but it is hard to ascribe to her complete responsibility for what she does. Again a pointed simile indicates that she is out of her own control and in the hand of another; when Allecto attacks her she is compared with a top driven along by boys at play[25]—the implication is clearly that Allecto is driving her mad in her own malicious glee, and both situation and image remind us of Gloucester's words in *King Lear* (Act IV Scene 1): 'As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods; / They kill us for their sport'. Like Turnus again, she can recall Homeric characters, in her case Andromache and Hecuba, but her suicide bears all the marks of that of a stage-queen of tragedy: she retreats inside the palace and kills herself by hanging, like the Jocasta of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* or the Phaedra of Euripides' *Hippolytus*.

Amata and Turnus are the most significant uses of tragedy in the *Aeneid*, though there are others, especially the use of stage laments by fathers over the corpses of their sons in the grief of Mezentius over Lausus in Book 10 (846–56).[26] Tragedy is only one element in Vergil's use of the crossing of genres in his military epic: elements also appear (for example) from historiography and pastoral,[27] and the strong antiquarian flavour evident throughout the poem may owe as much to contemporary Roman literature of this kind (especially Varro) as to the tra-

dition of aetiology and religious lore inherited from the Hellenistic poets.[28] Such breadth of generic cross-reference is naturally enough not a feature of Homer, for few, if any, other literary genres existed at the time when the Homeric poems were composed; nor is it traditionally Roman, for few poets writing in Latin before Vergil could offer his combination of literary learning and sophisticated techniques of allusion, least of all in the kind of rumbustious military epic for which Ennius had been the model.

Let us return now to the theme of civil war, briefly suggested some while back as a novel element introduced by Vergil to the military epic. On the surface, the war described in the *Aeneid*, being between Trojans and Italians in Italy, is a clash of Western natives and Eastern foreigners, a cultural contrast sometimes played upon in the poem,[29] but one underlying factor effectively characterises it as a civil struggle, namely the future unity of Trojans and Italians in the Roman race. Ironically enough, the surface cause of the war in the dispute about Lavinia's marriage also indicates its ultimate futility: Lavinia must be given to Aeneas and not to Turnus, and it is the descendants of the union of Italian princess and Trojan king who will form the Roman master-race of the future, the inevitability of which is frequently anticipated in the poem and of course proved by history to Vergil's original readers in contemporary Rome. The dual themes of future unity and civil war are hinted at several times in Book 7, but begin to emerge strongly as the war approaches its climax in Book 12. At 12.503–4 the poet expostulates as the battle rages:

> tanton placuit concurrere motu,
> Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras ?
>
> Was it your will, Jupiter, that peoples destined to be in peaceful union for evermore should clash with such mighty motion?

Here 'pax' means more than a cessation of hostilities; as often[30] its etymological connection with 'pact' is stressed—Trojans and Latins have earlier in the book sworn an agreement of what is effectively perpetual union if Aeneas wins the duel with Turnus (175–211), and although the duel-treaty has since been broken by the Latins the deal between Aeneas and Latinus, both carefully described as taking no part in the treaty-

breaking (285–6, 311–17), presumably still stands. The poet thus expresses rhetorical shock, as well he might, at apparent divine sanctioning of a civil war.

The most interesting aspect of Vergil's choice to depict the war in Italy as a civil struggle is its effect on the evaluative framework of his epic. In a war between Romans and foreigners, the standard material of Roman military epic, there is little doubt which side is right and deserves the reader's support; but in a civil war, especially a civil war which begins as in the *Aeneid* by divine machination, the question of which side is justified is, along with the connected issue of responsibility for the war, much more obscure. The poet deliberately complicates the issue, wholly against Roman notions of the just war, which required a clear injury and requests for reparation before war could be declared;[31] he is not interested in clear answers. This is part of what emerges from his poems as a complex view of life and of human fraiity, but it also gives him an important poetic weapon, shared in fact with Homer in the *Iliad*: he is able to show sympathy to characters on either side, especially to Aeneas' arch-enemy Turnus, and to suggest that neither the Trojans nor Italians are perfect. This is seen most significantly in the hero of the poem: Aeneas is generally laudable, but behaves dubiously at crucial points of the battle, losing all restraint in a massacre after the death of Pallas and finally killing Turnus, albeit on a laudable impulse, when clemency would have been easy and appropriate.

