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PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIRGIL SOCIETY

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(Editor: H. MacL. Currie, M.A., Queen Mary College, Mile End Road, London E.1.)

Contents

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LECTORIBUS EDITOR

Once again we are grateful to the President and Fellows of the British Academy who have made us a generous grant towards the cost of this issue from their Publications Fund.

We are grateful, too, to our extra-metrum contributors and remind readers

that articles or notes on points in Virgil scholarship are always welcome.

We look forward once more to meeting and hearing our President, Sir James Mountford, in February when he will deliver a paper from the chair entitled "Tempo and Texture in the Aeneid".

From the other side of the Atlantic comes this note: "Vergilius, published by the Vergilian Society of America, solicits contributions by scholars working in Virgilian and related subjects. Manuscripts should be sent to the editor, Prof. J.A.S. Evans, McMaster University, Hamilton Ontario, Canada. Queries about subscriptions should be sent to the Treasurer, Vergilian Society of America. Mr. Charles Twichell, The Choate School, Wallingford, Conn., 06492, U.S.A."

A memorial fund for W.F. Jackson Knight has been opened by the Classics Department at Exeter University with the intention of endowing an annual lecture on one of the subjects in which he was interested and financing its subsequent publication. Contributions are invited and should be sent to Prof. F.W. Clayton, The University, Exeter, who will be pleased to receive them.

The Society proposes to arrange a one-day conference on Virgil at the Institute of Classical Studies, 31-34 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, on Saturday, 3rd May, 1969. It will be of special interest to teachers and sixth-formers. Further details will be sent out to members later this year.

After long and excellent service, Prof. W.S. Maguinness has resigned from the Council. He still remains, however, one of our Vice-Presidents and we shall continue to have the benefit of his support and wise advice. He is succeeded on the Council by Dr. Leslie Watkiss, a member of the Society for many years.

The year has seen a number of valuable publications in the field of classical epic. Amongst these we mention the general survey by Mr. R.D. Williams of the nature and importance of Virgil's poetry "based on a broad and selective consideration of recent work of a critical kind". This is no. 1 of "New Surveys in the Classics" published by Greece and Rome (1967). The House of Methuen and Yale University Press are to be warmly congratulated on the four volumes of Pope's Homer which they have brought out, with introductions and notes, under the general editorship of Maynard Mack. Another publishing event of great importance (especially to Virgilians) is the appearance of K.D. White's "Agricultural Implements of the Roman World" (C.U.P., £4-10-0), a most impressive performance.

From Prof. T.J. Haarhoff, an old and loyal member, comes an offprint of a lecture he delivered last year to the Classical Association of Central Africa under the title: "The multi-racial Context of the Aeneid and the Survival of national Individuality: Vergilian Values". The fall of the Roman empire caused the disappearance of a unity of culture and sentiment which we are still trying to rediscover - a culture and sentiment greatly influenced by the Virgilian humanitas.

A reprint of Proceedings 2 (1962-63) has been made and copies are available from the Hon. Secretary at 12/6 each (plus 9d postage).

We conclude with our usual greetings to all friends at home and abroad, thanking them warmly on behalf of the Council and officers of the Society for their continued support and interest.

Hon. Secretary of the Virgil Society:- H. MacL. Currie, M.A., Queen Mary College, London, E.1.

Hon. Treasurer of the Virgil Society:- J.D.M. Preshous, M.A., 28 Mill Lane, Earley, Reading.

Chairman of Council:- Dr. A.J. Gossage, King's College, London, W.C.2.

V.S. Lectures, No. 83

ARCADIA

A lecture delivered to the Virgil Society
21st October 1967

by the Rev. Peter Levi, S.J., M.A.

We are interested in Virgil's Arcadia not only, and not first because it is a problem of literary history, to be solved by skilful analysis and accurate scholarship, but because it is a profound theme, a truly moving poetic conception which is inseparable from the greatness of Virgil's early poetry. The problem is a wide one, but it can be simply stated: why does Virgil in the Eclogues talk about Arcadia and Arcadians, and what does he mean to convey? That is the problem but it is not so easy to analyse the poetic conception. We have all learnt that Virgil's landscape is ideal, mixed, non-local, that it is essentially cultivated, that its characters are allegorical and its values spiritual, and that it has some relation to Hellenistic painting. But this conception remains diffuse, and it is hard to see why it should be so moving.

The subject of Virgilian landscape extends too far to be treated in this paper; it involves all the contrasts and obsessions of the Georgics, and what by a paradox one might call the passionate modesty of that poem. To approach the subject one would have to begin by discussing Virgil's religious situation, and by establishing that landscape poetry did not exist in his time in any modern sense of the word. I am not a good enough Virgilian scholar to deal with all the thoughts and feelings and the resonance of the words that are present in the landscape background to the Eclogues, but I hope that if we confine ourselves to the problem of Arcadia, why Arcadia, we may stand a better chance of throwing some light on Virgil, and on the mistakes we make about him.

Everyone knows that behind Virgil in the Eclogues stands Theokritos. Theokritos' country idylls are set in a landscape which is sometimes that of the island of Kos, sometimes apparently in south Italy. There is some Sicilian colouring; the characters include an Assyrian and a Carian(2), a Libyan and a Sicilian(1), and an Athenian, an Argive and a Thessalian(14). The dialect is a conventional, not a spoken Doric, and both the literary quality of the language, which is at the same time so sweet and so salty, and the rather loose and yet concrete localization suggest that Theokritos was basing his work not only on such a writer as Philetas of Kos, but on the language of popular song, of which at this period we know little. After all, the antiphonal singing of herdsmen in the fields is not only a presupposition of Theokritean poetry: it is a known, observed phenomenon; it occurs to this day, though not from any Greek influence, in central Bohemia, where some very beautiful impromptu antiphonal chanting line by line from hill to hill has been recorded by A. L. Lloyd. Already in Theokritos, we are of course dealing with elaborate formal poetry. There is no particular accuracy about or emphasis on geography; the only odd thing is that if no one had yet mentioned Arcadia, it would be strange for Virgil to superimpose that name on a countryside already colonized by poetry, and geographically speaking already a palimpsest. He is not gratuitously original in the <u>realia</u> of his poetry and one would like to know the reason.

First it should be said that apart from an epic allusion at id.22, 157 Theokritos does mention Arcadia twice: once at id.1, 123 and once at id.7, 107, both times because Arcadia is the home of Pan, a god whom Theokritos' mountain-wandering rustics particularly worship: because Pan is not only a mountain god and a herdsman, he is the special god of the reed pipe. We ought not to underestimate the debt of Virgil to Theokritos; it is worth noticing that whenever Virgil mentions Arcadia or Arcadians in the Eclogues, which is by no means in every Eclogue, he does so in connection with Pan, or antiphonal rustic singing and piping. Pan really was the god of Arcadia as we know in detail from the 8th book of Pausanian and in passing from many other sources. He was a mountain god, ὅς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε, καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων. It was on an Arcadian mountain(1) that Pan appeared to Philippides, and when Pindar saw and heard Pan singing between Kithairon and Helikon, he wrote the god a poem beginning ὦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων, καὶ σεμνῶν ἀδύτων φύλαξ. ...

The Attic skolion to Pan begins in the same way:

... ὦ Πάν, Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλεεννᾶς ...

and soon after Virgil's death in a poem addressed to a different Vergilius, Horace makes his only reference to Pan, without naming him, calling him simply the god of Arcadia (carm.4, 12, 9-12). Horace's identification of Pan and Faunus in Odes 1, 17 and 3, 18 is another matter and another problem; these two poems in several ways confirm the point I am making. In the same way Propertius (1.18, 20) writes of Arcadio pinus amica deo, and the pine woods of Pan's Arcadia figure in Ovid's Fasti (2,266f).

You may feel that the problem has ceased to exist, and that Virgil mentions the Arcadians only because they were Pan's countrymen, but the four lines of Horace with their clear formula of rustics singing to the Arcadian god were written after Virgil's death and may surely derive from the Eclogues; there is nothing so clear before the Eclogues were written. The references to Arcadia in Virgil's Eclogues are these.

The first Eclogue seems to be set in Italy but deep in the provinces. Some of the geographic names are rather wild and remote; so they are in Theokritos: there is certainly a difference, but it does not concern us now. The second Eclogue is set in Sicily - mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae - but Pan is the herdsman's god and the great singing master; mecum una in silvis imitabere Pana canendo ... Pan curat ovis oviumque magistros. The 3rd Eclogue is a very odd poem with a setting not identified, presumably in the Italian provinces. The fourth appeals in its first line Sicelides Musae ... si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae. Near the end, Virgil is so confident in his theme as to challenge Pan with all Arcadia for judge, though this is a flight of deliberately naive rhetoric: the poem is not set in Arcadia. But it surely must presuppose a tradition of competitive antiphonal rustic singing set in Arcadia before the time of Virgil, familiar to Virgil's readers. The 5th Eclogue refers back to the 2nd, but its setting is really rather obscure: the country, the provinces, one can say nothing more. When Daphnis enters heaven alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas/Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas. Is it too fanciful to suggest that "Panaque pastoresque" may be an alliterative echo of earlier Latin poetry? The 6th Eclogue is once again supposed to be in Syracusan

verse, that is, in the verse of Theokritos, but there is still no very definite local setting. The 7th is the first Eclogue actually to refer to Arcadians, who are its two principal characters, Thyrsis and Corydon, ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo, / et cantare pares, et respondere parati. Corydon prays not to Pan but to the nymphs of Helicon, but Thyrsis sings to the Arcadian shepherds.

In Eclogue 8 Damon's song gives probably the clearest indications we have in all these 10 elaborate poems of what Virgil meant by Arcadian: its refrain is the line Incipe Maenalios mecum mea tibia versus. Mainalos is Pan's mountain in Arcadia; a number of Arcadians are called Mainalians in the athletic victory monuments at Olympia, so "Maenalios versus" means "Arcadian verses"; the verses Damon sings are typical of Virgil's Eclogues, a little disjointed in appearance but not in fact, full of sour-sweet images, and perfectly adapted both for an elaborate literary version of an antiphonal impromptu singing-contest, and for a poem built up step by step from two or three line units. We are not told that either character is Arcadian, Alphesiboeus' reply is based on Theokritos' idyll and contains no reference to Pan or to Arcadia; the crucial four lines occur early in Damon's song.

> Incipe Maenalios mecum mea tibia versus.
> Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
> semper habet; semper pastorum ille audit amores,
> Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.
> Incipe Maenalios mecum mea tibia versus.

There is no direct equivalent of this refrain in Theokritos; the nearest is Thyrsis' refrain in the 1st idyll: ἄρχετε βουκολικᾶς, Μοῖσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς. 'Herdsman's song' in Theokritos is being used in just as allusive quasi-technical a way as 'Maenalios versus' in the eclogue; that is, Theokritos is presupposing that his readers understand by βουκολικᾶς ἀοιδᾶς more or less what Virgil presupposes by Arcadian singing. It was something that must have existed and already been an almost familiar conception, in order for such a poem ever to have been written. Virgil in a wonderful vignette of mount Mainalus, makes explicit what elsewhere he presupposes. These few lines tell us as exactly as it can be expressed what Virgil means by Arcadia. It is not a completely humanized and certainly not a cultivated landscape, but it is a landscape that speaks; it is a mountain always being disturbed by tragic shepherds' songs, and it can never cease to hear its own whistling woods, and it hears the piping of the god of shepherds and goat-herds. (h.Hom. 19. 7-11).

Yet in later centuries it was not to be the wonderful and savage picture in Eclogue 8, but some more ambiguous lines in Eclogue 10 that would determine European interpretations of Virgil's Arcadia. The 9th eclogue is set in the Italian countryside; it is like the 1st, but more explicit; the setting is somewhere near Mantua. In the 10th eclogue, in the lament for Gallus, Gallus seems to have died of love wandering in the Arcadian mountains:

> Pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
> Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei.
> Stant et oves circum ...

The gods themselves come to lament: Apollo and the unforgettable Silvanus,

florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. Pan's appearance is not so beautiful but even more startling:

> Pan deus Arcadiae venit quen vidimus ipsi
> sanguineis ebuli bacis minioque rubentem.

I do not suppose 'quem vidimus ipsi is meant to imply more than that Pan does appear to shepherds in the mountains like the Fauni in the first book of the Georgics agrestum praesentia numina. The poet is speaking as a shepherd and for a moment you think he means what he says. [cf. Paus 8.36.8] Arcades ipsum/credunt se vidisse Iovem (Aen 8.352-3) The berry-juice and the crimson paint of course represent contemporary country beliefs and practices; I wonder whether the sharpness and specificity and a certain deliberate archaism and oddity about this line may not ow something to the equally odd sharp, specific lines of Theokritos about Pan being shipped (106-110)? The freezing rocky mountains where Gallus lay dying may possibly come from the same context. But there is another source for this passage and this eclogue not in Greek but in Latin poetry: in the 4th book of Lucretius de rerum natura, in a context to which I wish to return later.

Now Pan speaks; his speech has the same function as the speech of Kypris to the dying Daphnis. But Pan is apparently unable to speak three lines without a heavy rustic syntax; in fact he speaks in the rather proverbial as it were disjointed, antiphonal verse in which his shepherds sing.

> Ecquis erit modus? inquit; Amor non talia curat;
> nec lacrimis crudelis Amor, nec gramina rivis,
> nec cytiso saturantur apes, nec fronde capellae.

And Gallus seems to understand what kind of verse it is:

> Tamen cantabitis Arcades inquit
> montibus haec vestric: soli cantare periti
> Arcades.

He would die happy if he were the subject of a song like that, sung in those mountains He would even like to have been a peasant - this is a theme that Virgil is going to treat more seriously at the end of the first Georgic; here it is simply announced in two lines, but two lines which are pregnant with centuries of misunderstanding.

> Atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuissem
> aut custos gregis, aut maturae venitor uvae.

He could have a girl or a boy or both, maybe even a black boy - et nigrae violae - and lie in the shade for ever. But the truth is Gallus is a soldier. His lover has gone away to Gaul. What can he do but write poetry. It must be accepted that the smoky confusion of Gallus' feelings is deliberately and powerfully expressed. Gallus will play the songs of Euphorion on the reed of Theokritos, cut his lover's name in the bark of trees, wander over Mainalos with the nymphs, go boar-hunting in extremely bad weather among rocks and echoing woods, surrounding the hollows with his hounds, shooting a Parthian bow. And so on.

Of all the Eclogues, the 10th is the one most definitely localized in Arcadia, and the picture of Arcadia in the Augustan age is comparatively realistic: wild pinewooded mountains, bitterly cold, rocky, and very good, rough hunting country, and most important of all, the home of a primitive, rustic Pan, and the greatest centre of a certain kind of song: soli cantare periti Arcades.

Unless we are going to say that the kind of singing of which Theokritos had written happened literally to survive in real life in Arcadia into Virgil's lifetime and nowhere else, and that Virgil knew this, and that no one else records it, we are lamentably far from having solved the problem of why Virgil introduces Arcadia. If you say it was because the god Pan was the god of this kind of singing, or - much less convincing - of this kind of landscape, you have still to discover whether Virgil was the first to make the connection and if not from whom he took it; there would also remain the question whether he introduces Pan as a symbol of his Arcadians and their life or the Arcadians as subjects of the god. The question is more important than it looks. Here we must face as soberly as possible the exciting theory and the intoxicating arguments of R. Reitzenstein, which he advanced in 1893 in his Epigram und Skolion. Reitzenstein was conscious of the problem of Arcadian poetry - or rather of the problem of why Virgil thought of this genre as Arcadian, which is identical with the problem of the origins of the genre. He discovered a group of early Hellenistic poets, who beyond all question form a small, coherent group writing short epigrams in the Doric dialect, covering similar subjects and sometimes imitating one another's lines. The first and best of these writers was Anyte of Tegea, a highly original Arcadian poetess who seems to have lived a little before Theokritos; all the dates of these poets are uncertain, but one could put her floruit around the year 300. Her disciples are Theokritos' friend and contemporary the doctor Nikias of Miletos - it is interesting in this connection that Pausanias in the last chapter of his Description of Greece names Anyte as the founder of the Asklepieion at Naupaktos - and Mnesalkes of Sikyon, whose slightly later date in the second half of the 3rd century has been established by Seelbach in a combined study of Mnesalkes and of Theodoridas of Syracuse.

Reitzenstein characterizes Anyte, Nikias and Mnesalkes as the 'Peloponnesian school'. There is nothing specifically Arcadian about them except Anyte's birth-place, nor do they write Maenalios versus based on herdsmen's antiphonal song. They are not the only epigrammatists of their period to write about Pan. The strongest correspondence with Virgil's Arcadia is by none of the three: it is in the far later poet Erykios, who can hardly be earlier than the 1st century B.C. and may be later. In the 96th epigram of the 6th book of the Anthology he writes of

Γλαύκων καὶ Κορύδων οἱ ἐν ὄρεσι βουκολέοντες

Ἀρκάδες ἀμφότεροι .....

They make a dedication to Pan. The parallel with Virgil is too striking to need auxiliary argument. Reitzenstein suggested a common source: and this may be the truth; it has not been remarked, though, that the common source might quite easily be a lost poem by Theokritos, who did not collect his own work: it might even be by Philetas of Kos. The coincidence teaches us very little about an Arcadian school of poets. The contribution of Erykios' epigram to this enquiry is only to increase our already sharp suspicion that Arcadia is not original to Virgil: Pan and the Arcadian herdsmen must surely have already impressed themselves

on some current of Hellenistic poetry which is now lost. Anyte of Tegea and her followers cast only a feeble light on what that tradition was. They were not an Arcadian school in the sense of a local group of Arcadian poets, nor have we the slightest trace of evidence either from physical monuments or from literary sources that such a school ever existed. The locus classicus in Polybius (4.20) about Arcadian musical festivals and musical education is quite irrelevant: at the best it opens a possibility of which we know nothing. Among the 24 epigrams by Anyte which are preserved, two are to Pan; neither here nor elsewhere does she once mention Arcadia. No doubt she contributed to the matrix, the humus of poetry on which Theokritos and many later poets were to draw, but it is the most ordinary caution to doubt what importance we should attach to these two Pan poems. Perhaps they are pre-bucolic or early bucolic poetry: they are the first thin, clear statement of a theme that impresses us perhaps too much because of the substantial music it was to introduce. In themselves the poems are wonderful but deliberately tenuous; they have an almost Chinese quality. (Gow, Anyte 111 and X1X). Anyte is a highly civilized Hellenistic lady; how much prettier her landscape is than Virgil's Mainalus or Horace's nigri colles Arcadiae. If the phrase 'soli cantare periti Arcades' in Virgil's tenth Eclogue is really allegoric as scholars have supposed, though personally I would doubt it, there is still no reason to think Virgil was referring to Anyte, still less to Mnesalkes of Sikyon or Nikias of Miletus. What Reitzenstein has really discovered is a traditional strain in Hellenistic epigram which from the beginning fed bucolic poetry, and from the time of Theokritos borrowed back even more than it contributed. The common themes of Reitzenstein's Peloponnesian school are the invitation to sit and drink, to sit in the shade; their favourite animal is the cicada[2] and their characteristic landscape is the leaf-shivering mountain (εἰνοσίφυλλον ὄρος), which Mnesalkes (2, Gow, 5 Seelbach) connects with Artemis and his master Nikias (7) with Hermes and Mount Kyllene. One out of Nikias' eight epigrams is the dedication of a statue of Pan to look after a beehive, Μαιναλίαν κλιτὺν ἀποπρολιπών. One of the 18 by Mnesalkes (16, Gow, 7 Seelbach) complains about a shepherd's pipe dedicated to Aphrodite.

τίπτ' ἀπὸ ποιμενίου χείλεος ὧδε πάρει ; There are no rocks and crags here, this place is all love and luxury: ἀ δ'ἀγρία Μοῦσ'ἐν ὄρει νέμεται . This poem has been interpreted as a literary polemic about the proper content of bucolic poetry: a view that seems to me misconceived, since we have no evidence even of the existence of any bucolic poetry which was not love poetry. Mnesalkes' contrast of rough and smooth is implicit also in Theokritos' Cyclops; in fact the whole possibility of bucolic poetry rests on this tension, as Mnesalkes must very well have known.