Another aspect which Vergil can add to his epic by using the motif of civil war is that of a comparison with his own times. Vergil, born in 70 BC, passed the years of his prime in the terrible period of civil wars which brought an end to the Roman Republic: he was about twenty when Caesar crossed the Rubicon, and nearly forty when Octavian put effective end to the civil wars at Actium. Concern with the civil wars can be seen in the *Georgics*, especially in the climactic end of the first *Georgic* which represents the young Octavian as sole saviour of the state, and the *Aeneid* continues this trend. A civil war in which the figurehead leader of one side, Latinus, is the prospective father-in-law of the leader of the other, Aeneas, must have recalled to contemporary readers the struggle between Caesar and his son-in-law Pompey which had finished at Pharsalus less than thirty years before the appearance of the *Aeneid*; as if to make sure of this, the poet gives a clear signal in his text. As she intervenes to begin the war in Book 7, Juno reflects maliciously that she

knows that the union of the two peoples in a new kingdom is inevitable, but that she will nevertheless raise death and destruction amongst them, ending with the words (7.317) 'hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum', 'let this be the cost to their peoples at which the son-in-law and father-in-law unite.' It is not only the general notion which suggests the struggle between Caesar and Pompey, but also the phrase 'socer atque gener': these two labels are used by Vergil himself to describe Caesar and Pompey without naming them in the Show of Heroes in *Aeneid* 6 (850–1), and a satiric passage of Catullus (29.24 'socer generque, perdidistis omnia', father-in-law and son-in-law—you've ruined everything') shows that 'socer generque' was a slogan characterizing the two as early as the mid-fifties BC.

However, for Romans of the teens BC, Vergil's original readership, the most significant figure of the civil wars was not of course Caesar or Pompey, but rather their *princeps* Augustus. Augustus is brought on twice in the first half of the *Aeneid*, but also appears once in its second and military half. The appearance of a contemporary character in a mythological epic is another innovation of Vergil's which broadens the scope of military epic; we may see its effect in *Aeneid* 8, where Augustus' victory at Actium is prophetically depicted on the shield which Aeneas is about to take into the battle which will resolve his own civil war, one of a number of occasions where analogies between Augustus and Aeneas are suggested.[32] Augustus' appearance might be said to unite the traditions of Roman and Homeric military epic: he appears in a mythological epic of Homeric type, but his praises are sung as a military figure, the victor of Actium, just as Ennius sang those of Scipio, victor of Zama. The technique of introducing a contemporary monarch through prophecy of the future in a mythological poem may have been learnt by Vergil from Callimachus' fourth Hymn (to Delos) where Apollo, still in his mothers womb, foretells the coming glories of Ptolemy II (165 ff), but it is certainly new to military epic.

How then are we to see Vergil as a war-poet? I have endeavoured to judge him against his social and historical background, and against the two literary traditions of military epic, Greek and Roman, which influenced him. He has clearly extended the bounds of military epic, not only by using non-epic material but also by treating his war as a civil struggle with no easy jingoistic answers; but he has remained true to both the Roman and Homeric traditions in his depiction of the details of fighting,