All this is insubstantial. There was certainly a traditional bucolic or quasi-bucolic or sub-bucolic style of Hellenistic poems about Pan: A.P. 9, 823 for example, attributed to Plato, A.P. 5, 139 by Meleager, quoted by Karl Büchner in P.W. (241) and the beautiful unattributed single line which is A.P. 9, 825, Πᾶνά με τὸν δυσέρωτα καὶ ἐξ ὑδάτων φύγεν Ἠχώ. Erykios, with whom Virgil shares a line and a half, belongs to this tradition. There is no doubt that Virgil was familiar with Hellenistic epigrammatic poetry. Even without internal analysis of the Eclogues we should know from surviving papyrus texts and from such references as Philip of Thessalonike's dedication to Camillus that Greek poetry of this kind was familiar to an educated Roman in precisely this generation. Even Horace in his lyric poetry draws on Hellenistic epigrams. Two of Virgil's most famous phrases seem to originate from the same very strong epigram by Callimachus (Gow 9, Pfeiffer 44); agnosco veteris vestigia flammae, Aen. 4.23,

and perhaps also, more remotely, fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros. Geo. 2.157.

Ἔστι τι ναὶ τὸν Πᾶνα κεκρυμμένον, ἔστι τι ταὐτῃ
ναὶ μᾶ Διώνυσον πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ.
οὐ θαρσέω· μὴ δή με περίπλεκε· πολλάκι λήθει
τοῖχον ὑποτρώγων ἡσύχιος ποταμός.

Yet even the whole tradition of Doric and bucolic epigrams does not add up to an equivalent to Virgil's Arcadia.

After all, there is no end to the ways in which a poet can be influenced, not only by poetry and not only by "creative" literature. It was a suggestion inevitably made by Wilamowitz that the source of Virgil's Arcadia is to be found in Hellenistic learned commentaries and not in poems; in fact, that Virgil was simply using a learned footnote he had found somewhere about Pan and the Arcadian herdsmen. Scholars who placed more reliance on their fine feelings have derided this suggestion: but an analogous discovery (Centenary Essays on Dante, Oxford, 1965, p. 1 ff.) by Mr. C. A. Robson has shown that Dante used the dryest and most scholastic texts for his poetic material; We know Keats used Lemprière's dictionary; why should Virgil not have used the lost work by Alexander Polyhistor on the geography of Alkman? I once used to believe I could demonstrate that he had in fact read that work.

Perhaps we are on the wrong track; but by rephrasing and more narrowly limiting the question we may still advance. Virgil's Eclogues, taken together, are not an Arcadian series of poems. The first six Eclogues and the ninth have nothing to do with Arcadia, the seventh has two Arcadian characters, the eighth has Maenalios versus, because Pan is the herdsman's god, and only the tenth Eclogue is set wholeheartedly in Arcadia and Pan appears in it. It may be that in this poem and at this point in the collection Pan has a climactic position. But we ought to remark that the setting of the tenth Eclogue is precisely and deliberately not the ordinary bucolic scenery of Virgil or of Theokritos: it is a wild mountainside where Gallus has wandered off alone like Petrarch in a desert to die of love. It is a remote place, and Virgil couples it in this poem with other wild scenery even more remote: Parnassus, Pindus, Aganippe, Alpine snows, the freezing Rhine, Thrace, the Sudan. There is no doubt a sense in which Arcadia in this poem is home territory, but with the single exception of this poem and of the explanation of Mainalios versus in Ec. 8, Virgil never mentions an Arcadian landscape, only Arcadian boy herdsmen. In fact, how typical it is of Virgil's Eclogues that in the first line of Ec. 10 - extremum hunc Arethusa mihi concede laborem - he used a Greek name conventional in pastoral poetry like the Nymphae Libethrides of 7.21, for a Sicilian river invoked by Theokritos (1, 117, cf. Mosch. 3,78), which was also famous for being a hunting girl who was turned into a river after being loved by the Arcadian Alpheios (Paus. 5, 7, 2, and 8, 54, 1-3), and according to Pausanias Alpheios became the river Alpheios and still flows underwater from the Peloponnese to rise again at Quail island off Syracuse and finally mingle with the fugitive Arethusa. It reads like an allegory of the origins of Arcadian poetry.

What we must look for then is not an emphatic development of the equivalence Pan-Arcadia-bucolic poetry, since even in Virgil's own work the development is not emphatic. But even allowing for our own obsession today with Arcadian elements in Virgil, there is a residual Arcadian theme in his work that the surviving poetry of earlier ages cannot explain. Still, it comes so near to doing so that we may well suppose the final solution of the problem depends on a lost poem, whether by

Callimachus or Theokritos or Philetas or whomsoever. Such a solution is conservative and uninspired; it adds nothing to Reitzenstein but cold water, and depends neither on new information nor on unregarded evidence. What is worse, even if one chooses to disregard it, one must always leave open a line of retreat to this position: it is at the very least not impossible that the theme we find in Virgil of Pan and the Arcadian herdsmen and their bucolic song had already set hard in a lost poem in the early Hellenistic period. Still, it had not quite done so in any known poem, and the question remains why would Virgil select this among what seem to us many less obscure conventions of Hellenistic bucolic poetry. There have been several attempts(3) to close this question but it remains obstinately open.

Before we desert literary history altogether, there is one more clue from which something might be extracted. In the analysis of the tenth Eclogue we noticed an analogy with Lucretius; it is well known, but it deserves further exploration. In the 4th book of de r.natura Lucretius is discussing echoes. The discussion starts on a quasi-scientific level but the examples belong to an almost mythical landscape: ex Heliconis/cum liquidam tollunt lugubri voce querellam.(547-8) Of course Helicon really exists, but its resonance in a Roman poem is somewhat mythical; it is like Oeta for Catullus and Virgil. You hear echoes in deserted places:

per loca sola
saxa paris formas verborum ex ordine reddant,
palantis comites cum montis inter opacos
quaerimus et magna dispersos voce ciemus.

I do not doubt that this was to Virgil as it is to me a memorable three lines. The effect is analogous to that of the refrain in the epic of Roncevalles:

Haults son li puis et tenebreux et grants
et dans li vals sont li eaux courants.
ıta colles collibus ipsi
verba repulsantes iterabant dicta referre.
haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere
finitimi fingunt et faunos esse lcquuntur
quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque iocanti
adfirmant vulgo taciturna silentia rumpi;
chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querellas,
tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum;
et genus agricolum late sentiscere, cum Pan
pinea semiferi capitis velamina quassans
unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,
fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam.

The correspondence with Virgil is multiform.(4) The lonely mountain landscape transmutes very easily into the Arcadian mountains of the tenth Eclogue, where Maenalus is 'pinifer ... Maenalus', just as in the eighth (22-3) Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis/semper habet ... The pines are real and also a literary convention (Prop. 1.18.20, and cf. Ov.Her. 5,137) but I doubt if their occurrence here is a coincidence. Reasons of poetry rather than religion have turned Lucretius' Pan, pinea semiferi capitis velamina quassans into Silvanus, florentis ferulas et grandia lilia quassans. Virgil's Pan is not the 4th century statue type described by Lucretius; he is a real and weird god: quem vidimus ipsi: et genus agricolum late sentiscere. There is a further correspondence which is

the most important of all: Lucretius is discussing echoes, and no Roman poet can fail to have faunus a fando, the close relation between Pan and echo, somewhere at the back of his mind. Is there not some fundamental relation between the actual form of bucolic song, the antiphonal verses and refrains and the self-echoing effect of the bucolic diaeresis, and the home country of Pan: the echoing rocks and the echoing trees of which Virgil speaks?(5) So if it was a lost poem that fixed the singing herdsmen for Virgil and for Erykios in the home country of Pan, and that made them Arcadians, might such a poem not deal with the connection of Pan with Echo which is so strikingly, but surely not originally, observed by Lucretius? If what influenced Virgil was not a poem but a learned book then this link between Arcadian landscape and the music of Pan and his herdsmen tells us more or less what it must have said.

Finally there is a question which can easily be answered, but which more often than not confuses commentators on Virgil's Eclogues. What were the Arcadians like in real life? And what did Virgil know about them? G. Jachmann quotes the view of Philostratus that they were very wild (Vit. Apoll. 8, 7,43, cf. Maia V 1952, p. 168, n. 2) and many commentators fasten on the nostalgic opinion of Polybios (4,20) that his countrymen were extraordinarily musical. Compared with the Romans among whom Polybios lived so long, no doubt they were; but there are not many Arcadian poets or musicians famous enough for their names to have been remembered even in the time of Pausanias. He does tell us that Mainalos produced a high proportion of athletic champions at Olympia: in his time it was mostly forest and mountain, its ancient towns had shrunk to villages, its religion was conservative, temples had collapsed but worship went on, there were still wild animals in the forests, and there were decayed shrines and difficult roads in the mountains. Arcadia had probably been very little penetrated by the Romans. After he disappeared into Greece, Terence is supposed to have died in idyllic poverty near Lake Stymphalus. By Pausanias' time there seem to have been a number of Roman villas on good farming ground, the first of which have been excavated only in the last 2 or 3 years; the rich were apparently very rich and the poor poor. A private citizen lived at Megalopolis in a house built for Alexander the Great.

The chief Roman connection was with Olympia on one side, where there was a high degree of Roman activity, including for example an amber figure of the emperor Augustus, and on the other at Tegea, where Augustus stole what passed for the tusks of the Calydonian boar - presumably the tusks of a prehistoric mammoth since they were 3 feet long - one of which survived in Pausanias' time in a temple of Dionysos in the imperial gardens (8.46) and an ivory statue of Athens which he erected at the entrance of the Forum Augusti. There was also Roman interest in Pallanteion which independently of Virgil the Romans believed was the birthplace of Evander king of Latium, and that the Palatine hill, Virgil's nobile Pallanteum (Aen. 8,341) was named after it. Most of the Roman activity at Pallanteion was comparatively late (Paus. 8, 43, IF.) and belongs to the Hadrianic and Severan enthusiasm for sacred antiquities: in Virgil's time it was a small village, though the story was known both to Livy (1,5. 1-2) and Strabo 230.E 3,3, -μυθώδης- and to Dion.Halic. (1,69 ff.). In Virgil's time Arcadia is never mentioned in Roman tourist literature, by Cicero or Horace for example, and Strabo calls the Arcadians 'simply mountain-dwellers' (Strabo, 1.2. (333)); but I believe it is significant that when Livy first mentions Arcadia he speaks as Virgil himself does in Aen. 8, 341-4 about an ancient cult of Pan, introduced to Rome by Evander himself,(6) and identified with the Lupercalia: "Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt et a Pallanteo urbe Arcadica,

Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. ibi Evandrum ... sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi invenes Lycaeum(7) Pana venerantes per Iusum atque lasciviam currerent, quem Romani deinde vocaverunt Inuum." It is interesting that the connection of the Lupercalia with Lykaean Pan and hence the whole myth about Evander and the ridiculous etymology of Palatinus which even Varro records, was based on exactly that ceremony of the whipping of Pan for which our only classical witness is Theokritos 7.108.

Dion. Halic. goes further than this (1,79, and 8 and 11). Speaking of Romulus and Remus and the wolf and the amazement of the shepherds who saw his prodigy he says: καὶ ἦν γάρ τις οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων ἐκεῖθεν ἱερὸς χῶρος ὕλῃ βαθείᾳ συνηρεφὴς καὶ πέτρα κοίλη πηγὰς ἀνιεῖσα, ἐλέγετο δὲ Πανὸς εἶναι τὸ νάπος καὶ βωμὸς ἦν αὐτόθι τοῦ θεοῦ ... and that was where the wolf disappeared: it was the cave of Lupercal.(8)

Then it was by no means unexpected or outré for Virgil to think familiarly of Pan as the Arcadian god, and Pan's herdsmen as Arcadians, and of Arcadia itself in just the way that he does: even by Latin tradition. Admittedly we know of no single overwhelming reason why he should call bucolic song Mainalian verse, unless it has something to do with echo. Pausanias and Livy and D.H. can tell us only that Virgil's first readers might reasonably think familiarly of Pan and Arcadia even independently of poetry. Lucretius and Erykios, and behind them the generation of Theokritos and Callimachus, seem to hint at sources we know nothing about, but may we not have exaggerated the whole problem? Who first spoke of the Pan-instructed singing herdsmen as Arcadians like their god, inhabitants of his wild mountain? Maybe quite a minor poet in quite a short poem: someone quite like Erykios: if you define the problem in this way it grows so small that it hardly seems to matter. The only certainty is that Virgil thought his Arcadian motif was a convention and not an original contribution, and that Arcadian Pan was already at home in Italy on the Palatine hill.

Ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae.

Notes

1. Parthenios, cf. Pavo. 8, 54, 6; Hdt. 6, 105.

2. Golden cicadas have been found dedicated to Pan in the cave at Phyle in Attica, though I know of no literary connection. Pan protected cicadas in the same way as tortoises on mount Parthenios because they were mountain fauna not wild enough for Artemis.

3. Cf. G. Jachmann, "L'Arcadia come paesaggio bucolico", Maia V (1952) p. 161 ff., with his references.

4. I do not want to stress but would like to record a tenuous conjecture that Virgil's quem vidimus ipsi in the 10th eclogue, and Arcades ipsum credunt se vidisse lovem in Aen. 8 (352-3) may possibly be connected with the continuation of this passage, where Luc. says belief in such miracles arises in lonely places where people cannot admit that the countryside is unpopulated even by

the gods. G. Castelli has pointed out that Virgil could have found in Lucretius 'la celebrazione della vita pastorale', and that among scholars only Ribbeck seems to have noticed this; - Cp. Luc. 5,1384f. : per loca pastorum deserta atque otia dia. (Castelli, Rev. di Studi class., 1967, pp. 17-18.)

5. Compare Ec. 1, 1-10 on echoes and silvestris musa.

6. Cf, also Ovid Fasti 2,421.

7. Known by this title from the Lycaean games, cf. Paus 8,38,5.

8. Hine lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum/rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub-rupe Lupercal*/Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei (Aen. 8, 342-4). τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλσος οὐκέτι διαμένει, τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ἐξ οὗ ἡ λιβὰς ἐκδίδοται τῷ Παλλαντίῳ προσῳκοδομημένον δείκνυται κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον φέρουσαν ὁδόν, καὶ τέμενός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πλησίον, ἔνθα εἰκὼν κεῖται..... χαλκὰ ποιήματα παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας. Almost certainly there was an Arcadian Pan statue in the cave, though so far as representatives of Pan in the Roman period are concerned, more have been found in Crete than in Arcadia. ἦν δὲ τὸ χωρίον τῶν σὺν Εὐάνδρῳ ποτὲ οἰκισάντων αὐτὸ Ἀρκάδων ἱερὸν ὡς λέγεται.

* Conington compares gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal with sola sub rupe iacentem/Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei (Ec. 10, 14-15). I am not sure what work Augustus did on the Lupercal, or even whether there was a statue in the cave before his time. But compare Res Gestae, 19.

V.S. Lectures, No. 84

VIRGIL'S KNOWLEDGE OF ARABLE FARMING

A lecture delivered to the Virgil Society
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by K. D. White, M.A.

It is commonly taken for granted that Virgil's Georgics, allowing for the inevitable brevity of his allusions to the actual processes of cultivation, present a reasonably accurate picture of the various operations described in the poem.(1) In this matter there is no need for the reader to take the poet on trust, since in most cases his account of a particular process in arable farming can be compared with the relevant discussion in one or more of the agricultural writers. Of these, Varro was an older contemporary, and seems to have provided the poet with much of his material on arable farming, apart from sections which may well derive from a source common to them both.(2) Notwithstanding the great colume of critical work done on the Georgics it appears that no systematic study of the techniques mentioned by Virgil has so far been attempted. Billiard's well known book(3) is quite unsystematic, and only casual correlations are made

with parallel passages in the agronomists. L. Savastano's Studi Virgiliani[4] contains many acute observations such as might be expected from a writer who was both classical scholar and agriculturist, but here again the treatment is unsystematic. In the discussion that follows the approach is tentative and exploratory, and the scope limited; five passages have been chosen from the Georgics, four from Book I and one from Book II. In each case the relevant text is cited in full, and beside it are placed the most important parallel references to the particular topic in the agricultural writers, so that close and detailed comparison may indicate how far Virgil agrees with the practice recommended by them. The paper ends with some general observations on the results of the comparative analysis of the various passages.

The passages to be considered are the following:

(1) On Ploughing G.i.43 ff; 63 ff. Varro 1.27: Colum.2.4.1: 11; Pliny 18.176; 181.

(2) On the Second Ploughing (iteratio) G.i.97-9. Colum.2.2.25; Pliny 18.178; 180.

(3) On Harrowing G.i.94 ff. Colum.2.4.2; 2.17.4; Pliny 18.179; 180.

(4) On Burning the Stubble G.i.84 ff. Pliny 18.300; ILS 8745

(5) On Testing Soils for Quality G.ii.248-50. Colum.2.2.18; Pallad. 1.5.3.

(1) On Ploughing.

(a) 43 vere novo .....

45 depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro
ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer.
illa seges demum votis respondet avari
agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit ...

63 ..... ergo age terrae
pingue solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni
fortes invertant tauri, glaebasque iacentis
pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas;
at si non fuerit tellus fecunda, sub ipsum
Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco. G.i.43 ff. 63 ff.

(b) vere sationes quae fiunt, terram rudem proscindere oportet, quae sunt ex ea enata, prius quam ex iis quid seminis cadat, ut sint exradicata; et simul glaebis ab sole percalefactis aptiores facere ad accipiendum imbrem et ad opus feliciores relaxatas; neque eam minus binis arandum, ter melius. Varr.1.27.

(c) Pingues campi, quae diutius continent aquam, proscindendi sunt anni tempore iam incalescente, cum omnes herbas ediderint neque adhuc semina maturuerint. Sed tam frequentibus densisque sulcis arandi sunt ... quoniam sic omnes radices herbarum perruptae necantur. Colum.2.4.1.

(d) ... Item graciles clivi non sunt aestate arandi, sed circa Septembres Kalendas, quoniam si ante hoc tempus proscinditur, effeta et sine suco humus aestivo sole peruritur nullasque virium reliquias habet. Itaque optime inter Kalendas et Idus Septembres aratur ac subinde iteratur, ut primis pluviis aequinoctialibus conseri possit; neque in lira, sed sub sulco talis ager seminandus est. Colum.2.4.11.

(e) Prius quam ares proscindito. Hoc utilitatem habet quod inverso caespite herbarum radices necantur. Quidam utique ab aequinoctio verno proscindi volunt. Pliny 18.176.

(f) Quarto seri sulco Vergilius existimatur voluisse cum dixit optimam esse segetem quae bis soles, bis frigora sensisset. Spissius solum sicut plerumque in Italia quinto sulco seri melius est, in Tuscis vero nono. Pliny 18.181.

Virgil's account of ploughing begins with a straightforward recommendation on the best time of the year to start operations (vere novo ...). Varro gives the main reason for the choice of this time of year:-

(i) This is the time to catch the weeds that have grown since the last crop before they have seeded themselves;

(ii) It is also important to let the advancing heat of the sun work on the clods before the next ploughing, aerating the soil and opening it up to receive the rain.