and is a true Roman in his glorification of the state and its great men. Thus the impression with which one leaves the second half of the *Aeneid* is one of fundamental ambivalence, an ambivalence reached by modification of the literary tradition of epic and which is matched by an ambivalence in the value-system of the *Aeneid*. The war in Italy, like Aeneas' mission in general, is seen as ultimatety glorious for the future collectivity of Rome, but costly in terms of life and moral integrity for those individuals, both victors and victims, who bear its present cost. This paradox is well illustrated by the final scene of the poem, where Aeneas, to whom the now wounded and defenceless Turnus has yielded the hand of Lavinia, remembers the death of Pallas, whose baldric Turnus is unfortunately wearing, and kills Turnus in vengeance. There on the one hand Turnus loses his life at Aeneas' hands, and Aeneas his philosophic humanity and Roman *clementia* in a cold act of revenge; on the other the act of Aeneas is justified by a laudable loyalty to Pallas and Evander, Turnus' death had been anticipated earlier in the poem and seems inevitable given the close analogy with that of Hector in the *Iliad*; and the killing is perhaps necessary for the final establishment of the Trojans in Italy—the impetuous and humiliated Turnus, despite his professions, might not perhaps have been relied on to keep the peace after defeat and surrender. The sudden cut-off at the very moment of Turnus' death leaves all in the balance: this is no indication that the poem is unfinished, but rather the choice of the poet to sign off at a disturbing and ambiguous moment in order to reinforce the ultimate ambivalence of his outlook on the war. To return to our original analogy with poets of war in English, Vergil may be fruitfully compared as a war-poet with both Rupert Brooke and Wilfred Owen, but perhaps inclines more to the outlook of the latter; his 'Brookean' enthusiasm for Rome and Augustus against the foreign foe, though an important part of the overall plan of the *Aeneid*, plays little real part in the narrative of the war in Italy because of its deliberately-chosen analogy with the Roman civil wars, and what emerges from Vergil's battle-narrative is something more like Owen's sense of the waste of war, of the common and vulnerable humanity of friend and foe, and of the sympathetic role of the war-poet in expressing 'the pity war distilled'.

S.J. HARRISON
Corpus Christi College, Oxford

NOTES

1. Vergil himself uses a number of gladiatorial terms and images—cf. P.R. Hardie, *Vergil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford, 1986, p.152 n.80.

2. Cf. Vergil *Ecl.* 6.3, Horace *A.P.* 73.

3. Cf. S. Koster, *Antike Epostheorien* (*Palingenesia* 5), Wiesbaden, 1970.

4. Cf. Cicero *Arch.* 21, *Att.* 1.16.15.

5. *FPL* fr. 15–16 Büchner. It is unclear whether this epic Furius can be identified with the Furius Bibaculus—cf. Niall Rudd, *The Satires of Horace*, Cambridge, 1966, p. 298 n. 52, R.O.A.M. Lyne, *CQ* n.s. 28 (1978) p. 171 n. 13.

6. *FPL* fr. 23–4 Büchner.

7. Only one fragment remains (*FPL* fr. 5 Büchner, a fulsome address to Augustus), but a military flavour seems likely from hints in Horace (Odes 1.6.1 ff. and *Sat.* 1.10.43 ff.); cf. W. Wimmel, *ANRW* II 30.3 (1983) 1605–14.

8. Cf. Quintilian 10.1.89; on the uncertainty about the exact title and type of Severus' poem cf. J.C. Bramble in the *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, II, Cambridge, 1982, 487–8.

9. Cf. *Aeneid* 10.202–3 with the remarks of R.E.A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans*, Cambridge, 1970, 39–40.

10. Cassius Dio 41.36.3

11. R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik* (2nd ed.), Leipzig, 1915, 207. Heinze's suggestion that Vergil generally avoids complicated wounds for the sake of epic dignity must at least be qualified by the examples offered here.

12. J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford, 1980, 103–43, B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* (Hermes Einzeischriften 21), Wiesbaden, 1968.

13. Cf. G.N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (*Hypomnemata* 7), Göttingen, 1964, and more recently A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello* (*Biblioteca di MD*, 1), Pisa, 1984.

14. On tragedy in the *Aeneid* cf. (e.g.) N.W. De Witt, *CJ* 26 (1930) 19–27, K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description*, London, 1968, 324–49, and (most substantially) A. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie*, Diss. Berlin, 1970.

15. Cf. R.B. Rutherford, *JHS* 102 (1982) 145–60, C.W. Macleod,

Homer: Iliad Book XXIV, Cambridge, 1982, 1–8.