Virgil, in less precise language, also makes the same point, at V.48 (bis solem ...) and at vv.65-6 (glaebasque iacentis/pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas). Columella, who treats the whole topic in very great detail, relates the timing of the operation to differences in the situation of particular fields (whether on level or hilly terrain), and to the type of soil, its quality (whether naturally productive or otherwise), and to its capacity to retain moisture. Pliny, apart from repeating with approval Virgil's recommendation about fallow in G.1.48, mentions only the destruction of weeds brought about by inversion of the sod. So far, no discrepancy between Virgil and the agronomists. On the frequency of ploughing the fallow, the first problem to be resolved is the meaning to be given to the phrase 'bis solem ... bis frigora' (v.48): does he mean four ploughings in the cycle or only two? Pliny evidently took it to mean four ('quarto seri sulco'). Elsewhere in Virgil, in all but two passages (A xi.629 and A ix.799?), the meaning of 'bis' appears to be 'more than once' (at ii.410, A ii.218, A vi.32 and 134). Here then the reference may well be general rather than specific.(5) The next question is the recommendation for the treatment of unproductive soil ('at si non fuerit tellus fecunda,' v.67). Here Virgil, after briefly repeating his earlier injunction to plough good land thoroughly, offers a very different regime, saying that for poor soils it will be sufficient (sat erit) to give a single shallow ploughing in September.

This method is not mentioned elsewhere except by Columella, who at 2.4.11 refers specifically to lean and sloping land as requiring this minimal treatment, adding that earlier ploughing of such land will expose the already dried-out soil to too much summer heat and leave it with no reserves of strength. "Therefore", he continues, "it is best to plough it between the Kalends and Ides of September,

and then to work it a second time shortly afterwards (subinde), so that the seed can be put in during the first equinoctial rains." This second ploughing is of course essential under the conditions described by Columella: "When poor land is ploughed late, there is not time enough to plough it as often as reason requires: because there must be a competent exposure between ploughings, and the poorer it is, the more ploughings will be necessary to pulverise it.(6) The poet has thus missed a vital point: repeated ploughing of such land is essential. The poet then concludes this section with two lines in which he gives his reasons for the two different methods of ploughing: illic. officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae,
hic, sterilem exiguus ne deserat umor arenam.
(vv.69-70)
The reason advanced at v.69 is technically correct: thorough ploughing from the first months of the year is essential for keeping down weeds; but the reason given for the mere scratching of the surface of unproductive soils is incorrect; it is natural, but erroneous, to suppose that frequent stirring of the surface will deprive such a soil of its moisture; on the contrary, by opening the pores it will materially reduce capillary action, and thus help to conserve moisture.(7)

All this may well be irrelevant, if we accept the view that Virgil may have decided that it was not his business to offer precise instructions on this or any other technical point; my own impression at this stage in my work on the subject is that, while comparative analysis may help to throw light on the poet's method of handling technical material, the use to which we put such analysis will have to be determined by the sort of decision we make about the difficult question of what Virgil is really doing in the Georgics! There are two attitudes which ought to be avoided: the first, that analysis of technical problems is out of place in this context; the second, that of behaving as if the poet was being examined in a curious kind of agricultural Tripos, and being failed or perhaps given a grudging second class mark.

(2) On Second Ploughing

(a) et qui proscisso quae suscitat aequore terga
rursus in obliquum verso perrumpit aratro,
exercetque frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis.
G.i.97-9

(b) bubulcum autem per proscissum ingredi oportet alternisque versibus obliquum tenere aratrum et alternis recto plenoque sulcare, sed ita necubi solum et immotum relinquat ... quod agricolae scamnum vocant.
Colum.2.2.25.

(c) omne arvum rectis sulcis, mox et obliquis subigi debet. in collibus traverso tantum monte aratur, sed modo in superiora, modo in inferiora rostrante vomere ... id demum recte subactum erit ubi non intellegetur utro vomer ierit.
Pliny 18.178-9.

The commentators seem to be rather confused here. Conington appears to suggest that these three lines are an afterthought at the end of a long discussion on methods of cultivation: 'he seems to be enumerating the different parts of cultivation without much regard to order, forgetting that he has already recommended cross-ploughing'. But Virgil is not referring to cross-ploughing, but to the

ordinary method of ploughing used on most Italian soils. Columella's account is perfectly clear: the plough is first driven with the sole horizontal, then, in each alternate furrow with the plough held at an angle (obliquum tenere aratrum). 'By ploughing obliquely the furrow was made sloping on the land side with a narrow bottom, and by ploughing with an upright and full furrow, the sloping firm earth was removed, the bottom of the furrow widened, and no scamnum left, as the peasants called the firm earth, that by bad ploughing was left between the furrows, made by the plough in going.'(8) In this passage the poet is brief and to the point; it is the commentators who do not know what he is talking about. Adam Dickson, however, was a practical farmer, and his pages often contain more sense than many a learned commentary.

(3) On Harrowing

(a) multum adeo, rastris glaebas qui frangit inertis
vimineasque trahit crates, iuvat arva. G.1.94-5.

(b) sed et compluribus iterationibus sic resolvatur vervactum in pulverem, ut vel nullam vel exiguam desideret occationem, cum seminavimus. nam veteres Romani dixerunt male subactum agrum. qui satis frugibus occandus sit. Colum.2.4.2.

(c) male aratur arvum quod satis frugibus occandum est: id demum recte subactum erit ubi non intellegetur utro vomer ierit. Pliny 18.179.

(d) aratione per transversum iterata occatio sequitur, ubi res poscit, crate vel rastro, et sato semine iteratur; haec quoque, ubi consuetudo patitur, crate contenta[1] vel tabulo aratro adnexa - quod vocant lirare - operiente semina. [1] dentata edd. Pliny 18.180.

(e) Deinde viciam permixtam seminibus faeni seremus, tum glaebam sarculis resolvemus et inducta crate coaequabimus, grumosque, quos ad versuram plerumque tractae faciunt crates, disiciamus ita, necubi ferramentum faenisicis possit offendere. Colum.2.17.4.

In Virgil's brief account of the process of harrowing, two implements are mentioned. The ancient authorities refer to several types of each. The rastrum, or 'drag-hoe', resembled both the heavy garden fork and the garden rake. It was a multi-purpose implement, being used both for breaking ground and, as here, for clod-smashing. In cereal cultivation it was used to promote an even tilth by breaking up the skips left after ploughing. That it was also used after the seed had been sown is evident from all four passages cited above. Pliny(c), following Columella (b), quotes an old farming adage which condemns the latter practice as evidence of bad ploughing. The use of rastri and crates would of course be determined by the nature of the soil; in (c) Pliny is clearly referring to a friable soil which can be reduced to an even tilth by ploughing alone. Virgil, on the other hand, seems to have in mind those heavy clay soils which require both rastri and crates. Crates were of two kinds, a light type, consisting of a simple wooden sled, with a mat made of twigs (vimineae crates), and a heavy, toothed type, fitted with rows of wooden pegs (Pliny's crates dentatae (d), - a generally accepted emendation). At 18.173 Pliny explains that this implement had recently come into use in Rhaetia in combination with a heavy wheeled plough, and that no subsequent hoeing during the growing period was necessary.

Commentators who assume that Virgil is referring to this heavier, animal-drawn implement are clearly wrong; his reference is brief, general, and appropriate. Jethro Tull's criticism (op.cit. 147) is misguided: he wrongly assumed that the Roman writers condemned all harrowing.

Passage (e) is cited here to illustrate the normal use of the harrow for levelling; in this case a meadow is being prepared on ground that has been neglected, and which has to be cleared of brambles and other useless undergrowth. The harrow or drag is essential, since the scythe (falx faenaria) cannot be used except on a level surface.

(4) On Burning the Stubble.

(a) saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros
atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.

The poet next advances four reasons to justify the practice:

(i) sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
pinguia concipiunt;

i.e. it enables the soil to draw on its reserves of strength

(ii) sive illis omne per ignem
excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilis umor;

i.e. it burns out latent badness in the soil and sweats out useless moisture.

(iii) seu plures calor ille vias, et caeca relaxat
spiramenta novas veniat qua sucus in herbas.

i.e. it opens up the pores of the soil, enabling moisture to penetrate.

(iv) seu durat magis, et venas adstringit hiantis
ne tenues pluviae, rapidive potentia solis
acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat.

i.e. it closes up the pores, to prevent rain, or the sun's heat. or the chill blasts of the north wind from making their way in.

Pliny refers to this passage at 18.300, where he writes:

(b) sunt qui accendant in arvo et stipulas, magno Vergilii praeconio; summa autem eius ratio ut herbarum semina exurant. These are apparently the only literary references to the burning of stubble. The operation, however, finds a place in one of the rustic Calendars as a regular procedure after the grain harvest.

(c) mensis Augusti
MESSES FRVMENTAR.
ITEM
TRITICAR.
STIPVLAE
INCENDVNT.

Menologium rusticum Colotianum
CIL 11.2.994 ff = ILS 8745.

The meaning of the text of vv. 84-5 has been much disputed. In particular, many commentators have foolishly assumed that steriles refers to the condition of the fields after a crop has been reaped, when it is sterile, as containing nothing but stubble. The poet may indeed be referring to the poor land previously described (v.70) as sterilis harena, and this meaning is common. But the passage appears to be quite generalised (leves, coupled with stipulae at v.289, may well be a stock epithet), and the general drift is perfectly clear: 'crops take the goodness out of the soil (and crops like flax (77) take a heavy toll); treat the exhausted soil by fallowing (71 ff) and manuring' (79 ff). Burning is then added as a suitable treatment in many cases ('saepe etiam...') The difficulties begin when the reader is presented with four reasons for the practice of burning the stubble; the third and fourth of these are mutually contradictory. The condition of the soil cannot be either so hard and impacted as to require burning to open it up or so wide open (venas hiantis) that it requires to be burnt in order to secure a result exactly opposite to that mentioned just before. The reader is left in a dilemma. Turning to the first explanation, we find the poet recommending the burning of dense stubble (assuming that the soil in question is fertile), in order to release its latent energies, so that it may put forth rich food (presumably for feeding stock). This is common practice in areas with abundant rainfall in the late summer, where burning off the coarse stubble produces a fresh growth into which stock can be turned to graze. Virgil may well have seen this being done near Mantua where such climatic conditions prevail; south of the Apennines, however, conditions are different, and we do not find this procedure in any of the farming writers. On the contrary we find Varro (RR 2.2.12) putting sheep into stubble, with the two-fold aim of fattening them on the fallen ears of corn and giving the soil the benefit of their droppings. Burning is recommended, but only of pasture, and to promote new growth (e.g. Pallad. 9.4. (August)).

There is a perfectly good reason why stubble-burning is not recommended by the agronomists; in central and southern Italy intercultivation of cereals with vines or olives was normal practice, and burning was out of the question. Apart from the silence of the agronomists, however, we still have Pliny (b), and the Calendar entry for August (c). Pliny's 'sunt qui accendant' implies rather less frequency than Virgil's 'saepe... profuit', but the most striking feature of his brief allusion to the practice is the statement that the main purpose is to prevent the seeds of weeds from germinating: the reasons advanced by the poet are thus reduced to minor importance, in spite of the weight of his authority. As for the entries in two of the surviving Calendars (the texts are practically identical) they must take their proper place as part of the evidence; they must not be regarded as the last word on this or any other topic. All that they tell us is that stubble-burning after the wheat-harvest was a common practice That there was considerable variety in the treatment of the stubble is evident from Pliny's comment on the burning of the stubble of common millet (HN 18.297).

There remains the second explanation (vv. 87-8). Tull's comment is brief and incisive (op.cit. 144): 'there was no vice in it, to be boiled out, except its being stocked with grass, and wanting tillage. Had there been moisture in it, it would not have burnt, therefore that must have been dried out before the fire could operate' The validity of his criticism depends, however, on the interpretation of the phrase 'inutilis umor': if Virgil is referring to a portion of an

arable plot which is difficult to drain, the burning of the surface growth would be helpful, and would make subsequent preparation for the next crop easier; if the whole area was fired the temperature could be raised sufficiently to dry out the waterlogged section. But the association of vitium and umor suggests the more generalised notion of fire as a cleansing agent (see further the comments of W. Richter on this passage, cited in n.9 below).

Various attempts have been made to overcome the difficulty and to explain away the inconsistencies of the passage. The device favoured by most commentators is to assume that Virgil is here referring to four different soil conditions; Heyne assumes this without discussion: Sive;.. sive. Pro varia soli, vel macri vol uliginosi vel densi vel rari, natura varias causas subicit' (ad 84). Conington is less decisive: 'The explanations given are apparently intended to vary more or less according to the different kinds of n.9 soil' (ad 91). W. Richter (9) solves the problem by suggesting that Virgil is here influenced by a Greek source, in which the doctrine of opposing δυνάμεις (Straton's vis calidi and frigidi ap. Seneca, Nat.Quaest. 6.13.2) is strongly emphasised. But this is no more than a conjecture, and not a convincing one.

These solutions are all based on the reasonable assumption that the poet is making brief allusion to four different treatments for different soils, and that any knowledgeable reader would fill in the missing parts. But there are two further considerations here: first, this is not the only passage in which the poet's recommendations are either defective or inaccurate; we do not solve the problem by assuming that in this particular passage Virgil has given his readers a condensed version of several processes; secondly, the style and choice of words in the passage suggest a quite different explanation. Sets of alternative explanations introduced by a series of 'sive's' are very common in Lucretius (e.g. De Rerum Natura V.519 ff.). The language has a distinctly Lucretian flavour (occultas vires, caeca spiramenta (Cf. spiracula VI.492), penetrabile frigus (cf. penetraleque frigus, i.494). In addition to these Lucretian echoes, which of course abound in the poem, there is the added point that the scheme itself is thoroughly Lucretian being a series of multiple and often mutually exclusive explanations of a physical phenomenon; Virgil may here be aiming at a conscious imitation of his great predecessor, or possibly following a Greek source which was framed in this Epicurean form.(10)

There remains a further question arising from this passage. At v.79, having stressed the importance of fallowing, the poet now reminds the farmer that some crops exhaust the soil; rotations are useful for easing the burden on the land: 'only think of the dried-up soil, and do not be ashamed to give it its fill of rich manure, and broadcast over the fields the grimy ashes' (vv 79-81). The meaning of cinis immundus is not entirely clear: the ash from a wood fire contains potassium and is of value for certain types of soil,(11) but what is the meaning of immundus in this context? E. de St. Denis, the Budé editor of the Georgics may well be right in seeing a reference to the practice of burning the dung and collecting the ash, citing Pliny NH 17. 49: 'Farmers north of the Po are so fond of using ash (cinis) that they prefer it to dung, and they burn stable manure, which is the lightest variety, in order to obtain the ash'. The ploughing in of wood ash, even of stubble, is not without value; at v. 85 the poet does not specifically refer to ploughing in, and may have omitted it as self-evident. Others

regard immundus as a stock epithet; but not all ash is dirty: wood ash is in fact clean!

(5) On Testing Soils for Quality

(a) Pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto
discimus: haut umquam manibus iactata fatiscit,
sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo.

G.ii. 248-50.

(b) Itaque considerandum erit, ut solum, quem excolere destinamus pingue sit. per se tamen id parum est, si dulcedine caret: quod utrumque satis expedita nobis ratione contingit discere. nam perexigua conspergitur aqua glaeba manuque subigitur, ac si glutinosa est, quamvis levissimo tactu pressa inhaerescit et

picis in morem lentescit habendo,

ut ait Vergilius, eademque inlisa humo non dissipatur quae res admonet inesse tali materiae naturalem sucum et pinguitudinem. Colum. 2.2.18.

(repeated in condensed form by Palladius (1.5.3).

Here the poet gives us a very short description of a well-known test; unfortunately he has omitted to mention that one part of the operation which alone makes the test effective. Both Virgil and Columella are referring to what is called the "sticky point" in clay soils - that is, the moisture content at which a clay soil sticks to the fingers and implements The test, which is still recognised, consists of taking some soil in the palm of the hand, then adding minute quantities of water at a time until the sticky point is reached; when the soil is drier than this critical point it can be moulded in the hand without sticking; when too much water is added the soil will turn to mud.

The above passages came under review in the course of an investigation of the recommendations of the Roman agronomists for the cultivation of cereals. On closer analysis it would appear that the poet's recommendations, if in fact they are to be regarded as 'recommendations', are roughly half right and half wrong. Thus at G. i.43 ff and 63 ff we have an excellent account of the right way to plough rich land; but the concluding couplet, which rounds off the recapitulation of the opening theme, has been shown to be technically unsound.

AT.i.84 ff the reasons advanced for stubble-burning are unsatisfactory, being either imprecise or mutually contradictory. In countries where climatic conditions resemble those of ancient Italy, burning is to-day a controversial subject among farmers, and it is just possible that the poet's confused account reflects disagreement among his sources; since the Roman agronomists, as we have seen, ignore the whole topic, judgment must remain suspended. Perhaps it was the poet's ear that led to its inclusion; it is an exciting spectacle and one that would have made an abiding impression on the poet when he first saw the ground leaping into flame, and heard the crackle of its violent progress through the fields. At 1.94 ff, however it is the poet who is unmistakeably in the right, and his critics

who are wrong (p.7 f.). The same is true of the passage on the second ploughing (1.97-9), while at 2.248-250 Virgil's natural brevity on a somewhat prosaic topic (p.13 f.) has caused him to omit the essential point.

Close examination of the inaccuracies which have been noticed shows that they fall into three categories: first, those which are due to condensation (cinis immundus at i.81: picis in morem.. habendo at ii.250). In each of these cases it may be argued that the poet has refrained from spelling out in detail a practice which was familiar to his readers. To the second category belong passages where the poet is not compressing but generalising (e.g. bis solem... bis frigora at i.48; multum adeo... iuvat arva at i. 94-5). This is an essential feature of the poet's art which distinguishes him from his Hellenistic predecessors(12). Finally, there are passages in which the poet's account may well be based on his recollection of methods and practices common in the Po Valley, where the prevailing conditions differ from those of central and southern Italy (e.g. saepe etiam... urere flammis at i. 84-5; vere fabis satio at 1.215; ? cinerem immundum at i.81). It would clearly be presumptuous, on the basis of a handful of passages, to draw conclusions concerning the purpose of the poem, and the attitude of the poet towards his theme. But our discussion of these passages points clearly to the need for systematic comparison of Virgil and the agronomists throughout the poem. As M. de St Denis has pointed out(13), the modern reader of the poem who does not engage in this comparative study tends to exaggerate the poet's technical knowledge.

That the purpose of the Georgics was not to give instruction to farmers but enjoyment to readers was already evident to Seneca, whose eighty-sixth letter contains much of the essence of the matter(14). In the full context, however the familiar reference ('pleasure not instruction') takes second place to a different proposition concerning the poet's aim: 'non quid verissime, sed quid decentissime diceretur aspexit': he has fixed his attention, not on the highest degree of accuracy, but on the most beautiful form of expression' (ep. 86.15). That Seneca admired the work of Virgil is evident from the frequency with which he quotes from him. His observations, which are based on an intimate acquaintance with the poet's work, should provide a starting-point for a fresh investigation based on the comparative method employed in this paper. In particular the close relationship between Virgil and Varro, which has already engaged the attention of a number of commentators,(15) deserves the closest strutiny.

I hope I have succeeded in persuading you that rigorous analysis of a passage involving technique is an essential pre-requisite ot a fuller understanding of the Georgics. I also want to emphasise that this is no more than a necessary preliminary to a much more difficult exercise, that of assessing the poetry as a total achievement, - a fusion of many different elements, including the poet's intense feeling for Nature, his sensitivity to the interplay of her mysterious processes; his patriotism, the poetic tradition to which the poem belongs; above all, the poet's creative acts of selection and presentation. I end with a highly pertinent observation by Sir Roger Mynors, made during a discussion of one of these passages: "You have to analyse the old devil with the greatest cunning, with learning, with finesse and with determination, before you can make him submit to any examination".

NOTES

1. E.g. 'This' (viz. the Georgics) 'was a didactic poem... giving practical advice to farmers on the cultivation of crops...' (H.H. Scullard. From the Gracchi to Nero 2nd edn., London, 1963, 245. In 'Virgil's plough' (JRS 46 (1956), 97 ff.) R. Aitken sought to prove that V's description at G.i. 169 ff was based on a visit to a ploughwright's workshop.