16. Cf. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, Stuttgart, 1924, 202–24.

17. On the meaning of this disputed phrase see most helpfully D.W. Lucas, *Aristotle's Poetics*, Oxford, 1968, Appendix IV (different views e.g. in T.C.W. Stinton, *CQ* n.s. 25 (1975) 221–54, S. Halliwell, *Aristotle's Poetics*, London, 1986, 215–26). For an assessment of the characters of the *Aeneid* as tragic by Aristotelian standards cf. M. von Albrecht in *Silvae: Festschrift für E. Zinn*, ed. von Albrecht and E. Heck, Tübingen, 1970, 1–5.

18. This view is put most substantially and recently by P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergilis Aeneis* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 164), Königstein, 1984.

19. Cf. D.A. West, op. cit. (n. 1) 68–9, S.J. Harrison, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 100.

20. Cf. R. Heinze, op. cit. (n. 12) 183–4.

21. Cf. Heinze 209–10, R.A. Hornsby, *PhQ* 45 (1966) 347 ff.

22. Cf. *Iliad* 2.38, 5.406, 12.113, 20.264, 296, 466 (all in initial position), and Kirk's note on *Iliad* 2.38.

23. Cf. N.W. De Witt, *CJ* 2 (1907) 286–7

24. Cf. A. La Penna, *Maia* 19 (1967) 309–18.

25. The top probably recalls Dionysus' aspect as child-god, anticipating the Bacchic guise which Amata will soon assume—cf. G. Hirst, *CQ* 31 (1937) 65–6.

26. Cf. G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil*, Frankfurt, 1979, 136–7.

27. Historiography: *Aeneid* 1.8, 7.40, 10.90 (interest in *causae*—cf. E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge*, Rome, 1964, 2.149). Pastoral: cf. the scenes at 10.190–1 and 10.833–6.

28. Cf. N.M. Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 141–50.

29. Cf. esp. the speech of Numanus Remulus (*Aeneid* 9.598–620).

30. Cf. S. Weinstock, *JRS* 50 (1960) p. 45 n. 12.

31. Cf. Cicero *Off.* 1.35–40, S. Albert, *Bellum Iustum* (Frankfurter althistorischer Studien 10), Kallmünz, 1980.

32. On the Aeneas/Augustus analogy see most fully G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus*, Meisenheim-am-Glan, 1971.

A Virgilian in Malta

Both the Hon. Treasurer of the Virgil Society and the Editor of this Memorial Volume have been delighted to hear from one of the society's oldest and most enthusiastic members. I refer to the Reverend Father David J.G. Leech, whose address is: Sacred Heart Building, Victoria, Gozo, Malta.

He wrote to be enrolled in the Virgil Society as soon as he had seen the editorial in *The Times* about its foundation! I might add that he was also among the first to contribute financially to Volume XIX.

Born on 2nd July 1914 he received his classical education in the University of Oxford, where he had that brilliant composer Ronald Knox as his guide and mentor. He was once a monk in simple vows at St. Mary's Abbey, Buckfast; now he is an oblate of St. Benedict. For thirty-three years he was Master of Latin at the Gozo Lyceum or 'Grammar School', and in 1968 he selected for its heraldic motto *MELIORA SEQVAMVR* from *Aeneid* iii 188.

In view of St. Paul's experiences on *Melita insula* (*Acts* 28) one might expect *Eclogue* iii 93 (*latet anguis in herba*) to be charged with particular meaning for Fr. David. However, he tells us that, much as he loves Virgil's other works, the *Aeneid* is his special favourite. Every year for well over fifty years he has read a book of the *Aeneid* every month. This works out—*animum si veris implet Apollo*—at just over twenty-seven verses *per diem*.

We thank you for your loyal membership and wish you many more years of *viridis senectus*!

H.H.H.

Virgil's Introduction of Mezentius: Aeneid 7. 647–8

> Primus init bellum Tyrrhenis asper ab oris
> contemptor diuum Mezentius, agminaque armat.