2. On V's debt to Varro, P. van de Woestijne 'Varro de Reate et Virgile', Rev.Belge de Phil., X (1931), 909-929.

3. R. Billiard, 'L'agriculture dans L'antiquite d'apres les Georgiques de Virgile.' Paris, 1928.

4. L.A. Savastano, Studi Virgiliani, Acireale, 1931

5. Theophrastus (C.P. 3.25) merely refers to the importance of exposing the soil to the influence of heat and cold (ὅπως ἡλιασθῇ καὶ χειμασθῇ). M. E. de St. Denis, Virgile, Georgiques Paris, 1956, p.4, n 1, thinks that V. is here giving an amusing misinterpretation of Theophrastus. If V's comment is to be taken as specific rather than general, the crucial point is whether the poet is doubling two separate things (sol and frigus), ordoubling a'doublet' (sol/frigus). I incline to the latter interpretation - i.e. that Virgil is describing two ploughings in the spring.

6. Jethro Tull, The Horse-Hoeing Husbandry, London, 1828, 129 f.

7. This is the basis of 'dry farming' as recommended by the Roman authorities (e.g. Colum. 10.150 ff., 11.3.10: Pallad. 1.34.2). It is still the practice in southern Italy, North Africa, and in many other arid and semi-arid areas.

8. Adam Dickson, The Husbandry of the Ancients, vol. i. 394. Edinburgh 1788.

9. Virgil, Georgica, ed. w. comm. by W. Richter. München, 1957, 131 ff. F. Klingner, in Fondation Hardt, Entretiens t.ii Geneve, 1953, 140 ff (on the Greek sources).

10. On Lucretian echoes in the Georgics E. Paratore, 'Spunti Lucreziani nelle Georgiche', Atene e Roma, 41.4 (1939), 177-202.

11. 'The only benefit derived therefrom would be a small amount of potash: in the long run it would impoverish the soil': L.A.S. Jermyn, The Singing Farmer, Oxford, 1949, n. to v 99.

12. Hier kann also nicht von lukrezischer oder hesiodeischer oder alexandrinischer "Schule" gesprochen werden, sondern das Neue, das daraus geworden ist, ist nicht weniger personlich vergilisch, als die Musik des Klassizisten Brahms durchaus personlich brahmsisch ist" (W. Richter, op.cit. (n.9), 9).

13. Georgiques, ed. E. de St Denis Paris, 1956 Intro. XV).

14. See L.P. Wilkinson, 'The intention of Virgil's Georgics', Greece and Rome, vol. 18, 55 (1950), 19 ff; W. Richter, Georgica, p.6, n. 21. regards this

view as generally accepted: "Das Virgil nicht fur den Landmann, sondern fur ein kunstsinniges, hochgebildetes Lesepublikum schreibt, darf heute als communis opinio gelten'.

15. See P. van de Woestijne, 'Varron de Reate et Virgile', Rev.Belge de Philol X, 1931 909-929. E. de St Denis, Georgiques... Introd. xxix ff. provides excellent illustrations of the way in which the poet gives life to the pedestrian descriptions of Varro.

V.S. Lectures, No. 85

THE ROLE OF THE SIXTH BOOK IN THE AENEID

A lecture delivered to the Virgil Society
20th January 1968

by W. A. Camps, M.A.

In bringing Aeneas to Cumae in the sixth book of the Aeneid Virgil follows what was evidently an already existing version of the travels of the Trojans on their way from Troy to Latium. But what remarkable, if accidental, opportunities the tradition of a halt at Cumae offered to his invention. As home of a Sibyl it gave occasion for prophecy, so convenient to Virgil's design of relating his story of a mythical past to the course of later Roman history up to his own time; and an opportunity further to evoke by anticipation a particular organ of prophecy that was characteristic of the Roman state - the celebrated Sibylline Books. Furthermore, the presence nearby at Avernus of a supposed entry to the world of the dead made it possible to associate with the prophetic motif an episode corresponding to one of the most remarkable episodes in the Homeric poems - the visit of Odysseus to the world of the dead in the eleventh book of the Odyssey. Nor was this all. It happened that Cumae was in a neighbourhood personally familiar to Virgil from his frequent spells of residence at nearby Naples. And it was further charged with memories of events in recent history, and those of a moving and exciting nature: for here had been the base of Octavian's naval forces in the war with Sextus Pompeius; the scene, too, of a momentous conference between the rival leaders and later of a disastrous battle. One may truly feel that the legend has been kind to the poet in bringing his hero to this particular place at the very moment when he is about to reach his journey's end and the Trojan remenant are to find a new home in Italy and there lay the foundations of the Roman race.

The first 264 lines of the book are occupied with preliminaries - Aeneas' interview with the Sibyl, the discovery of the death of Misenus (required, we recall, by the legend) and his burial, the finding of the mysterious Golden Bough which marks Aeneas as a man of destiny, and the sacrifice to the gods of the underworld which immediately precedes the hero's entry into the underworld itself. The rest of the book, 647 lines, relates the successive stages of his experience as he passes through the habitations of the dead.

(In parenthesis, a small curiosity may be noted here. The visit of Aeneas to the Sibyl at Cumae has been foretold by the seer Helenus in the third book of the Aeneid already. Helenus there promised Aeneas that the Sibyl would inform him of 'the peoples of Italy and the wars that are to be and by what means you may escape from or endure your several trials'. But here in the sixth book this information is imparted to Aeneas not by the Sibyl but by the shade of his own father (6.891-2). The fact is of no significance for our present purposes, nor of any important significance at all. But it is interesting to observe that a similar contradiction in the Odyssey has often appeared among the arguments (some good, some bad) which are used to show that the eleventh book of the Odyssey is a later insertion in the texture of the poem in which it stands; it illustrates the caution that has to be maintained in judging exactly what inference can be drawn from a datum of this kind. But we must return to our present subject.)

The experiences of Aeneas among the dead follow very closely, in certain respects, the Homeric prototype of this adventure in Odyssey 11. In the Odyssey Odysseus meets first a friend (Elpenor) whose body lies unburied. Then he meets a prophet (Teiresias); then his mother (Anticleia). Then he sees an impressive pageant of legendary figures (the romantic heroines of a bygone age). Next he meets figures from his own past with whom he has shared a great emotional experience: his comrades in the Trojan war, and among them Ajax, once his friend but now irreconcilably estranged. Finally he sees other traditional denizens of the underworld, the legendary sinners, such as Tantalus and Sisyphus, who are being punished for the wicked deeds they did in life.

In Virgil's version Aeneas too first meets a friend whose body lies unburied, the pilot Palinurus, whom in the preceding book we have seen fall overboard on the Trojans' otherwise uneventful voyage from Sicily to Italy. It is easy enough to see why Palinurus has been chosen to be the counterpart to the Odyssey's Elpenor: his death, like that of Misenus, was associated in the legend with the Trojans' voyage up the west coast of Italy and Cape Palinurus was supposedly named after him - because he died and was buried there. By changing this particular and causing Palinurus to be lost at sea Virgil escapes the necessity for a separate landing of the Trojans at Cape Palinurus, and at the same time finds an equivalent for the Homeric Elpenor and so an occasion for the pathetic scene between the hero and the ghost of his unburied friend; while he also preserves an overtone which though accidental would not be lost on his contemporaries - for the name Palinurus was charged with painful recent memories on account of the disastrous storm which wrecked Octavian's fleet there in 36 B.C.

Aeneas next encounters (as does Odysseus at a later stage in the series in the Odyssey) the ghosts of those who had shared with him the great crises of his own past, Dido, who turns from him in silent hate (as did Ajax from Odysseus) and Deiphobus who had been his comrade in the war at Troy and a victim of the awful catastrophe of the city's final fall. And after leaving them he sees the place where the great sinners of legend are being punished and hears from the Sibyl the catalogue of their torments (including, as in the Odyssey, those of Tantalus and Sisyphus).

Lastly Aeneas is brought into the presence of his father Anchises, who combines the characters of parent (like Anticleia in the Odyssey) and prophet

(like Teiresias in the Odyssey). And through him he receives a prophetic revelation of the future of his descendants in the form of a pageant of unborn heroes, from his own son Silvius to Augustus, ruler of Rome in Virgil's own day. This motif, of the catalogue or pageant of heroes, is one that was common in various contexts of Roman life and literature; in the rows of statues of kings and heroes on the Capitol and in the Forum, in the procession of busts of ancestors at the funerals of the nobility, in the series of names with which Cicero more than once adorns his discourse: as in the Pro Sestio for instance, qua re imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios, Curios, Fabricios, Maximos, Scipiones, Lentulos, Aemilios ... innumerabiles alios qui hanc rem publicam stabiliverunt; or in the Tusculan Disputations, multo autem tardius fama deseret Curium, Fabricium, Calatinum, duos Scipiones, duos Africanos, Maximum, Paullum, Catonem, Laelium, innumerabiles alios .... But if the pageant that Aeneas sees has thus a Roman parentage it has undoubtedly a Homeric parentage also, in the pageant (different though its content is) that Odysseus sees of the heroines of Greek mythology. Thus there remains in some respects a remarkably close relationship between all these individual scenes in the Homeric and the Virgilian stories, totally different though the effect is both of the individual scenes and of the two episodes as wholes. For the Homeric motifs have been adjusted in every case to the circumstances of Virgil's hero and the Roman theme of his poem.

Virgil's picture also differs from Homer's in that his underworld has a geography. Homer's Odysseus stands at the outer limit of the abode of the dead and the ghosts come out to talk to him; the process is a sort of necromancy. Virgil's Aeneas makes a progress right through the infernal regions, and this involves the poet in giving his readers some account of how the underworld is arranged and what goes on in the various parts of it. I do not think we know what variety of pictures of the underworld was available in popular imagination or literary tradition in Virgil's day; there is not much evidence, and it is unlikely anyway that a fixed picture existed, for there was no established doctrinal authority to provide one and keep it stable. We can however compare with Virgil's poetical picture that implied by poetical references in his contemporaries Horace and Tibullus and Propertius. The principal feature of this picture is a Judgement, and the separation of the dead in consequence of this into two categories, the Bad who are punished and the Good who are assigned a residence in the abode of the blessed; nothing is said or implied of any intermediate category. In Virgil's underworld, by contrast, the usually spectacular element of the Judgment is very much subordinated: it appears only in brief references, almost parenthetic, to Minos (432) and Rhadamanthus (566). On the other hand Virgil introduces categories of the dead intermediate between the Bad and the Good; and these intermediate categories are two. There is a class of souls undergoing purgation, to purify them of curable imperfections acquired during their life on earth and prepare them for a new incarnation; and there is a class of souls who are set apart from the rest because they died, in various ways, prematurely - the dead in infancy, the dead by execution for crimes which they did not commit, the suicides, the dead for love. Taking the common characteristic of these latter groups - a death in some striking manner premature - with the statements of one or two ancient authors that some believed that the prematurely dead had to wander about until the time came when they would have died in the course of nature, it seems a safe conclusion that somewhere in Virgil's mind is the idea of a Limbo temporarily occupied by the prematurely dead. If so, this is one element in his conception of the underworld which differentiates it from the conception that we seem to meet in his contemporaries in literature. The other differentiating element, mentioned already, is

the purgation of souls who do not qualify immediately either for damnation or felicity, and their later reincarnation and return to the world above. The two ideas - the period of suspense for the prematurely dead and the purgation of curable sin - belong to different orders of thought, for the one in its nature is superstitious and the other in its nature is moral. But 'organisationally' they are compatible: for the soul of a prematurely dead person can wait for the prescribed period, and then come to the Judgment, and then proceed to the stage of purgation (or damnation, or eternal felicity). This of course suits the design of Virgil's story: for Aeneas will be able not only to see the souls awaiting rebirth after purgation, and so the prophetic pageant of his own descendants, but also to converse with Dido and Deiphobus (both recently and prematurely dead) before they become involved in conditions in which no suitably pathetic encounter would be possible. The presence of these features in Virgil's account of the underworld is thus easily explained by the advantage they offer for the economy of his story. But did they also correspond to beliefs which he really held himself?

That this should be so seems to be excluded when we come to consider his treatment of the two ideas. If the sojourn of the prematurely dead in their place apart is not temporary but permanent, then it is in disharmony with what we hear later about purgation and so forth; for there is no reason imaginable why premature death should exempt its victims from a system of moral retribution and reform. But if the sojourn of these souls in their limbo is temporary, why does the poet never say so? Further, why does he include in the category of those 'dead for love' a person such as Eriphyle (445), whose death was not for love at all, but for cupidity? Again, if the warriors who come next in the series are those slain in war and so prematurely dead, they should not include Adrastus (480) who alone of the Seven who fought against Thebes was <u>not</u> killed in the war. However, the poet actually describes these warriors not as 'slain in war' but as 'who won glory in war'. But if this is what they are, how are they distinguished from those who died 'fighting for their fatherland' who appear later (660) among the permanently blessed in Elysium? It cannot be reasoned that these are souls who must wait for their normal span of years to be accomplished before proceeding to the place of their final disposal, since Adrastus and his companions in the war of the Seven against Thebes, Parthenopaeus and Tydeus (479-80) belonged to a bygone generation already in relation to the Trojan war and the events of the Aeneid. It is clear from all this that the poet is not dealing with an idea that has any real value for him, but simply with one that he has found to offer a convenient basis for the pathetic encounters that he wishes to introduce.

The same conclusion imposes itself in regard to the doctrine of reincarnation after a thousand years (748 ff.), but in fact we are shown among them souls (Augustus, Marcellus etc.) who have still a thousand years to wait before their incarnation will take place. Moreover, the souls seen awaiting reincarnation are endowed with all the attributes of their maturity in future life, though in fact of course they will be born as babies. The resulting pageant of future Roman heroes is brilliantly effective as a prophetic vision, but ludicrous as a symbol of any religious or philosophical concept. It is, we recall, introduced by the celebrated speech of Anchises (724-51) in which he affirms the immortality of the soul and explains the process of purgation and rebirth. The whole complex that embraces this speech and the subsequent pageant has a multiple literary ancestry: not only the prophet-parent-pageant sequence of the underworld scenes in the Odyssey, and the pageants and enumerations that we have remarked already in so many contexts of Roman life and literature, but also the Myth of Er in Plato's

Republic and the Dream of Scipio in Cicero's Republic (his Latin counterpart of Plato's). Plato's Er comes back from the dead with an account of a process of judgment, purgation and reincarnation, and the memory of a pageant of souls about to be reborn. Cicero's Scipio has revealed to him by his father in a vision the human soul's immortal nature and the rewards that await the soul of a virtuous and patriotic person after death. In both Republics the purpose of the revelation is the improvement of the moral self; doctrine and example are an incitement to live well during our lives on earth so as to qualify for a better rather than a worse state hereafter. But in the Aeneid no such consequence is drawn: the doctrine of reincarnation is brought in simply to introduce in its turn the pageant of Roman heroes, required by the poet as a means of expressing the continuity of the story he is telling in the Aeneid with the history of his country up to his own time. As for the hero, he is shown the vision in order that he may 'rejoice the more' in the finding of a new home in Italy for the Trojan remnant (716 ff.); and after he has seen it he is said to be 'fired with the hope' of these glories promised to his people (889); but it is not suggested that the revelation of the immortality of the soul and its purgation or punishment or reward has any profounder effect on him at all. In short, nothing is made in the Aeneid of the moral significance of this doctrine which Anchises (rather perfunctorily) expounds. It serves solely to introduce the poetically indispensable pageant of Roman heroes.

(In parenthesis may I refer here to a point of interpretation in Anchises' speech? He says in lines 740 ff. that souls undergo cleansing in various ways, some by wind, some by water, some by fire. He goes on (743 ff.) quisque suos patimur manes - which I take to mean that we each receive in the underworld the treatment appropriate to our case - and then exinde per amplum mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus. Dose not this mean simply that 'some of us, a few, are admitted to range Elysium and find our abode in the Happy Fields'? inde and exinde are well attested in the sense of ex iis; and also well attested are constructions in which a phrase such as ex iis in conjunction with a verb gives the sense of our 'one of ...' or 'some of ...'; for instance in Tacitus (Annals 2.60.3) iussus e senioribus patriam linguam interpretari (one of the older priests was asked to translate). In this parenthesis in his account of purgation, the lot of all ordinary souls, the poet excepts from the process a chosen few who pass directly after death to Elysium: such a one surely is Anchises, whom we cannot conceive as having been washed or burned or aired to free him from his sins in the short time that has passed since his death, or as having been imagined by the poet to need such treatment.)

To return to the question of Virgil's picture of the underworld, If this does not reflect either a conception really held by the poet or one current among his contemporaries, but resembles in this respect his story of the Aeneid as a whole - a poetic amalgam which corresponds neither to a traditional version of Aeneas' adventures not to Virgil's private belief about what these really were - can we instead discern a figurative significance in the hero's experience in this book? We can certainly see that the story of the Aeneid as a whole is in some sense a figurative counterpart of the history of Rome as well as its opening chapter. Can we detect also a figurative value, perhaps profounder, in this particularly impressive episode? This is indeed what many readers feel must be possible; and one such view, now pretty familiar, was put with persuasive eloquence in a notable chapter of Warde Fowler's Religious Experience of the Roman People. Fowler argued that the hero's experience in the world of the dead brought about a kind of spiritual regeneration in him, liberating him from the past, so that his gaze henceforth is fixed upon the future, and purging him of the weakness and hesitation

which has sometimes appeared in his conduct in the earlier part of the poem, so that from now on he is a changed man, dedicated and undoubting.

Now if anyone sees this significant pattern in the story as Virgil unfolds it, he has a right to do so; for the multiple suggestiveness of Virgil's poetry is an excellence by comparison with which academic niceties are of small importance. But that the poet himself saw such a pattern in his story does not seem probable, on the evidence that we have. For he gives no hint of anything like this in his accountof Aeneas' reaction to his experience. He says that Anchises meant the revelation of the future of Aeneas' descendants to encourage him in the pursuit of his mission (718), and that it did so (889); and this is what we should expect. But this is a very different matter from spiritual regeneration, or liberation from the past. It implies no change in Aeneas' character or attitude. And after this, neither the revelation or any effect of it is ever mentioned in the poem. If we look for evidence of any special and profound effect upon the hero, we can only hope to find it by comparing his behaviour before and after this experience, and seeing whether this experience is a necessary explanation of any difference that we observe. Now it is of course true that in the first half of the poem Aeneas displays weakness and hesitation in the episode between himself and Dido; and that he is also said (unplausibly, as it appears to me) to do so again after the loss of the four ships in the mutiny of the women in Sicily in the fifth book. But I do not think that anything else in his behaviour in the first half of the poem can be construed as a sign of moral failure, or lack of conviction. Not, for instance, his proper deference to his father in the third book; nor again his despairing resistance at the fall of Troy in the second - for it is clear from Aeneas' words in his narrative to Dido (2.431 ff.) that what he and the poet for him felt to need justification was not his hopeless and therefore irrational resistance but the fact that he had survived the fall of his fatherland at all: he did his best, he says, to get killed. And if in the first book he feels discouragement after the disastrous storm (1.208) it is hardly possible to interpret this discouragement - which he does not allow to affect his conduct - as an instance of moral failure: he has at the moment good reason to believe that almost his whole fleet is lost, and at no other point in the story is he threatened, after the fall of Troy, with any remotely comparable catastrophe. If Aeneas sometimes doubts and hesitates in the first half of the Aeneid, he is in that part of the poem tried and tempted in a way in which he will never be tried and tempted later. And when in the concluding books 10 - 12 he confronts the hazards of war, he is in a context in which it is inconceivable that any Roman hero could be depicted as anything but brave and confident. And if we consider the earlier books of the poem's second half, before the fighting begins for Aeneas, it is at once apparent that Aeneas' experience here consists not so much of trials and afflictions as of a remarkable and insistent series of assurances of divine favour and encouragement: the sign of the Eaten Tables, the thunder sent in answer to Aeneas' prayer, the reports of prophecies that have told the natives of Italy to expect the coming of a man of destiny, the recognition of Aeneas as that man by the king, the vision of the Tiber god and his promise, the sign of the Sow, the sign in the sky sent by Venus, the coming of Venus and her gift of divine armour, the assurance of Evander that he is the man called by destiny, the acceptance of him as such by the Etruscans, the apparition of the nymphs (once ships) on the voyage to the scene of war and their promise of success ..... if the sixth book were not in the poem at all, there would still be nothing needing explanation in such difference as there is between the hero's demeanour before and after the Trojans' arrival in Italy. For immediately after the events of Book 6 they reach their journey's end in Latium and have found the new home which has eluded them for so long. From

then on they are no more tired seekers of a still unknown destination, but defenders of a promised land that they have now attained. For all these reasons it is as difficult to infer from the general course of the story as it is to infer from Aeneas' immediate reactions that the experience of Book 6 is conceived by the poet as having any effect at all upon his character, or any more effect upon his attitude than have all the other encouragements that he receives in the middle part of the poem.

What then can be said about this sixth book? First, it stands in its own right as a splendid episode, for the pathos of the encounters with those whom Aeneas knew in life and for the power with which the atmosphere of this strange environment is created and conveyed. But a more distinctive function of the book appears in the fact that it forms with the preceding Book 5 a complex which has for its theme the relationship between father and son. Anchises is in mind in all Book 5, from the sacrifice at the beginning which Aeneas makes at his tomb, through the games held in his honour which form the main content of the book, to the dream at the end in which he appears to allay Aeneas' concern and to give him the instructions and the promise (of a revelation of his people's future) which are the direct occasion of Aeneas' descent into the underworld in Book 6. This enterprise of Aeneas is described more than once in the telling as an act of filial pietas specifically - by the Sibyl in her words to Charon at the crossing of the river, and by Anchises in his greeting to his son when Aeneas at last reaches him in Elysium. Thus from the moment of Aeneas' arrival in Sicily (5.31) to the moment when his father takes leave of him at the gates of the underworld (6.897) Anchises is constantly in mind; and it becomes clear also that a principal effect of the preoccupation of Aeneas with his father's memory is to confirm him in the pursuit of his mission. This distinctive role of the father in the story is not, it seems to me, sufficiently explained by the normal importance attached by the Romans to the father-son relationship, nor by the legendary piety of Aeneas in saving his father from the burning of Troy. But this opens up a subject of separate enquiry: there is time here only to note the close association of Book 6 with its predecessor Book 5, and the fact that this points to a structure of the poem based on units consisting of Books 1-4, and 5-6, and 7-12: which may be felt to yield a more satisfactory proportion than the division into halves consisting of 1-6 and 7-12 which most of us start with and which is of course in one sense valid too.

However, no grouping of this kind in the Aeneid is absolute: all overlap with groupings of other kinds. And while the sixth book belongs in the above respect closely with the fifth, in another it belongs with the two books that follow it, the seventh and the eighth. For it is in Book 6 that the Trojans reach Italy: as the Sibyl tells Aeneas before his descent into the underworld, his wandering, his Odyssey, is now over. This means that in Book 6 we have the first stage of the arrival in Italy rather than the last stage of the wanderings. In this and the following books (7 and 8) the story moves first to Italy (6), then to Latium (7) and finally to the site of the future city of Rome itself(8). In each case the progress is miraculously assisted; by Neptune from Sicily to Italy and then up the Italian coast to Latium; by the Tiber god up his own river from the estuary to the site of Rome. And this part of the poem, which is marked as a unit of composition by other distinctive features beyond those noted - for instance, by the evident parallelism between the prophetic pageants at the end both of the sixth book and of the eighth - seems to dwell on the moment of the Trojans' arrival with the deliberate intention of emphasizing at that moment the idea of Rome as the end

of the whole story. Thus the revelation in Book 6 is surely not to be separated from the whole complex of prophecies and assurances that follow it, including the parallel revelation (to the reader though not to the hero) that comes in the scenes on the shield in Book 8. Of this complex the revelation in the underworld is only a part; but it is a very important part because it makes concrete and visible the meaning of the many signs and prophecies which follow but which remain in themselves vague and mysterious.

Concerning the content of the revelation in the underworld something remains to be said. At the end of Anchises' speech in which he catalogues the future heroes of Rome, as their souls stand assembled in the meadow by Lethe awaiting the time of their incarnation, there is a famous passage in which he declares that other nations may indeed excel in the arts and sciences, but that the Romans are to excel in the art of ruling, and bring peace and order to the nations, sparing the vanquished and conquering the presumptuous. These words have often been understood literally as an injunction, meaning that Rome had a 'mission' to bring order to the world, and to conquer the uncivilised with this end in view. Thus Warde Fowler said somewhere of the Aeneid, in the book from which I quoted earlier on, that 'we may think of it ... as a great fugue, of which the leading subject is the mission of Rome in the world'. This reading of the Aeneid was natural enough in the context of the ideas about empire which were current in England and other countries at the end of the last century. But I do not know of any evidence that the Romans conceived themselves as having a 'mission'; and Anchises' words, though cast by a figure of speech in the form of an injunction, are in reality simply a prophecy that the Romans will win and rule the large empire which in Virgil's day they had won and were ruling. That this empire imposed peace and order was a fact that Virgil knew; and that the rise of Rome was willed by fate is a belief which the Aeneid constantly proclaims. But it is not clear that Virgil or his contemporaries ever thought of Rome's imperial role as fulfilment of a duty to mankind, or of fate's design in promoting the rise of Rome as part of a larger design for the betterment of the world as a whole. The idea of Rome's 'mission' in the world has perhaps been put into the Aeneid by readers nearer to our own day, partly under the influence of conceptions current in their own world, partly from a retrospective appreciation of the formative influence that Rome has in fact had on the development of western civilisation, and partly again because the hero of the Aeneid has indeed a mission, the mission Romanam condere gentem.

So I would suggest that the intentions of the poet in this splendid book are the ones which are obvious enough, though not less important on that account: to creat a Latin counterpart to one of the most celebrated episodes in Homer, to present to the reader as well as to the hero a visible image of the purpose in history to which the action of the poem leads, and to express a very singular and profound relationship between the hero's father and himself. It does not seem probable that we should look in this book either for an account of a spiritual experience undergone by the hero, or for an expression of the poet's beliefs about the nature of the human soul and what awaits it after death. But to say this is not to deny the significance of the book as a document of a religious history in a more general sense; for it discloses repeatedly and emphatically the poet's feeling about the way of the higher powers with individual humans. This feeling is not a happy one. The law that governs the world is harsh and stern: desine fata deum flecti sperare precando ... quam vellent aethere in alto nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores: fas obstat... And besides being stern it is irrational: constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit, multa putans sortemque animo

miseratus iniquam ... casu concussus iniquo ... heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas! Aeneas' first encounter is with Palinurus, doomed with his kind to wander disconsolate for the accident of not having had burial in the world above; his last is with Marcellus, doomed a thousand years before his birth to die on the threshold of manhood with his promise unfulfilled. The unhappiness of so many in the world of the dead, and the harshness of their lot, reflects the same condition of the living individuals in the rest of the story. It stands in permanent contrast with the benevolence of heaven towards the Roman state. And the tension between the modes of feeling thus contrasted, so important an element in this poem's power to move, finds in the sixth book its clearest and most concentrated expression.

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THE CYCLE OF GROWTH AND DECAY IN LUCRETIUS AND VIRGIL

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by W. Liebeschuetz, Ph.D.

'The influence direct and indirect exercised by Lucretius on the thought, composition and even diction of the Georgics was perhaps stronger than that ever exercised before or since by one great poet on the work of another.' So Sellar wrote in his Roman poets of the Augustan Age.(1) The present paper(2) is concerned to trace one aspect of this influence, to provide an outline of Lucretius' treatment of the cycle of growth and decline in organic and inorganic nature and to point out how Lucretius' handling of the theme has influenced Virgil in the Georgics.

For Lucretius the apparent solidity and stability of our world is deceptive. Underlying it there is the never ceasing movement of atoms in endless collisions, combinations and separations - resembling the battle of dust particles caught in a beam of light.(3) The battle is eternal but the state of the contestants varies from time to time. At the beginning of the world the result was overwhelmingly constructive.(4) Today construction and destruction are in equilibrium and the decay of some things is balanced by the growth of others.(5) But the equilibrium remains precarious: sooner or later the destructive process will gain the upper hand and the whole world will be destroyed.(6)

On the atomic scale the cycle of growth and decay is invisible. Its reality must be proved by deductive argument and illustrated by images such as the strife of the elements(7) which provide only imperfect analogies. But in the world of everyday life the cycle of growth, fruit bearing and death of animals and vegetation supplies a visible model of the cyclical process which can be made the basis of arguments about examples of the cycle which take place out of reach of the senses(8) whether at atomic or at cosmic level or at extremes of time.(9)

Thus the famous passage beginning:

> postremo pereunt imbres ubi eos pater aether
> in gremium matris terrai praecipitavit(10)

not only presents us with a beautiful picture of the growth of new life in spring but also expounds an argument on the subject of the invisible processes of nature, namely that when objects seem to decay to nothing they do not simply disappear but are broken up into their atomic components which are promptly rearranged into new growth.

> haud igitur penitus pereunt quaecumque videntur,
> quando alid ex alio reficit natura nec ullam
> rem gigni patitur nisi morte adiuta aliena.

This argument provides powerful support for the truth of the atomic theory and thus for the whole Epicurean view of a world developing and decaying without any intervention of gods.

Similarly analogies drawn with the organic cycle are used to support propositions of cosmogony.(11) Like a living thing the earth must pass through stages of growth, maturity and decay. Moreover it is argued that the earth, like a young woman, was once endowed with a high degree of fertility which it has since lost through the process of ageing.(12) It is also suggested that during the fertile period of its youth the earth perpetually enjoyed the mild weather which favours the annual growth of new life in Spring.(13) We see that use of the organic analogy enables Lucretius to explain the origin of large animals from inanimate matter in materialistic terms without the miraculous intervention of a divinity.

In the account of the history of the world a special place is occupied by the account of early man. He is shown to have been tougher and more animal-like but also closer to nature and therefore at least as happy as his more civilized descendants, who:

> neque hilo
> maiorem interea capiunt dulcedini fructum
> quam silvestre genus capiebat terrigenarum.(14)

The nature of the happiness of early man is summed up in a vivid picture.

> Saepe itaque inter se prostrati in gramine molli
> propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae
> non magis opibus iucunde corpora habebant
> praesertim cum tempestas ridebat et anni
> tempora pingebant viridantis floribus herbas.(15)

Lucretius was not content with this radiant evocation of a simple happiness. He amplifies its attractions by displaying them in juxtaposition with descriptions of the unsettling and fruitless pursuit of money, luxury or power as they are known in city-civilization and not least at Rome.(16)

These passages have an important function in the design of Lucretius' work. Nowhere in the De Rerum Natura does Lucretius provide systematic teaching as to

how the philosophy of Epicurus is to be applied to concrete problems of living and ethics. Only in his account of early man does Lucretius describe a way of life that fulfils his philosophical presuppositions for happy living, a way of life that satisfies man's natural needs without disturbing his peace of mind through the exaltation of unnatural needs and values.(17) Of course Lucretius is not suggesting that his contemporaries should return to precisely the way of life of their primitive ancestors. He is merely drawing attention to certain conditions of human happiness which are permanently valid because they are rooted in human nature.

We have seen that analogies drawn from the organic cycle of growth and decay provide crucial support for Lucretius' Epicurean doctrines in the fields of atomic theory and cosmogony and hence indirectly of theology and ethics. The cycle also has a role in the formal organisation of the poem.(18) The organisation of the material of Lucretius' poem seems to be governed in the first place by the requirements of a clear and logical exposition of the huge argument. But in detail the composition of the De Rerum Natura is often determined by literary objectives. Thus it has been shown(19) that Lucretius has frequently organised his material in such a way as to mirror the co-existence of creative and destructive processes in nature.

Thus Lucretius' survey of human inventions is composed in such a way that inventions which are essentially constructive(20) are balanced by accounts of others which are largely destructive(21) and even the constructive inventions are shown not only creating new satisfactions but also destroying old ones.(22) Similarly, in his exposition of Epicurean psychology Lucretius explains that 'images' make possible sensation, thought and sex, but also that these same 'images' cause delusions, of which the most dangerous is passionate love.(23) Some atoms can come together to produce life: others are fatal to life.(24) The verses describing how the world originated and developed without the intervention of the gods(25) are balanced by passages about its ageing and destruction.(26) The proof that the soul has birth is supplemented by proof that it has death.(27) All descriptions, whether of growth or of decline and destruction, are emotive as well as argumentative and the emotion sought by the poet is inevitably extreme. The harmony of the constructive phases is exaggerated: the horror of the destructive phases even more so.(28) But between them they achieve some sort of emotional balance.

This antithesis is reflected in the contrasting emotional tones of the proemia and concluding verses of four of the six books of the De Rerum Natura. In each one the book opens with a radiantly optimistic proemium to conclude, at best, on a note of calm resignation.(29) The contrast is strongest between the opening and conclusion of the whole poem. It opens with a radiant painting of spring and Venus with a subordinate description of Mars under control.(30) It finishes with a horrifying picture of the plague at Athens.(31) The philosopher will consider the two together realising that the beauty of youth and spring is only made possible by death albeit that some of death's shapes are horrible.

For Lucretius the cycle of growth and decay provides a systematic foundation for his teaching that the gods do not interfere in the running of the world and that the soul does not survive death. This philosophical objective does not seem relevant to Virgil's Georgics.(32) Virgil appears to have renounced the cosmological theme for a subject of narrower scope.

felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
subieci pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.
Fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis.(33)

Virgil appears to be content to confine himself within the bounds of country life, to instruct country folk in rural skills and to make them aware of the blessings of their life. Nevertheless Virgil adopted for his own purposes certain of the great episodes of Lucretius' poem.

In the opening section of Book 1 of the Georgics Virgil adheres to the view that the world has deteriorated and is deteriorating.(34) A number of Lucretian echoes show that Virgil was consciously developing Lucretius' picture of the ageing earth.(35) But from the Lucretian premise he drew a totally un-Lucretian conclusion.

pater ipse colendi
haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per
artem movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda.(36)

Jupiter made life more difficult for man in order to compel him to develop his faculties. Virgil goes on to show that great as are the dangers facing the farmer's livelihood the organisation of heaven and earth is such as to give advance warning of many natural hazards so that man can take precautions in time.(37) In short the world is providentially organised at least partly for the sake of man, not to make life enervatingly easy, but at any rate to give him a chance of a satisfying existence, if only he is ready to work and learn to use such aids as are provided for him.

From the same point of view, Virgil has developed Lucretius' descriptions of spring and of the youth of the world. In the famous 'hymn to spring' in Book II Virgil expresses the feeling, inspired by the renewal of life, that each spring constitutes a reenactment of the original spring of the world.

Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
inluxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
crediderim.(38)

The language combines reminiscences of Lucretius' description of the new world with reminiscences of his description of spring.(39) But where Lucretius has shown spring as a purely physical process Virgil reinvests it with mystery and intimations of the activity of supernatural powers.

nec res hunc tenerae possent perferre laborem,
si non tanta quies iret frigusque caloremque
inter, et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras.

Spring is one aspect of the providential order which makes it possible for the farmer's labour to bear fruit.(40)

But the youth of the world is only of passing significance in the Georgics. The 'Praise of the Farming Life' in the second book of the Georgics is profoundly influenced by Lucretius' treatment of early man. First of all, like Lucretius,

Virgil has not only described the farmers' happiness[41] but also defined it negatively by picturing the striving for luxury, wealth and power of which the farmer is free.[42] Secondly the ideal of happiness is still close to that of Lucretius. It is seen essentially as the calm state of a mind which is untroubled by fear or unrealisable desires,[43] and content with simplesatisfaction of natural needs and simple pleasures, symbolised by Virgil as by Lucretius, through images of relaxation in the shadow of a tree.[44] Finally, again like Lucretius, Virgil uses this model from the idealised early history of man to point out values which are relevant to contemporary society but which no realistic description could reveal in so unmixed a form.[45]

But once again Virgil has not simply adopted Lucretius' ideal of the happy life. In the first place, of course, Virgil recommends an altogether different means of attaining happiness. It is to be found not by inquiring into 'the causes of things' but by strict attention to the exacting yet rewarding task of winning a living from the earth. The farmer's year with its regular succession of hard work, worship and occasional relaxation will mould a character immune to the temptation of wealth and power, and capable of achieving the happy life.[46]

But this is not enough: Book III with its praise of the essentially individual happiness of the farmer, is followed in Book IV by an account of the society of the bees. The bees have qualities of citizenship developed to a degree which may seem grotesque to the modern reader,[47] but which is surely intended to be essentially exemplary. Such devotion to the community belongs only to life in its highest manifestations.

> His quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti
> esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus
> aetherios dixere.[48]

The lack of teaching on social duties was a standard charge brought against Epicureans.[49] Virgil has remedied this deficiency by a demonstration that social morality no less than the instinct for avoiding pain is part of the natural endowment of the highest form of life, and thus of man.

Virgil's indebtedness to Lucretius' treatment of the cycle of growth and decay is not limited to the re-use of themes torn from their context. While Virgil has no use for Lucretius' logical and coherent exposition of the workings of nature he has adopted important features of the poetic organisation of the De Rerum Natura. Thus he, too, has built the pattern of growth and decay into the emotional structure of his poem. Even in his most optimistic passages Virgil suggests the precariousness of human achievement and suggests that only the hardest work and utmost forethought will prevent disaster.[50] Also reminiscent of Lucretius' use of the theme is the way in which Virgil suggests a balanced assessment of the human condition through matching the effect of the pessimistic Books I and III against the optimistic Books II and IV.[51]

There are more tangible traces of the Lucretian pattern. Book III of the Georgics is composed around the life cycle, from birth to death, of the higher animals.[52] The first half of the book ends on a high note of warning of the dangers of the passion of love, like Lucretius' Book IV.[53] It ends with the account of the animal plague whose shock impact is obviously derived from that in the conclusion of Book VI of Lucretius. Virgil's account of beekeeping also is organised round the natural cycle. It begins with spring and the establishment

of the hive and ends with disease and death of the whole stock.(54) Finally, it is clearly not a coincidence that the Georgics as a whole, like the De Rerum Natura, open with a description of spring:

> Vere novo gelidus canis cum montibus humor
> liquitur et zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit(55)

and conclude - or rather reach their highest emotional pitch - on the theme of death in the account of the parting of Orpheus and Eurydice.

Virgil's Georgics no less than Lucretius' De Rerum Natura are set against the background of the universal pattern of growth and decay. But this is only a symptom of the fact that the Georgics in spite of the narrow scope of their ostensible subject, have a universal theme. Book I treats man's relation with earth and the heavens. Book II deals with the plant world. Book III treats of man's dealings with the animal world and his own animal nature. Book IV is concerned with society among the bees and death of bees and men.(56) Virgil has written his own man-centred De Rerum Natura.

But it was impossible to write systematically about nature or man so soon after Lucretius without taking up an explicit attitude to Lucretius' two great terrors: the gods and death. Virgil took up both themes and his treatment of them can be seen as a highly critical development of the views of his predecessor. As we have seen, Virgil brought the gods back into the world. Jupiter has made the world and at least partly for man's sake. But the gods do little or nothing to interfere with the working of the great mechanism they have created. During the animal plague the gods are remote and unconcerned.(57) The weather signs are given a 'scientific' explanation.(58)

Yet Virgil recommends worship and he does so in precisely the context in which Lucretius had tried to prove it irrelevant, to save crops from natural disasters.(59) The fact that Virgil holds a more or less rationalist view of the working of the world does not prevent him from advocating conscientious observation of the traditional practices of religion.(60) Far from feeling that religion imposes a crushing burden Virgil insists that the ritual adds variety and joy to the farmer's year. Moreover the verses advising what work may be done on festivals remind the reader of that characteristically Roman technique for alleviating the restrictiveness of religious prohibitions by casuistic arguments.(61) The advice nona fugae melior, contraria furtis suggests that religio need not exclude humour.(62)

The combination of belief in a purposeful world order governed by unchanging rules with adherence to traditional religion and the linking of the two commandments hoc metuens caeli mensis et sidera serva and in primis venerare deos(63) is undoubtedly Stoic. Indeed the way in which the farmer is obliged to fit his work into a schedule dictated by natural processes if he is to benefit rather than be ruined by them might be taken as a model of the Stoic view of the human condition: ducunt volentem fata nolentem trahunt.(64)

But if the view is essentially Stoic it represents a form of Stoicism which like Epicureanism stresses the unity of all nature and refuses to exalt the spirit by opposing it to the body.(65) Man shares courage, passion, spirit, with some of the animals,(67) he shares social qualities with the bees. On the other hand the quality of pure intelligence is given little scope in the Georgics. The great inventions are made, as in Lucretius' poem, by trial and experience of

ordinary men,[68] not as in Posidonius through the exercise of intelligence by the wise.[69]

Stoic philosophers differed over the fate of the soul after death.[70] Virgil takes a step in the direction of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. In the lines huc reddi ac resoluta referri/omnia nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare/sideris in numerum[71] he allows the possibility that after death the soul may survive death in the fiery zone of heaven, even if he leaves unclear whether it retains its individuality or mingles with the world soul. But this vague and cautiously expressed statement would seem to represent a hope rather than a belief.