There have been different suggestions as to why Virgil chose Mezentius, *contemptor diuum*, to head the Italian forces ranged against Aeneas:[1] but in the spirit of Servius' comment on these lines (*non mirum si sacrilegus et contemptor deum contra piam gentem prior arma corripuit*) most critics note that such a placing emphasizes his role as a foil to the hero who will in due course dispose of him, *pius Aeneas*.[2] Although this point will no doubt prove to be relevant later, if we look at the structure of Book 7 we find that *pius Aeneas* is in fact contrasted, not with Mezentius, but with his chief adversary, Turnus. Our attention is drawn to this by the outer frame of the book, which begins and ends, quite exceptionally, with passages dedicated to two women, Caieta and Camilla: Caieta, a Trojan nurse who has just died peacefully, full of years, and Camilla, a Volscian warrior-maiden, doomed to die violently in battle while still in her prime. And once we see these two as a contrasting pair, we also see next to them, on the one hand, *pius Aeneas*, quietly discharging the last sad duty owed to his former nurse, and on the other the restless Turnus, bustling about in the vanguard of the Italian forces, his helmet topped with the figure of a Chimera belching forth volcanic fire. As for Mezentius, the only comparable formal arrangement brings in Camilla once more and involves the catalogue, which opens with this Etruscan despiser of gods, a formidable figure disposed of in two curt lines, and closes with the radiant picture of the Volscian princess, devotee of Diana, on whom the poet lavishes no less than fifteen brilliantly descriptive lines.[3]

Here we ought surely to pause and take a closer look at the paradox we have just touched upon. For if Mezentius is indeed a figure of such importance as to be put at the head of this review of Italian forces, why is he allotted no more than two lines on this, his first appearance, when

his son, Lausus, is then given six (649–54), and Aventinus, who will play no part in the subsequent action, receives sixteen (655–69)? The answer, I believe, has a crucial bearing on our whole approach to the lines in question, and above all casts doubt on the habit commentators tend to adopt of assuming on the reader's behalf knowledge which, strictly speaking, he has still to acquire at this stage in the epic's developing action. Fordyce for example comments (*ad* 647): '*ab oris* is to be taken closely with *Mezentius* and not with the verbs: for Mezentius has not come directly from Etruria—his Etruscan subjects had revolted and dethroned him, and he had taken refuge with the Rutulians.' But the reader cannot be expected to know all these facts at this stage, any more than Aeneas, and several considerations suggest that Virgil deliberately prolongs the ignorance of both to suit his own dramatic purpose. Above all there is the astonishing brevity of this opening reference to Mezentius, inevitable, I would suggest, because it was impossible to say more without telling the whole story. And coupled with the brevity is the ambiguity: for although the word-order supports Fordyce's view that *Tyrrhenis ab oris* refers to Mezentius' origin, in the absence of any other information the reader is still left to assume that, like his son (652), Mezentius actually proceeds from there, too. As for previous revelations, Creusa's ghost, Apollo, the Penates, Celaeno, Helenus, Anchises' ghost, and, most recently, the Sibyl, have all had their say about Aeneas' future in Italy, yet from none of them comes the faintest hint of what will in fact prove to be the key to Aeneas' survival when he arrives there, namely the Etruscan command, available because of Mezentius' expulsion. Of course in retrospect the Sibyl's enigmatic '*uia prima salutis, / quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe*' (6.96 f.) will prove to have had this support in mind, since Evander in Pallanteum will at last explain the situation (8.478 ff.) But in the meantime the reader can only share Aeneas' anxiety about the constantly worsening state of affairs (8.18 ff.), especially if he is familiar with the tradition, according to which there was no question of any separation of Mezentius from his people, and the Etruscans under his leadership supported Turnus.[4] Finally it should be noted how Virgil seems to maintain the tension thus generated for as long as he can. When the Tiber-god, for example, welcomes Aeneas and professes to explain how he can emerge victorious from his present plight (8.36 ff.), he makes no reference to Etruria even though the Tiber is an Etruscan river (cf. 8.473), but instead somewhat misleadingly

implies that an alliance with Evander will ensure of itself this outcome. Moreover even when Aeneas reaches Pallanteum the vital information is still withheld. The position is that the Etruscans have driven out Mezentius because of his monstrous cruelty, and he has joined Turnus, a long-standing enemy of the Pallanteans, in Ardea. Meanwhile a punitive expedition has been assembled by the Etruscans, but a *haruspex* has indicated that it can proceed against Mezentius only when it has acquired a foreign leader. Evander himself is too old for such an undertaking, and his son, Pallas, is disqualified through having a Sabine mother: so that when Aeneas arrives on the scene it quickly dawns on the Greek king that he is the longed-for foreign leader 'called for by the fates.'[5] This no doubt explains Evander's remarkable reaction as he listens attentively to Aeneas' speech proposing an alliance:

> ille os oculosque loquentis
> iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus.
>
> (8.152–3)

Indeed, that this is the implication of Evander's reaction seems confirmed by the equally remarkable demeanour of Latinus in the previous book, when he receives from Ilioneus an account of Aeneas' arrival in Latium after a divinely ordained and guided voyage. For Latinus, too, is under oracular instructions to await the arrival of a foreigner, in this case to marry his daughter and establish a dynasty with a glorious destiny. And when Ilioneus finishes speaking the poet continues:

> talibus Ilionei dictis defixa Latinus
> obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret,
> intentos uoluens oculos.
>
> (7.249 ff.)

Naturally the details differ considerably, since on this earlier occasion Aeneas is in fact absent: but the similar emphasis on each king's demeanour in such similar circumstances makes the passages an unmistakeable pair.[6] It should be noted, however, that although Latinus proceeds at once to acknowledge Aeneas as his daughter's destined bridegroom (7.268 ff.), Evander keeps his conviction to himself, and makes no reference yet to the Etruscan command. In fact Aeneas spends

the first day of his mission to Pallanteum listening to Evander's account of Hercules' deliverance of the region from the monstrous Cacus, joining in the cult of Hercules, and touring the site of the future Rome under the king's guidance. Only on the following day does Aeneas at last learn the truth about Mezentius and the Etruscan command awaiting an *externus*, as Evander urges him to answer the call of fate, and progresses in the course of his speech from the opening '*maxime Teucrorum ductor*' to the closing '*o Teucrum atque Italum fortissime ductor*' (8.470, 513).[7] However, since Latinus' recent message suggesting that he should, as the required *externus*, answer a similar call and marry his daughter, was quickly followed by such disastrous consequences, it is hardly surprising that Aeneas now reacts with gloomy hesitation, unsure whether this new type of less specific guidance really does dovetail with the clearer sort he received in the past.[8] But then the tension which the poet has carefully maintained for so long is suddenly dissolved as Venus fulfils an earlier promise to provide a sign and weapons made by Vulcan should war threaten (cf. 8.535: *si bellum ingrueret*). One might have expected this intervention earlier, perhaps: but the fact that the goddess has waited until this precise moment is a clear indication that the Etruscan cause is indeed part of the coming war: and the point is confirmed when the complex prodigy involved (thunder and lightning in a clear sky, accompanied by a noisy celestial display of the promised weapons) includes the loud blare of an Etruscan trumpet (8.523 ff.). No wonder Aeneas reacts with such enthusiasm:

> 'ne uero hospes, ne quaere profecto
> quem casum portenta ferant: ego poscor Olympo.'
>
> (8.532–3)

For, like the reader, he has had to wait long enough for the Etruscan situation to be cleared up at last.

So much, then, for the brevity of Mezentius' introduction, and a possible explanation of it. I want to turn now to the epithet *contemptor diuum* (7.468) and approach it in a similar spirit. Naturally the implications of the phrase become clearer as the epic progresses. Thus when, in order to motivate the detachment of Mezentius from his subjects, Virgil attributes to him, through Evander's account,[9] the unspeakable practice of binding the living to the dead, a form of torture ascribed

elsewhere to Etruscan pirates, we are reminded of the poet's view that grave maltreatment of one's fellow-men itself constitutes a form of *contemptio deum*, and merits for those guilty of it a place in Tartarus, listening for ever to Phlegyas' now pointless cry:

> 'discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere diuos'
>
> (6.620)