More firmly stated consolation for the fact of death is provided by the thought that a man's family and nation will survive him and that his efforts can contribute to their survival.

> Ergo ipsas quamvis angusti terminus aevi excipiat
> at genus immortale manet mulosque per annos
> stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum.[72]

Since for Virgil social preoccupations are part of man's nature this thought is a real consolation.

But these two passages do not represent Virgil's final comment on the theme of death in the Georgics. The poem ends with Virgil's own[73] version of the Aristaeus myth and the origin of the Bougonia, the process by which a swarm of bees is spontaneously generated from the decaying carcases[74] of oxen. The explanation is of no use to the farmer: even if it were practicable it would not be economical.[75] But the Bougonia provides a vivid illustration of the growth of new life from the wreckage of old. It is likely that this is why Virgil has chosen to end his poem in this way. He is restating the lesson that Lucretius saw demonstrated in every spring.

> haud igitur penitus pereunt quae cumque videntur
> quando alid ex alio reficit natura nec ullam
> rem gigni patitur nisi morte adiuta aliena.

Youth and beauty cannot be had without decay and death, and death should therefore be accepted calmly.[76]

This does not mean that Virgil's attitude to death is identical with that of Lucretius. In the first place, of course, not fear of death but the quest for a livelihood is shown to be the central preoccupation of man's life in the Georgics. For Virgil's outlook it is also significant that he has chosen to end his poem not with the triumph of death but with the contemplation of new life. But the fact of death remains tragic and the tragedy cannot be removed by logical argument. Virgil cannot follow Lucretius to his triumphant conclusion.

> Nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum[77]

Such agony as that suffered by Orpheus and Eurydice is not a 'straw' and it cannot be avoided by any proof of the mortality of the soul no matter how cogent.

NOTES

1. W. T. Sellar, The Roman poets of the Augustan Age, Oxford, 1908, 198. cf. W. A. Merrill, Parallels and coincidences in Lucretius and Virgil, U. O. California Publications in Classical Philology III,(1918), 135-247.

   See also H. Klepl, Lukrez, und Virgil in ihren Lehrgedichten (Darmstadt 1967).

2. Use has been made throughout of C. Bailey's text and commentary of De Rerum Natura, (Oxford 1947). W. Richter, Georgica (München, 1957), F. Klingner, Virgils Georgica, (Zürich 1963), Brooks Otis, Virgil (Oxford, 1964).

3. Luc. 2, 112 ff.

4. 2, 1105 ff.

5. 2, 573.

6. 2, 1144 ff; 5, 90 ff, 235 ff.

7. 2, 573-6 cf. Emped. 17, 6-8; 5,380 ff. cf. Emped. 31.

8. 5, 101-3 cf. Emped. 133.

9. 1, 175 ff; 1,250 ff; 2,991 ff; 5, 670 ff; 731 ff.

10. 1, 250 ff.

11. cf. F. Solmsen, Epicurus on the Growth and Decline of the Cosmos, A.J.P. LXIV (1953), 34-5.

12. 5, 795-836.

13. 5, 806; 818-20. The novitas mundi is not called 'spring'. Its climate and fertility are physically explained by incomplete separation of elements of heat and water from earth.

14. 5, 925 ff; cited: 1409-11.

15. 5, 1392-96; cf. 2, 29-33.

16. 2, 20-39; contrast also 5, 925-1027 (simple life with stress on natural happiness) with 5, 1105 ff. (civilization with stress on unnatural strife).

    Lucretius knows that the contrast is exaggerated: 5, 1419-22 (strife among primitives), 1440-56 (triumph of progress).

17. 5, 1133-5 - unlike civilised men who:

    quandoquidem sapiunt alieno ex ore petuntque
    res ex auditis potius quam sensibus ipsis

18. On the poem as a whole: P. Boyancé, Lucrèce et l'épicurisme (Paris 1963); on 1, 951 - 2, 1174: G. Müller, Die Darstellung der Kinetic bei Lukrez

(Berlin 1959).

19. In the stimulating but a little overschematic paper of R. Minadeo, the Formal Design of De Rerum Natura, Arion IV (1965), 444-61.

20. 5, 1350-1457.

21. 5, 1241-1349.

22. 5, 1412-35; 1276-80; 1276-1280.

23. 4, 1058 ff.

24. Atoms of many kinds 2, 398-477; 589-99. Atoms hostile to life 6, 775-839; 1090 ad fin.

25. 2, 1105-1130; 5, 416-508.

26. 2, 1131-74; 5, 235-415.

27. 3, 425 ff; 670-823.

28. The extreme case: 5, 1308-49 (the use of animals in war). This is admitted to be unhistorical: 1340-41, but is nevertheless used to drive home the destructiveness of the inventions of discordia.

29. cf. R. Minadeo o.c. This contrast in tone is striking even though the book endings are not in other respects composed to balance the proemia.

30. I take spring and Venus to symbolize the constructive phase, Mars the destructive phase. The personifications make the picture more expressive but from the Epicurean point of view misleading. Similarly when Lucretius used the image of strife among the atoms - see above note 7, - he used an Empedoclean concept figuratively, without for a moment accepting its literal truth.

31. 6, 1138 ad fin.

32. Bibliography in R. D. Williams, Virgil, 14-22. Greece and Rome, New surveys in the Classics No. I.

33. Geor. 2, 490 ff.

34. Geor. 1, 121 ff; 199 ff.

35. cf. Lucr. 5, 207 and Geor. 1, 198; Lucr. 5, 209 and Geor. 1, 41; 45; Lucr. 5, 213 and Geor. 1, 197; Lucr. 2, 1158 and Geor. 1, 127.

36. Geor. 1, 121-4. P. Wilkinson, Virgil's Theodicy c.q. XIII (1963), 75-84.

37. Geor. 1, 231 ff. esp. 238, contrast Lucr. 5, 200.

Geor. 1, 351 ff. Aratus supplements Lucretius.

38. Geor. 2, 336-8.

39. cf. Georg. 2, 323-45 and Lucr. 1, 250-64; 5, 782-3; 787; 816-19; 925-6; 1214.

40. Georg. 2, 345 caeli indulgentia; see Richter o.c. on Georg. 1, 343.

41. Georg. 2, 467-474; 513-40.

42. Ibid. 461-66; 495-512. The implied criticism of contemporary society also recalls Lucr. 2, 11-13; 24-28; 34-38; 3, 59-86; 5, 1113-35.

43. Georg. 2, 467 at secura quies et nescia fallere vita;

ibid. 486 flumina amem silvasque inglorius;

ibid. 495 ff. illum non populi fasces non purpura regnum/flexit.

44. ibid. 470 mollesque sub arbore somni; 489

ingenti ramorum protegat umbra; cf. Lucr. 2, 30; 5, 1393.

45. I. S. Ryberg, T.A.P.A. LXXXIX (1958), 112-31.

P. Wilkinson o.c.

46. Georg. 2, 513 ff.

47. Brooks Otis, o.c. 184 ff.

48. Georg. 4, 219-21.

49. Eg. Cic. Rep. 1, 1 ff., Fin. 2, 60 ff. 74.

50. Eg. 2, 302 ff. (fire in the olive plantation), ibid. 539-40 war filled present recalled at end of golden age.

51. Brooks Otis o.c. 151 ff.

52. My paper Greece and Rome XII (1965), 64-77.

53. Georg. 3, 242-83.

54. Georg. 4, 51 ff; 235 ff. The bougonia takes place in spring 4,305 ff.

55. Georg. 1, 43-4.

56. On doctrine of hierarchy of living things.

Varro in Aug. CD 7, 23, 21 ff; Cic. Tusc. 1, 56;

Fin 5, 13-14; N.D. 2, 12-3.

57. Georg. 3, 525-8; 455-6; 486-93; 531-3.

58. Georg. 1, 415-23. Is this Stoic (Cic. Div. 1, 126 ff.) or anti-Stoic (ibid. 120)? cf. Richter o.c.

59. Geor. 1, 338-50. The description of the storm 313-34 contains much Lucretian material, cf. Merrill o.c., 222. Also its general character recalls Lucr. 1, 275 ff; 5, 1219 ff; 6, 246. Lucretius points out irrelevance of prayer in this situation 6,48 ff; 5, 1218 ff.

60. Geor. 2, 380 ff. On mixture of Greek and Roman rites Richter o.c. 238-41.

61. Geor. 1, 268 ff. Richter o.c. 155-6.

62. Geor. 1, 286. cf. Liv., 10, 42, 7.

63. Geor. 1, 335; 338.

64. Sen. ep. 107, 11.

65. E. Caird cited by C. Bailey, Phases in the reilgion of Ancient Rome (Oxford 1932), p.230.

66. Geor. 4, 221 deum namque ire per omnia/terrasque ...

67. See my o.c. n. 52 above.

68. Geor. 1, 133 ut varias usus meditando extunderet artis/paulatim;

ibid. 145 labor omnia vicit

improbus et duris urgens in rebus egestas.

ibid. 4, 326 mortalem honorem,

quem mihi vix frugum et pecorum custodia sollers

omnia temptanti extulerat.

cf. Lucr. 5, 1448 ad fin. illustrated by 5, 1240 ff; 1360 ff; 1379 ff.

69. Sen ep. 90, 5 ff; cf. Cicero on philosophy: Tusc. 5, 5; De Or. 1, 3 and on human reason: Inv 1, 2; N.D. 2, 34.

70. F. Cumont, Afterlife in Roman Paganism, 1923, 13-14. Panaetius denied personal survival: Cic. Tusc. 1, 79.

71. Geor. 4, 225-7.

72. ibid. 206-9.

73. On this and the whole finale, see Klingner o,c, 196-39 = Virgil, 326-63.

74. Geor. 4, 295 ff; 440 ff.

75. Col. 9,14,6.

76. Lucr. 1, 262-4.

77. ibid., 3, 830.

V.S. Lectures, No. 87

SOMETHING ODD ABOUT VIRGIL

A lecture delivered to the Virgil Society
16th March 1968

by J. R. T. Pollard, T.D., M.A., B.Litt.

The recent revised edition of the late W. F. Jackson Knight's Virgil's Troy and Cumaean Gates under the comprehensive title of Vergil, Epic and Anthropology (1967) has been to me not only a sad reminder that fugit interea fugit inreparabile tempus, but of a time when I was much influenced by the exciting parallels observed between the religious beliefs of non-European cultures and the events of the second and sixth books of the Aeneid. Temes Savsap, the Malekulan underworld daemon appeared to have much in common with the Sibyl, while the journey of Aeneas had marked affinities with the Sumerian saga of Gilgamish, or so it seemed to me. Later I was saddened to learn that not everyone was as sanguine as Jackson Knight, and that few scholars were prepared to set much store even by the revelations of Frazer's Golden Bough or the learned excursuses of A. B. Cook on such fascinating topics as oak-kings and woodpeckers. When I put it to someone whose opinion I valued that there must be good reason why people were for ever prying into Virgil's psychic and religious background he said that he suspected that there was something odd about him. Well, is there anything odd about Virgil's poetry? And if there is, and of course not everyone would agree that there is, in what particular facet or feature does it lie? What in fact does one mean by venturing to call Virgil odd? What indeed would one mean by calling any poet odd, much less an epic poet of Virgil's stature? Few, I imagine, would wish to claim that there was anything particularly odd about Homer, apart, that is, from the Homeric question. Neither is there anything particularly queer about Hesiod, although Mr. West has drawn attention to some curious ellipses in the Theogony (M. L. West, Hesiod Theogony, 1966, 161-2) or in fact any of the major epic poets right down to Apollonius, and of course it would be odd if there were, for epic leans by definition towards orthodoxy and tradition. The Greek dramatists, it is true, may on occasion have treated odd themes, but this is not the same thing as claiming that there was anything odd about them, at least in the sense in which I intend to employ the term. The sole exception, of course, is Pindar whose curious mingling of sublimity with obliquity is at times reminiscent of Virgil. Coming down to Roman times no-one I suppose would be prepared to maintain that there was anything odd about Virgil's friend and contemporary Horace. Lucretius again may have been driven to despair and finally committed suicide, but there is singularly little that one would describe as odd about the De Rerum Natura. It is true that the end of the fourth book is sometimes regarded as unduly salacious, but hardly in any way strange. To go further back, Ennius is usually straightforward enough,

and although the Attis is admittedly a very odd poem Catullus, for all his temperament, seems otherwise perfectly normal. The same can hardly be said of Propertius whose realistically vivid imagination sometimes strains the Latin language to a degree that obscures the sense. In this he contrasts so sharply with Ovid whose thoughts ran on more traditional lines. Lucan, I suppose, it could be argued, with his partiality for the gruesome and obscure turns of phrase was somewhat peculiar. But similar arguments could be applied to Juvenal and in prose to Tacitus, who despite his excessive compression and stylistic idiosyncrasies was above all things eminently sane. Tacitus was, of course, much influenced by Virgil, and it is in fact the poet's very mastery of compression that was responsible indirectly for much of the historian's obscurity. Nevertheless Virgil's more conscious imitators like Silius, Valerius Flaccus and Statius, with their rhetorical flights and love of realism are not particularly unorthodox or odd.

At first sight it might appear perverse to describe the greatest Latin poet of all, the model indeed of so many who came after, as odd. How could he be odd, and yet be universally acclaimed, even in his own day, as the great poet he was? Surely oddity and genius are mutually exclusive terms and could not be fairly applied to one and the same poet at one and the same time? All this, of course, is perfectly true. But it is not the oddity of Virgil which is in question, but the claim that there was something odd about him. The presence of hidden depths in Virgil has long been recognised. Dryden referred to 'the sober retrenchments of his sense which always leaves somewhat to gratify our imagination, on what it may enlarge at leisure.' (Works of Virgil II, 282), while Henry observed more pointedly that 'It would not be Virgil's thought or picture if there was not a difficulty somewhere in the expression.' (Aeneidea III, 579). Conway again described the opening words of the Aeneid as 'typical of Virgil's habit of impressing manifold meaning upon a particular word by the position and association in which he set it.' (P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus, 1935). More recently Jackson Knight stated that 'Compression into density of meaning is the main principle of Vergil's expression. To achieve it he exploits as far as ever he can the nature of Latin speech and thought' (RV^2, 239). Contemporary critics have remarked on the ambiguity of many of Virgil's phrases, but none, to my knowledge, has employed the term 'odd'. Nevertheless many of Virgil's expressions are of a penumbral character which contrasts sharply with the definition and clarity of most classical works. It is true that depth and allusiveness are somehow inherent in the structure of the Latin language, and it is from these typical features that Horace derives many of his best effects. But in Virgil ambiguity and evasiveness seem part and parcel of his own temperament so that we are conscious of a kind of wilful obliquity in his attitude to truth. This is somehow exemplified by his curious half-way syntax, whimsical renderings of Theocritus in the Eclogues or the invention of a glotta like Oaxen for a river that never was. Well, happily we are not here primarily concerned with Virgilian psychology, but only to decide whether in comparison with other classical poets Virgil is unusually oblique or odd, whether in fact as Professor Quinn has recently stated 'Virgil's purpose is partly to emphasize the elusiveness of truth.' (Virgil's Aeneid. A critical description, 1968).

To quote a familiar, but untranslateable line. Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt, which expands and generalises the previous half-line Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi (Aen I, 461). 'Here too we find virtue somehow rewarded', as the new Poet Laureate translates it. Taken at its face value the line means something like 'history can move tears and human affairs strike an answering chord

in our hearts.' But there is more in res than historical events. Res suggests reor, and it is of course the philosophic contemplation of history as portrayed on the walls of Dido's temple that moves Aeneas and Achates on one level and Virgil and his readers on another, for Virgil feels through his characters and makes his readers feel in turn. (Cf. Serv. ad Aen IX, 424; Brooks Otis, Virgil: A Study in civilized Poetry, 1963). Rerum again is ambiguous. It could be either objective or subjective genitive. We weep for the events, or the events make us weep. In effect it is both. It is a signal example of Virgil's ability to make us regard something from two aspects at the same time. Mortalia again is penumbral and allusive. Mors is always uppermost. Men are mortal. Death faces all. Men's deeds are like the wars of the bees which can be settled by a handful of dust. It is this latent awareness that gives the phrase its poignancy. Then there is mens. Mens is the thinking, imaginative heart, and tangunt can mean 'strike' in the musical sense. It is therefore 'sad mortality', in this case the deaths of heroes generalized, which strikes chords in the heart, or so Virgil seems to imply. But there is more, much more, a whole philosophy of life contained in a sentence which constitutes in effect a splendid hendiadys. In full it seems to mean something like Jackson Knight claimed. 'There is no denying that even in this far land honour gets its due, and they can weep at human tragedy; the world has tears as a constituent part of it, and so have our own lives, hopeless and weary; and the thought how things have always their own death in them breaks our hearts and will and clouds our vision.' (RV^2, 240). The line, like all great maxims, is impersonal, but its very impersonality seems illogically to render it more personal in a manner perhaps uniquely characteristic of Virgil.

A similar subjective impersonality, if you will excuse the oxymoron, coupled with a vague obliquity is detectable in what are commonly regarded as being among Virgil's most emotive lines.

> Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
> Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna
> Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
> Est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
> Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

so admirably rendered by Professor C. Day Lewis

> Dimly through the shadows and dark solitudes they wended,
> Through the void domiciles of Dis, the bodiless regions:
> Just as, through fitful moonbeams, under the moon's thin light,
> A path lies in a forest, when Jove has palled the sky
> With gloom, and the night's blackness has bled the world of colour.

But ibant is untranslatable in English. The imperfect indicative active of eo has in Latin a solemn and often near ritual significance as e.g. when Aristaeus sets out for his mother's watery realm (Geo. IV, 365) when the shades move in Erebus (ibidem, 472) or Aeneas visits his father's tomb (Aen. V, 75) while in the passage under discussion Aeneas is entering the portals of death, the profoundest religious rite of all. Obscuri again implies more than that Aeneas and the Sibyl are 'dimly visible' as Professor Quinn explains the word. They not only look like shadows, they have suddenly become real shadows in the shadow world of the shades. After all Dido in the underworld is also described as obscuram (Aen VI, 453) which, according to Professor Quinn, suggests 'a sort of pale glow which makes one

feel the moon is about to rise through cloud.' So far there is nothing expressly odd, except in so far as entering the underworld is odd for persons who are still alive. It is all highly penumbral and appropriate to the context. But what about sola sub nocte? Is it a case of pure empathy, of transferring our own feelings to the night as most have taken it or does sola emphasize the quality of the darkness and really mean, as Professor Quinn suggests, 'only the gloom of night'? I should have thought it meant both.