Later, when Mezentius rejects the dying Orodes' warning of his own impending death with a sardonic reference to the power of Jupiter (10.742–4), and proceeds to deify and invoke in prayer his right hand and his spear (10.773–4),[10] we see him as the heir to an established literary tradition of agnostic defiance.[11] As for the already mentioned contrast with *pius Aeneas*, although it is perhaps premature to press it in discussing 7.647–8, such a contrast certainly emerges later, for example when we find Aeneas praying to Jupiter and Apollo to grant him a duel with Turnus (10.875–6), and the Etruscan responding with a characteristic rejection of such pieties: '*nec mortem horremus nec diuum parcimus ulli*' (10.880). So too, while Mezentius is prepared to violate the established code regarding booty[12] by decking his son, Lausus, in the armour he hopes to strip from Aeneas' corpse, and even proposes to perform a sacrilegious parody of the trophy ritual[13] by turning his son into a living trophy over Aeneas (10.774 ff.), Aeneas himself is scrupulous in such matters, retaining Mezentius' arms for dedication to Mars, and countering his blasphemy by establishing in orthodox fashion a trophy in the god's honour (11.5 ff.). Moreover by letting Aeneas refer to that same booty as *primitiae* (11.16) Virgil leaves us to infer, if we so choose, that the hero is well aware of Mezentius' traditional association with an impious demand for first-fruits, and here indicates, with appropriate irony, that his sacrilegious hubris has finally come home to roost.[14]

But however interesting and complex a character Mezentius may turn out to be[15] (and I omit here Virgil's development of the father-son relationship in this context), that all lies in the future when we first read the catalogue's opening lines: and the question is, what kind of impact is the phrase *contemptor diuum Mezentius* meant to make when we first encounter it? An answer can perhaps be found by considering the problem facing the poet at this stage in the development of the epic action. For the truth had to be faced that the war on which the Italians

were now embarking was an unholy undertaking, contrary to fate. In the first half of the epic the Trojans have been guided to Italy by a stream of oracles emanating ultimately from Jupiter, and their reception on arrival there has been similarly if less elaborately provided for. Above all, Latinus has correctly identified Aeneas as the one referred to in the already mentioned oracle of Faunus:

> 'ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,
> o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis:
> externi uenient generi qui sanguine nostrum
> nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes
> omnia sub pedibus qua sol utrumque recurrens
> aspicit Oceanum, uertique regique uidebunt.'
>
> (7.96 ff.)

But before Aeneas can respond to Latinus' overtures, Juno intervenes through Allecto to give a supernatural dimension to the natural disaffection of the local people, headed by the rejected suitor, the Rutulian king, Turnus; and when the ineffective Latinus is confronted by an anti-Trojan uprising the poet's verdict is unequivocal:

> ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum
> contra fata deum peruerso numine poscunt.
>
> (7.583–4)[16]

So too is that of Latinus himself as he gives up the struggle to control his subjects:

> ' ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
> o miseri. te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
> supplicium, uotisque deos uenerabere seris.'
>
> (7.595 ff.)

Virgil, then, found himself saddled with the task of reviewing the forces of his fellow-countrymen as they gathered to champion a cause which was in fact beyond the pale. So just as pride in his own region may have helped to inspire him to transfer the Etruscans as a nation to the better cause, so now he lets the tyrannical king they have rejected appear at the

head of the parade, conveying, as *contemptor diuum*, an emphatic but at the same time fleeting acknowledgement of the sacrilegious nature of the war. For although, as we have seen, the epithet will later prove to carry its own distinctive implications for Mezentius as an individual, its very lack of clarity on its first appearance means that we can only fall back on the context at this point and interpret it in the way suggested. Moreover the skill with which Virgil quickly leaves behind the negative aspect of such an opening deserves to be noted. For the terse reference to Mezentius at once gives way to the fuller and more positive description of his very different son (7.649–54): and in the course of it the poet even contrives as it were to jettison Mezentius for the time being with the phrase *dignus patriis qui laetior esset / imperiis et cui pater haud Mezentius esset* (7.653–4). With the Italian guilt thus briefly acknowledged and then speedily left behind, Virgil could now concentrate on what he loved most, Italy and its peoples, and take a joyful pride in the rest of their cavalcade.