Whatever our view of the two opening lines there are certainly disturbing features in the simile which follows. Once again it is described, like sunt lacrimae rerum, in impersonal terms which are oddly evocative. Virgil is attempting the difficult and well nigh impossible task of describing the journey to the next world in terms of this. After all it is the best a mere mortal can hope to do and he does it more successfully than most. Even so there are some odd and unexpected features which it is hard to explain. The first scandal, if you will forgive the philosophical catch-word, is incerta luna. What in fact was the precise quality of the moonlight? It is usually regarded as fitful, the moon being alternately obscured by the cloud wrack or revealed through it. Professor Quinn, however, seems to dispute this view. 'Aeneas and the Sibyl are dimly visible as on a night in which there are no stars and no moon, only the gloom of night.' (Op.cit. 165). But it seems impossible to dispense with the moonlight, whatever its quality, in view of incerta luna. The second scandal is maligna. The word has sinister connotations because it is in origin a syncopated form of maligenus which may be interpreted actively as 'producing evil' or passively as 'begotten of evil'. The neutral significance 'niggardly' or 'sparing' is familiar in Plautus and common in classical times. Virgil himself employs malignus in this sense (Geo. II, 179; Aen. XI, 525), but also in the other in Aeneid V, 654, where it is used to describe oculi, so that it is hard to believe that the word's basic meaning is not latent in the moon passage too. The moon deliberately, as it were, witholds her light from the traveller with malice prepense. This, at least, is the ordinary man's impression when called upon to make a journey by night, and this is the highly subjective impression which Virgil succeeds in conveying through the medium of a highly objective and impersonal simile.

The third scandal is the iter. Is it a real path that one can visualise, or the abstract notion of a journey? The answer, of course, depends in part on one's particular point of view. For the unsophisticated reader it would undoubtedly be the first. But the deeper significance of the second meaning cannot be ruled out. The introduction of Juppiter is odd and unexpected. The god seems in this passage to have made a compact with the moon to render travel more difficult by night, and the direct result of his intervention is that rebus nox abstulit atra colorem i.e. that 'the black night stole all colour from the seen world' as Jackson Knight renders it (RV^2, 241), emphasizing again the philosophic content in res. Of course living persons, as has been suggested, have no business in the underworld, so the hostile attitude of the two deities is at least partially intelligible and justified.

Or is there something more? Or less? Does in fact our familiarity with modern poetry and modern imagery or the kind of ambiguities analysed by Professor Empson (Seven Types of Ambiguity^2, 1947) result in our tending to read too much into Virgil? Inevitably it does, and we have to be constantly on our guard particularly because Virgil, unlike for example Homer, is for ever practising distancing both in space and time. This was perhaps only to be expected as the purpose of the Aeneid was to show how the greatness of Rome was a product of its divine history,

in fact the opposite of Troy which was doomed from the first. Aeneas could only see the future in a vision, but at the end of Aeneid VIII the vision of future history revealed in Aeneid VI is now for the first time given real and visible expression. The result nevertheless is odd and striking when we suddenly become conscious of what it all amounts to.

> Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum

rendered by Professor C. Day Lewis

> Such were the scenes that Aeneas admired on the shield of Vulcan
> His mother gave him. Elated by its portrayal of things
> Beyond his ken, he shouldered his people's glorious future.

Like some human Atlas the hero takes the whole weight of unborn history on his shoulders, and of course he is ignorant of what the burden amounts to in its fullest sense. As Professor Quinn says there is inevitably ambiguity here. On the obvious level the phrase means 'in his ignorance he takes pleasure in the representation of things'. But at a deeper level it means 'he delights in the pictures ignorant of the reality.' The shield has been made by Vulcan in order to protect Aeneas in war, just as Hephaestus made a shield for Achilles, so heaving it on his shoulder he goes forth to meet his fate. But, and here again I quote Professor Quinn 'the gesture of raising the shield on to his shoulder is therefore symbolic; the act represents acceptance of responsibility for what is to come.' But did it strike Virgil's contemporaries as symbolic in the same way as it strikes us? Presumably not. But wherein lay the difference? I would suggest that it lay in the Roman consciousness of their destiny and their sense of helping to shoulder Aeneas' burden themselves. To the modern reader the appeal of the passage is mainly literary. The sense of distancing is less real. Imagine is, of course, the key-word. Professor Quinn claims that Virgil is playing a trick on his readers, viz. 'that of making the events of recent history the culmination of a historical process.' In effect Virgil is playing no tricks. He is a poet inspired by a mighty vision, a vision which transcended not only the story of Rome but history itself and the effect upon the reader is inevitably disturbing.

Not infrequently, as many critics have observed, Virgil strains Latin almost to breaking point. Certainly his masterly compressions influenced later writers with the paradoxical result that the greatest poet of the Golden Age could be held in great measure responsible for many of the stylistic characteristics of the ensuing Silver Age. It is not always easy, however, to decide in Virgil just what is normal and what is compressed. There is a brilliance and originality about a half-line like celsis caput urbibus exit (Aen. VIII, 65) 'my source emerges among tall cities' (CDL), but what precisely does it mean? Normally one does not associate sources with cities. 'I come from haunts of coot and hern,' sang Tennyson's brook, but its source was in England, not in Italy. In Italy rivers often rise up in the mountains and descend in torrents towards the rarely distant sea. They rise high up - celsis in fact is the right word, indeed it is actually used of the Apennines by Horace (Ep. XVI, 29). But what of urbibus? You have, of course, only to cross the Apennines to realise that, as in many other mountainous countries, towns are built on hills. The Tiber rises four thousand feet up in the Tuscan Apennines, and it was the vision of the great river threading the towns and villages perched high on the hill-tops overlooking its valley tot congesta manu praeruptis

oppida saxis 'the towns piled up on tottering cliffs' (Geo. II, 156. CDL) that the poet has passed on to us. The first half of the sentence hic mihi magna domus 'here's my broad home' (CDL) has caused, in my view, unnecessary difficulty. The two halves of the line are distinct. Tiber's home is where Aeneas sees him, or dreams he sees him, not at his source. Presumably it is deep down in a pool, as the hero himself suggests.

> Quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra
> fonte tenet, quocumque solo pulcherrimus exis (74-5)
>
> Wherever the sevret springs of your being, and wherever
> you issue forth in majesty (CDL)

Unfortunately Aeneas is no more explicit than Tiber himself respecting the precise nature of his home or source. But it seems at least clear that Henry was at fault in suggesting that the river was equating his home with Hesperia. Those who take caput in apposition to domus have to explain the former as referring to the river's mouth, despite Virgil's own employment of the word in the fourth Georgic, and in association with the Tiber in the normal sense.

> et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus
> unde pater Tiberimus et unde Aniena fluenta (368-9)
>
> The spring from which the deep Enipeus first leaps forth,
> The source of father Tiber and the flowing Anio.

To amend the difficulty away with Bentley and others is merely to destroy the poetry. It is better to retain the music and the magic even when we do not fully understand.

I have sometimes felt that there is something odd about Virgil's plough. How abruptly he introduces it! All Hesiod says is

> πόλλ' ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα· φέρειν δὲ γύην, ὅτ' ἂν εὕρῃς,
> ἐς οἶκον κατ' ὄρος διζήμενος ἢ κατ' ἀροῦραν
> ῥῖνινον.
>
> (427-9)

'Hew also many bent timbers, and bring home a plough-tree when you have found it, and look out on the mountain or in the field for one of holm-oak' (SW)

Virgil, by contrast, seems to be in a curious hurry.

> Continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur
> In burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri (Geo. I, 169 f)
>
> Early in woods the elm, by main force mastered, is bent
> Into a share-beam and takes the shape of the curving plough'
> (CDL)

The key word, of course, is continuo. In his note to Geo. I, 60 T. E. Page (Virgil, Bucolics and Georgics, 16, 1957) analyses its meanings. It indicates, in

his view, 'that one event follows another 'without any break' ... Virgil, however, is also fond of placing it as first word in a sentence and defining the time to which it refers afterwards! In the sentence describing the husbandman's action 'in silvis defines the force of continuo,' straightway while yet in the woods, 'i.e. even before the tree is cut down', and so I understand it. Does Virgil mean that being in green sap the elm is then more pliable than it would be after it had been cut and dried? If so how did one keep it bent? Was it tied down or weighted? All this the poet keeps obscure. Possibly and even probably the description is compressed and all Virgil means is that the husbandmen should bend a suitable elm while it is standing in the wood and while the sap is still in it, and later mould it into a plough back. Certainly all the necessary timber was subsequently dried and seasoned by being slung over the hearth et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus 'and the wood is hung up in chimneys where smoke will season it' (CDL). Possibly Virgil had talked to plough-wrights and learned something of the art of plough-making at first hand. Yet the suspicion still lingers that he is urging the reader through the husbandman not to waste time. All the same the scene conjured up verges on the grotesque. The husbandman arriving in the forest and lighting on a suitable elm must assail it forthwith, wrestling it into shape like some rustic Hercules struggling with a Hydra. Possibly Virgil even intended the description to sound whimsical like the grafted tree marvelling at its novel fruit and foliage (Geo. II, 80 f). There the speed of growth is exaggerated like the speed required to attack the elm. But in the context of the plough it strikes me as a little odd.

Helenus' reply to Aeneas' inquiry about his future fate and travels is couched in enigmatic terms

> principio Italiam quam tu iam rere propinquam
> vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
> longa procul longis via dividit invia terris (Aen. III, 381 f)
>
> First then, the Italy you imagine so close that you're ready
> Mistakenly, to enter her ports any day now, in fact is
> A very long way from here, and the way is far from easy (CDL)

The last line is a jingle reminiscent of Delphic and other prophetic utterances designed to confuse and appal. It is undoubtedly in character with the pronouncements of a seer and is intended to convey more than it seems. Once again there is a way, a journey to be faced, like the path in the wood in Aeneid VI, and once again a parallel is drawn between the here and now and the as yet uncharted track of destiny still to be traversed. It is likewise described in an impersonal manner the better to generalise and universalise the description. But what is the construction of longis terris? Do the words qualify invia 'trackless because the lands that have to be visited are so remote and far away'? Or do they qualify dividit 'separates by means of remote lands'? Or are they quasi-absolute 'a far and trackless way avoids because the country in between is so remote?' The nature of Latin is such that we are unable absolutely to decide. What Virgil is saying is that Aeneas' fated voyage lies off the broken track. But the effect of the line on the reader is to make him pause and reflect on the purpose of life itself and the 'doubtful doom of humankind'. It is an odd line which achieves its effect, like the path in the wood, through the impersonal mode of the maxim. But it is time perhaps to look for evidence of oddity in broader themes.

The significance of the Daedalus story portrayed on the door of the temple at Cumae has been widely discussed. Heinze regarded it merely as a piece of Hellenistic affectation whose sole purpose was to give a potted history of the temple and incidentally to reveal an interesting episode in Italy's prehistoric past (Virgils Epische Technik[3] 1928, 398 f). Pöschl, on the other hand, sees a parallel between Aeneas and Daedalus, both exiles from a hostile shore, and between Ariadne and Dido, both of whom were deserted by their lovers, while Daedalus' affection for Icarus reflects that of Anchises for his son (The Art of Virgil, 1962, 150). Jackson Knight went further. The crucial feature was, in his view, the labyrinth.

Hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error

'and all the old wandering ways of the house that was there, weariness of work inextricable' (Vergil, Epic and Anthropology, 141 f).

Now the labyrinth was a maze, and mazes, as anthropology has shown, bar the progress of the improperly initiated and condition in particular the entry of the dead. Aeneas is on the point of entering the underworld and the maze is therefore symbolic of the difficulties which he will have to encounter there. Norden was puzzled by the association of Daedalus with Cumae (P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI[3] (1957) 120) which does not occur in any tradition we know, although the circumstances that Cumae was a Euboean colony and the craftsman had connections with Chalcis (J. Toepffer, Attische Genealogie (1889) 168) may have contributed to the legend. The acropolis of Cumae is an impressive place, but we cannot be sure that the vast series of underground galleries revealed by Maiuri represent the archaeological reality behind Virgil's description of the Sibyl's cave. Neither is there any guarantee that Mr. R. F. Paget's survey of the tunnels at Baiae (In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 1967) has thrown much light on Virgil's Underworld. Mackail's suggestion (The Aeneid of Virgil (1930) Appx. C) that it might have been based on the interior of a Minoan palace would carry more conviction if there was any evidence, apart from maze sketches on coins from Cnossus and Pompeian graffiti, that Virgil or his authorities could have seen a Minoan palace, or indeed that such remains were extant for observation by anyone in classical times, apart that is from the Egyptian maze observed by Herodotus. Virgil's underworld appears to have been entirely imaginary, a vision rather than a real work of art. Doubtless the poet moulded whatever material he happened to have to his own purposes, yet an aura of mystery remains.

magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,
caeca regens filo vestigia. (Aen VI, 28 ff.)

Yet, sympathising with Ariadne in her great passion,
He gives her himself the clue to the maze's deceptive windings,
And guides with a thread the blind steps of Thesus.

So Professor C. Day Lewis renders the passage, only Virgil mentions neither Ariadne nor Theseus by name. Once again it is all very impersonal and ambiguous, reminiscent in fact of the maze itself where people get lost and, in a sense, lose their identity. There is something odd again in the following lines

tu quoque magnam
partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare haberes.
bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,

bis patriae cecidere manus.
In the artifact
Icarus too would have had a prominent place, if his father's
Grief had allowed: but twice, trying to work the boy's fall
In gold, did Daedalus hands fail him. (CDL)

How, one might ask, could anyone know how many times Daedalus had tried to portray Icarus' fate or indeed that he had attemtped to do so at all if there was nothing there to show? Or are we to suppose that Aeneas observed tentative cartoons as it were, for a full-scale work? Virgil is not explicit. He is content to make us feel through his characters (cf. Norden op.cit.122) and sympathize with Daedalus for his irreparable loss. But we are still expected on the face of it to see with Daedalus' eyes, not with Aeneas', which I find womewhat odd.

The Laocoon episode in Aeneid II is very curious. To what extent Virgil innovated on his sources cannot now be determined (cf. Jackson Knight op.cit. 85 f.) though it is clear that he abandoned the original association with Apollo as for him it had no relevance. According to Virgil Laocoon was punished for insulting Athena by hurling his spear at the wooden horse, and it is she, not Apollo, as in the original version, who was responsible for sending the serpents. Even in the older authorities the occasion of Laocoon's guilt is not made entirely clear, while in Virgil it is all but ignored. All that Laocoon had done was to interfere, albeit unwittingly, in the divine plan for Troy's destruction, and so was guilty of technical hybris which in effect was no hybris at all. Possibly the poet wished to emphasize the god's cynicism towards men, and there is certainly an atmosphere of 'ungeheuer' about the episode in detail. I was interested incidentally to discover that Friedrich Klinger uses the same word to describe the scene in his recent work (Virgil 1967, 411). Neptune remains aloof, though Laocoon has been elected his priest by lot. Both sons are involved in the cataclysm, presumably to increase the horror and drama, although they were guiltless of the crime of having been sacrilegiously begotten in Virgil's version of the story. 'The very ambiguity of the snakes' to quote Brooks Otis (op.cit.248) - 'the lack of clarity as to Laocoon's guilt - is an indication of the more general ambiguity - the deceptive and serpentine ambiguity in which Troy's fall is involved.' Bernard Knox (AJPhil, 1950, 383 f) had also felt this. 'This terrifying picture,' he wrote, 'as verbal echo and parallel even and situation recall it to the memory throughout the rest of the book, is seen in retrospect to contain all the violence of the sack of Troy. These lines foreshadow not only the arrival of the Greek fleet, but the attack, the Trojan resistance, the deaths of Polites and Priam, and the flames which tower over the burning city. They present the fall of Troy as the action of the serpent.' Well, however that may be, the entire episode appears very odd.

The ambiguity surrounding Aristaeus' guilt in the fourth Georgic is of a similar nature. When the hero lost his bees 'morboque fameque' (318) 'through disease and hunger' (CDL) he appeals for help to his mother, the water nymph Cyrene, visits her in the river depths, is advised to see Nereus and learns that he is being punished because he has been the unwitting cause of Eurydice's death.

Illa quidem, dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps,
immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella
servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba. (457 f)

Headlong beside the river she fled you. She never saw,
Poor girl, her death there, deep in the grass before her feet -
The watcher on the river-bank, the savage watersnake. (CDL)

That Aristaeus had pursued Eurydice with rape in view is neatly glossed over, and only the melancholy circumstances of her death are emphasized. That Aristaeus' bees should die seems light punishment indeed for so heinous a deed, yet no-one, least of all his mother and her attendant nymphs even mention it.

Nate, licet tristis animo deponere curas.
Haec omnis morbi causa, hinc miserabile Nymphae,
cum quibus illa choros lucis agitabat in altis,
exitium misere apibus. Tu munera supplex
tende petens pacem, et facilis venerare Napaeas. (531 f).

'You may cast your cares away,'
She said, 'for here is the whole truth of your bees' sickness
And the death they were dealt by the nymphs with whom Eurydice
Danced in the deep woods. So offer them gifts and make your
Peace with them, and pray to the gracious ones of the grove
(CDL)

One can but conclude that the proper business of young gods or heroes was to chase nymphs and if the nymphs were so unfortunate as to suffer snake-bite in consequence then it was just one of those things. But this is in the Greek rather than in the Virgilian manner. Where, one might ask, is empathy here? Presumably in the story of Orpheus' futile journey, but it is not quite the same thing, for there we feel sorry for Orpheus, not for Eurydice. It all strikes me as somewhat callous and odd.

Most would agree that there is something odd about the Eclogues, since they are in every way the most oblique and tantalising of Virgil's poems. Brooks Otis finds their lack of contimuity 'peculiar', while Mr. R. D. Williams has referred in a stimulating study (Virgil, Greece and Rome. New Surveys in the Classics No. I, 1967) to the 'strange and bewildering mixture of the artificial and real.' Leaving aside for the moment the whole question of the fourth Eclogue there is the problem of the fifth. That Daphnis was in some sense Julius Caesar few have firmly denied, or that his deification reflects that of Octavian foretold in Eclogue I. But there is the highly awkward difficulty of Daphnis in Eclogue nine regarding Caesar's star rising as something extraneous to himself. Did Virgil mock him, do so merely to involve the identity of Daphnis in further ambiguity consequent on the events of 43 and 42 B.C. and the beginning of 41 when he almost lost his farm? That something happened between 43 and 42 and the beginning of 41 to account for the difference between Eclogue 9 and Eclogue 1 seems, as Brooks Otis observes, virtually certain. Whether H. J. Rose (The Eclogues of Virgil, 1942) was right in suggesting that 9 was composed earlier than 1 there seems little doubt, as J. R. Hanslik has shown (Wien.St. 1955, 5 ff.), that the interval between them was slight. It seems clear that the young Virgil plunged into a sinister world of power politics and private feud was anxious at all costs not to alienate influential friends. Nevertheless his deliberate obliquity is decidely odd. In his paper entitled Allegorical Interpretations of Virgil (Proc.Virg.Soc. 1967). Mr. F. Robertson advances persuasive reasons against Daphnis being Caesar. But I am not entirely convinced by his final argument that 'if Virgil had wanted to paint Caesar he could surely outline his characteristic features for all the

world to recognise', for this is just what Virgil never seems to do either here or elsewhere in the Eclogues, of indeed, on a different and more universal scale in the Georgics and the Aeneid. There are so many false trails. Mr. Williams again is right in maintaining that whereas Daphnis is 'much else beside Caesar ... it is impossible to believe that the death and deification of Caesar had no relevance for Virgil's presentation of the pastoral myth.'(op.cit., 10). At the same time one cannot help feeling disturbed by the curious oblique equation of the gentle shepherds of pastoral poetry with the harsh men of action of contemporary Rome. There is certainly nothing like it in Theocritus, for though he too was a court poet the circumstances were different. It is true that Theocritus (Id.VII, 48) and even Pindar (Ol.II, 87 f; Nem. III, 82) occasionally resort to the subterfuge of referring to rivals indirectly, but Theocritus never baffles or teases to the degree that Virgil sometimes does. There appears to have been no cogent reason why Virgil should have composed as he did, unless, of course, he was influenced by Pollio. Presumably it was just Virgil's habit so to write and withal extremely odd.