E. L. HARRISON
University of Leeds

NOTES

1. E.g. both Paratore and Perret (*ad loc.*) ignore *contemptor diuum*, but while Paratore sees Mezentius' position as a tribute to the Etruscan contribution to the Italian cause, inspired by the poet's pride in his own roots, Perret puts it down to the hero's courage and military experience. G. Thome on the other hand sees Mezentius as thus given the status of a representative figure whose harshness in battle (cf. *asper*) and impiety reflect badly on the Italian cause right from the start (*Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil*, Frankfurt am Main (1978) 16.

2. Cf. e.g. E. Fraenkel, *JRS* 35 (1945) 11: 'In the case of Mezentius it is obvious that he heads the list because he, the *contemptor deum*, is in every respect the opposite of *pius Aeneas*.' Cf. also C.F. Saylor, *CP* 69 (1974) 250; J.W. Jones, *Vergilius* 23 (1977) 52; H.C. Gotoff, TAPA 114 (1984) 193.

3. On the other hand, in spite of this contrast, these two belong closely together, too: as A.G. McKay puts it, *Vergil's Italy*, Bath (1971) 35, they are 'characters of the authentic epic, obsolete and foredoomed in the new environment and the new literary form.'

4. For a summary see W.A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford (1969) 78 f.; in greater detail, G. Thome, *op. cit.* 186 ff. Only Lycophron makes a brief reference to Etruscan support for Aeneas (*Alexandra* 1245 ff.), and he nowhere mentions Mezentius. See N. Horsfall, *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 13.

5. For this motif see F. Bömer, *RhM* 92 (1944) 327 ff.

6. W. Heilmann, *Gymnasium* 78 (1971) 81 notes the significance of Evander's reaction, but does not link the two passages.

7. Cf. Heilmann, *ibid.*

8. For other approaches to this passage see V. Pöschl, *Hermeneia: Festschrift* Otto Regenbogen, Heidelberg (1952) 134 ff.; Heilmann *op. cit.* 86 ff.

9. W.P. Basson, *AC* 27 (1984) 66, refers in this context to 'the mouth of the ill-disposed Evander', as if thereby to undermine the validity of the report. Cf. also P.F. Burke, *CJ* 69 (1973–4) 209: 'Evander, Mezentius' enemy, gives the blackest possible impression of the man.' But the expulsion of the tyrant by his own people, their astonishing determination to seek him out for punishment (10.691–2), Mezentius' own uncomplaining acknowledgement of their hatred (10.904–5), and finally Virgil's own verdict on the man (7.653–4), all suggest that Evander simply told the truth. For a sensitive treatment cf. E.W. Leach, *Arethusa* 4 (1971) 86.

10. As P.T. Eden notes, *PVS* 4 (1964–5) 32, Mezentius' 'god' at once fails him in his hour of need, since his spear misses Aeneas and strikes Antores instead.

11. See e.g. F.A. Sullivan, *CP* 64 (1969) 219 ff.; J. Glenn, *Vergilius* 18 (1972) 10; H.C. Gotoff, *TAPA* 114 (1984) 199 f.

12. Cf. R. Hornsby, *PhQ* 45 (1966) 347 ff.

13. Cf. K.P. Nielson, *Vergilius* 29 (1983) 28.

14. For different approaches to this topic see J. Glenn, *Vergilius* 17 (1971) 7–8; P.F. Burke, *Vergilius* 20 (1974) 28–9; G. Dumézil, *Mélanges Jacques Heurgon* Vol. 1, Rome (1976) 233 ff.

15. For a full discussion see H.C. Gotoff, *TAPA* 114 (1984) 191 ff.

16. G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven & London (1983) 72, takes too narrow a view of what lies behind these lines when he writes: 'The immorality of the war rests on the exchange of hospitality and pledges between Latinus and Aeneas, symbolising the union of the two peoples.'