The fourth Eclogue is addressed to Pollio, so it would be natural to assume that the child mentioned at the end was his. Besides it is hard to understand pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem 'and shall rule the world to which his father gallantly gave peace' (CDL) as referring to any event other than the treaty of Brundisium between Octavian and Antony which was negotiated by Pollio. There is again the tradition that C. Asinius Gallus, Pollio's son, informed the grammarian Ascanius Pedanius that he was the child referred to in the Eclogue. But Gallus was not the most modest of men (cf. e.g. Tacitus, Ann. I, 12) and on other grounds too his claim must be treated with reserve. All, however, is put in doubt by the virtual deification of the future child.

ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores

'your very cradle shall blow with lovely flowers' (CDL)

His birth, moreover, shall restore the Golden Age, and he is actually addressed as cara deum soboles, magni Iovis incrementum, which I interpret in the traditional manner as 'progeny' and not 'thou hast in thee the making of a Juppiter' with Munro and Page. Virgil, it is argued, would never have dared to describe Pollio's child in such terms for Octavian to read. On the other hand he does dare to say that the Golden Age, whose advent he further confuses with the return of the Magnus Annus, will return during Pollio's consulship, which seems just as well calculated to have excited Octavian's jealousy. Probably modern readers are disposed to interpret the poem too personally. Jean-Paul Brisson comes nearer the truth in emphasizing the powerful impact that the potentialities of the treaty of Brundisium could have had on a poet of Virgil's sensibility (Virgile: son temps et le nôtre, 1966, 80 ff.). His spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling found expression in a phantasy of peace which contrasted so forcibly with the gloom of Horace's XVIth Epode. Then, of course, there is the extraordinary, the almost flippant, ending which seems so out of keeping with prophetic language of the whole. There is a sublimity about

O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae
spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta

If but the closing days of a long life were prolonged
For me, and I with breath enough to tell your story (CDL)

which is entirely lacking in

incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem
(matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses)
incipe, parve puer: qui non risere parenti (or whatever one reads)
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est

Begin, dear babe, and smile at your mother to show you know her
This is the tenth month now, and she is sick of waiting.
Begin, dear babe. The boy who does not smile at his mother
Will never deserve to sup with a god or sleep with a goddess
(CDL)

It is all so intimate, suggesting that Virgil knew the parents well, and the time when the baby was expected. If the child was not his the references would sound very strange to Pollio. I suspect that it was, but that Virgil used it as a symbol of the hoped for millenium, as Brooks Otis maintains (op.cit., 135). Pierre Boyancé also feels that the question of the child's identity is secondary to the main issue. (La Religion de Virgile, 1963, p.131).

Had the poem not been addressed to Pollio some of the difficulties would doubtless vanish. It is the curious ambiguity between the intimate world of a child in the cradle and the prophetic tone of the rest that is so disconcerting, with the glances back as well as forward which become such a feature of the Aeneid. There is no consensus of opinion about the fourth Eclogue. It is a great poem, and yet very odd.

I was encouraged in my search for oddity in Virgil to read in Mr. Colin Hardie's paper ("The Tenth Eclogue", Proc.Virg.Soc., 1967) that Mr. Peter Levi had referred in a recent number of Hermes (1966, 73 ff.) to the 'extreme oddity' of lines 6-13 in the eighth Eclogue, inserted as they are between the introduction and the singing contest.

tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi
sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris, en erit unquam
ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno?
a te principium, tibi desinam: accipe iussis
carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum
inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros

But Pollio (we don't know that it is Pollio, of course),
where are you now?
shooting Timavus' rapids?
Coasting the shores of Illyria? Will ever the day come
When I shall be allowed to write about your exploits?
(the hope expressed here, incidentally, is curiously reminiscent of that in the fourth Eclogue)
Ah when will come the day when I may publish abroad
The worth of your plays, that alone can challenge Sophocles'?
You, my poetry's source, shall be its bourne. Accept
This poem - you bade me write it - and let the poet's ivy
Be threaded with the victor's laurels to crown your head (CDL)

Well, who is 'you'? It is generally assumed to be Pollio on the occasion of his victory over the Parthini in Illyria, to which Horace refers (Od. II, 1,15). Horace also tells us in the same poem that Pollio wrote tragedies, and I do not myself see anything odd in Virgil's offer to lend his fame to assist a friend. I would, however, agree that the position of the dedication is odd, and not perhaps entirely explained by Mr. Hardie's suggestion that it may have been 'the débris, or a first draft, of a rejected dedication to Pollio' because we are still left with the problem as to why the lines were not used at the beginning of the Eclogue. Part of the enigma both in this and the fourth Eclogue is perhaps bound up with the subject as Pollio was an enigmatic man. A soldier and politician with literary ambitions who could afford to sneer at Livy's accent he hardly commends himself at first sight as worthy of the flattery of the greatest Latin poet. But he had saved Virgil's farm, and Virgil's sense of gratitude was overwhelming. He had also encouraged him to write the Eclogues.

We have covered much ground, yet I am conscious of many omissions. I have said nothing for example about Virgil's religion, in which he seems to have preserved the same kind of ambivalent attitude that characterises the profounder passages in his poetry, or of the morality of the Aeneid and all the difficulties inherent in the choice of a statesman hero. I have done nothing again to resolve the mystery of the Golden Bough or of Aeneas' exit from the Underworld via the Ivory Gate. Some difficulties can doubtless be explained away. Perhaps Aeneas' shield is not so odd after all. Probably his plough could be shown to be perfectly normal. Possibly even the fourth Eclogue is not so strange as it seems. Even so I am still, I must confess, just a little bit worried lest I lose my way in the forest following a dim track on a cloudcast moonlight night because I am not quite sure whether it is a real track or only a figment of my imagination. In fact I am still inclined to feel that when all is said and done there <u>is</u> something odd about Virgil.

A Note on the Trochaic Caesura in the third Foot.

Many lines with the trochaic caesura seem to stand out as particularly beautiful - in Ec. I for instance:

56. hinc alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras ..
78. dumosa pendere procul de rupe videbo ..

The lines in Theocritus which stay in the mind often have this construction; and of course such lines are very much more numerous in Theocritus, and in Homer, than they are in Virgil's Latin. Virgil does it very well:

Geo. II 493. Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.

I suppose Virgil preferred the usual caesura as more natural to the solidity of Latin. Very few such lines occur in the magnificent close of Aen. VI:

878. heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello/dextera.

I find one passage, Aen. VI 322, where Virgil uses the trochaic caesura in four consecutive lines:

Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,
Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem

di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.
haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est ..

Can anyone find more than four anywhere? I think it just came so; Virgil did not seek this effect, and there only about forty such lines in the first 300 lines of the Sixth Book. No doubt he knew very well what he was doing.

F. R. DALE

AGAIN THE SHIELD OF AENEAS (Aeneid VIII. 625-731)[1]

Time has dealt with imaginative attempts to map the scenes depicted on shields in ancient epic, such as that found in Leaf's Iliad, vol. II, Appendix I (pp. 602 ff.) for the Shield of Achilles, or the rather more sophisticated application of the principles of Geometric art to the motifs of the Aspis in the Hesiodic corpus, as worked out by J. L. Myres (J.H.S.61 [1941] pp. 17 ff.). It may be only a flat-footed criticism that seeks for system or coherence in Virgil's choice of scenes for Aeneas' shield and in their arrangement, but the curiosity is understandable enough; indeed the question is still very much alive, as recent discussions indicate.[2] Otherwise one must be content to dismiss the 106 lines of the description as a "mere miscellany" or "a selection of scenes calculated to flatter Roman pride", and leave it at that. Obviously unsatisfactory, particularly in the case of Virgil, a pen-poet working, we are told, (and there seems no ground for doubting the tradition) off a prose sketch. His choice of what to include and what to omit in such a descriptive passage needs to be taken as part of a conscious plan, deliberately executed. This is not invalidated by the tradition that he composed sporadically and as the spirit moved him, or by the fact that not all the necessary adjustments to remove minor inconcinnities had been effected at the time of his death in 19 B.C.

Before coming to grips with particulars, some general, even elementary remarks are perhaps in place. No attentive reader can fail to be struck by the fundamental differences in conception between Aeneas' shield and that of Achilles in Iliad XVIII; hardly anywhere else in the poem is the independence of the Latin poet so evident. The most important would seem to be these:

(i) In the Iliad Achilles' shield is convincingly motivated; Aeneas' is not. After the death of Patroclus and the stripping of his body by Hector, Achilles is "deficient" (in the Quartermaster's sense of the word) of his equipment, and he remains ineffective until re-equipped. Aeneas on the other hand was certainly armed at the crisis of the Fall of Troy (Aen. II 671 f.) and nothing has happened since to part him from what he had then. The only excuse for Aeneas' new and special shield in Aeneid VIII, apart from epic precedent, is that he will need first-rate arms to face the ferocity of Turnus, that alter Achilles, and for one of his descent divinely-made weaponry is obviously indicated.

(ii) In Iliad XVIII the poet takes us into Hephaestus' smithy and shows step by step the process of manufacture: ποιεῖ δὲ .... ἐν δ' ἐποίησε ... ἐν δ' ἔτιθει recur with variations, and the Lame God does all the work himself. Vulcan descends to the Liparae islands, a suitably volcanic site for a mythological forge, but once

there shows all a Roman's sense for organized decentralization. He puts his Cyclopes on to the job, insisting on its urgent execution as an order of the highest priority:

> "Tollite cuncta" inquit "coeptosque auferte labores,
> Aetnaei Cyclopes, et huc advertite mentem:
> arma acri facienda viro ..." (VIII 439-441)

So it comes about that Aeneas' shield is first shown ready-made. Venus has delivered this remarkably unfeminine load herself, and placed it under a convenient oak-tree (616). The description of its workmanship is thus given as through the eyes of Aeneas.

(iii) The scenes on the Iliadic shield might illustrate features of the life of almost any civilization and are, with one or two exceptions, quite unmilitary. Ploughing and reaping seem to be in the spirit of the steatite "Harvesters' Vase" from Haghia Triada, a high-water mark of Late Minoan I (c. 1600 B.C.) artistic achievement. In other ways too, whatever may be thought of the time when the last part of Book XVIII assumed its present shape, the inspiration is very much that of an imaginary Phoenician or even Minoan-Mycenaean artefact. The most obviously military scene, that of the besieged city, recalls, at least in subject, the similar scene on the silver rhyton found in the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae. None of the 20-odd scenes has any sort of special relevance to Achilles, the shield's recipient and user: the contrast with the Roman stories on Aeneas' shield could hardly be more pointed.

(iv) Neither should it be forgotten that the decorated combat-shield is unknown to Homeric epic, as indeed to other heroic literatures such as the Viking-sagas. Craftmanship, whether in Scandinavia later or in Mycenaean Greece was fully equal to the task, and decorated votive-shields, such as those found in the Idaean Cave in Crete are another matter (although the date of these is hard to fix precisely). The only Homeric shield to carry a blazon is that presented by King Cinyras of Cyprus to Agamemnon, described in Book XI, where he is being accoutred for his ἔριστεία. The blazon is obviously of psychological value in close formation hoplite fighting, where a well-drilled row of advancing infantry sporting horrific devices such as Gorgoneia, snakes, lions rampant (or, if the addition to heraldic terminology be allowed, mangeant), and the like could demoralize inferior troops. Such decorations would also be of use as aids to recognition of friend from foe in the mêlée following the initial clash, a point of special importance, one conceives, where mercenary armies were involved. It may be significant, indeed, that the invention of the blazon is ascribed to the Carians (so Herodotus, I 171), a people who provided numerous contingents of mercenaries throughout Greek history. Under the Homeric conditions of single combat recognition was a very hap-hazard affair: Diomede has to ask Glaucus who he is directly, before their colloquy ends in the quixotic exchange of armour in Book VI, though Glaucus identifies Diomede readily enough (VI 146). In fact it seems to have been the helmet rather than the shield that was the distinctive item of equipment: Hector is κορυθαιόλος and even in later times decorated helmets were prized by such unaesthetic owners as Roman legionaries, as witness Juvenal XI 103 f. Shields were in any case too exposed to damage in battle for elaborate plastic ornamentation to be justified: a painted blazon that could be "touched up" between engagements was obviously practical in a way which inlay or appliqué-work was not. It would therefore seem that the stock motif of the ornamented shield is an exercise of the poet's fancy, inspired by votive shields, perhaps, certainly not by combat ones.

(v) Account should also be taken of an acute observation of F. H. Sandbach, in his article in these Proceedings, no. 5 (1965-6) p. 31, where it is shown that Virgil distinguishes between scutum and clipeus. The oblong scutum is not used in epic battles, and no individual warrior carries one. The shield of Aeneas is thought of as a clipeus (clipei non enarrabile textum, 625; cf. 729), and so resembles the circular ἀσπὶς παντόσ' ἐΐση. Yet the larger area of the scutum, σάκος, renders it far more suitable for elaborate decoration, and indeed the Shield of Achilles is described as such (XVIII. 478). Perhaps the antiquarian associations of clipeus, the legionary shield of the time before Camillus' reorganization of the Roman army, helped to determine Virgil's choice of word at 625. Tactically it was appropriate, for Aeneas is actually to use it in combat, but aesthetically (from the point of view of art-history) it is anomalous and is in fact a break with literary precedent.

* * *

Inspection will show that attempts so far made have, with one forgotten exception, failed to elicit a credible unity to cover the 8 scenes on Aeneas' shield, when considered in isolation. These are drawn from the legendary and historical past of Rome, the first 7 occupying the 41 lines from 630-70, while the eighth, topical in its reference, takes up more space than all the rest put together, no fewer than 54 lines (675-728) and gives a brilliant impression of the Battle of Actium and its sequel in the triumph of Augustus. For the sake of clarity in the following discussion, I list the 8 scenes in order:

(1) The suckling of Romulus and Remus by the she-wolf (630-4)

(2) Rape of the Sabine women and ensuing treaty (635-41)

(3) Punishment of Mettus Fufetius (642-5)

(4) Porsenna, Horatius Cocles, Cloelia (646-51)

(5) Manlius, the geese and the defence of the Capitol against the Gauls (652-62)

(6) Dance of the Salii, Lupercalia and other ceremonies (663-6)

(7) Tartarus and Elysium, with Catiline and Cato the Younger (666-70)

(8) Marine setting (671-4) for Battle of Actium (675-728)

The defects in the schemes previously canvassed to yield a thematic unity or a pattern of related themes on the Shield have been sympathetically but decisively pointed out by Professor Eichholz in a brief communication which is printed in an expanded form in these Proceedings, n. 6 (1967) pp. 45 ff. He is surely right in saying that a unity in terms of "narrow escapes of Rome from imminent perils"[3] fails to account for (2), (3) and (6); it might be added that had this been Virgil's intention, his choice of scenes was perverse for the critical situation after Cannae or the threat from Pyrrhus' invasion earlier would have served better, and neither is mentioned elsewhere in the poem. An opposition of abstract principles,[4] virtus, consilium, pietas against vis and furor has to be stretched to cover (1) and (6), and again the choice is far from obvious: Regulus voluntarily returning as a captive to Carthage is manifestly much more in keeping with this line of

approach, and other exempla scarcely less apposite could be found. Neither is the suggestion of an allegorical representation of the four "Augustan" virtues,[5] virtus, clementia, iustitia and pietas any more helpful: it might be maintained with a little goodwill that these were consistent with the scenes in question, but they are certainly not demanded by them, and other virtues, such as respect for fides (to cover the exemplum of Mettus) or for the rights and duties of women would fit better. More serious, perhaps, there is nowhere in the matter-of-fact verses (607-25) which precede the description so much as a hint to foreshadow this allegorical turn to the thought.

Simpler than any of these is an attempt, not mentioned by Eichholz,[6] to detect an internal unity in terms of the growth of Rome from very modest beginnings - in the words of its propounder,[7] "the great ancestor of the masters of the world an exposed helpless infant" - to the Imperial grandeur of Actium and of Augustus' subsequent triumph. The objection to this is, it seems to me, the triviality of incidents such as those of Mettus and Cloelia, to say nothing of the omission of others of greater moment, such as the Punic wars, which would illustrate much better the supposed stages on the path of Rome's progress to her final greatness. If such was really Virgil's intention, he has gone out of his way to camouflage it by his choice of examples.

Eichholz' own explanation[6] seems to come much nearer the mark, though it is not, I think, quite the whole story. Stressing the words genus omne futurae / stirpis (628-9), he suggests that Aeneas' shield is to be thought of as a truly miraculous shield, protraying seriatim the main facts of Rome's history in terms of Aeneas' remote descendants, famamque et fata nepotum (731). Within the limited space at his disposal Virgil had to be selective, and so he scaled down his panorama by mentioning only 8 episodes, adroitly chosen to give an impression of having traversed the whole sweep of Roman history and legend, with variation of tempo as events moved closer to his own day. The reader is left to imagine the omitted scenes for himself. This explanation in terms of movement rather than of content, of "dynamic" rather than "thematic" structure, is surely closer to the eloquently allusive manner so characteristic of the poem as a whole than anything so far put forward, and any future treatment that sets out to be complete must take account of it. If it makes demands on the reader's imagination, these, it could be said, are notional rather than obligatory; one may pause in flight to wonder momentarily why some obvious figure such as Hannibal gets no mention, but it is not necessary to the appreciation of the poem to fill in the gaps of the intervening scenes mentally. Indeed conscious effort to do so might distract the attention.

My own suggestion may be stated quite simply in terms of Eichholz' approach: what he postulates as gaps in the scene-sequence on his "miraculous" shield are in my view filled by the complementary references to the Roman past elsewhere in the poem. More specifically, the selection of scenes on the Shield in VIII ceases to perplex once these are viewed in relation to that other great passage describing outstanding figures in Roman history and legend, the Parade of Heroes (sometimes called the Heldenschau) at the end of Book VI (756-892). This simple idea seems to have been first adumbrated by one W. Whitehead, otherwise, so far as I can trace, unknown to fame, in an elegantly written Appendix (pp. 457-78) to volume III of the unpretentious edition of Virgil (text, verse translation and brief notes) by Christopher Pitt, published in 1753: the fuller implications have not, it seems, been worked out since. As we do so it may be well to keep in mind another description of an artefact, telling of the sculptured scenes from the

Trojan War which adorned the Temple of Juno at Carthage (Aen. I 456 f.), where the principle of selection can be explained simply and convincingly.[8] We should not lose sight either of cross-references to the early books of Livy, who began his great work in 29 B.C., the very year when, so one form of the tradition has it,[9] Virgil finished the Georgics and embarked on the Aeneid. Whether there was any contact, literary or personal, between these two men cannot be known; it is at least evident that a serious study of Roman antiquities was much in the air at that time, so that relevant cross-references to the first pentad of Livy may perhaps tell us something.

That the Parade of Heroes in VI and the Shield-scenes in VIII together form a selective yet satisfyingly inclusive epitome of the Roman past may well be true, but it might properly be questioned whether any ancient reader would have detected Virgil's intention, if this is what it was. Certainly he could not have expected his public to do the work of a latter-day scholar with the paraphernalia of lexica and other aids to comprehension at his elbow. What however he was entitled to count on was a public (or audience) with memories sharpened by the exercise of listening to recitation and not atrophied, as ours are, by constant scanning by eye of the printed page. A parrot memory of the one passage while reading or listening to the other would indeed be a handicap rather than a help to appreciation. It would suffice if a fair proportion of the more sensitive of his audience were alerted to the cross-link by the few repetitions which seem to signal it and carried in their heads enough of the details to sense the relationship and so to appreciate the widened perspective presented by taking the two passages in combination. To some extent the alerting of the audience would have been helped by the symmetrical placing of the antiquarian sections in VI and VIII around the centre-piece of the whole poem, which is the section VII 37-285.[10] Even those who are temperamentally disposed to reject pattern-hunting criticism in its extreme forms should be prepared at the least, I think, to accept some of the more obvious symmetries such as this one.

On this view Virgil had no need to conceive of Aeneas' shield as carrying any more decorative detail than the eight scenes he chose to give us. This obviates the need to press the meanings of what are only formulaic phrases in such contexts nec procul hinc (635) and haud procul inde (642). For Eichholz these indicate considerable spatial separation and thereby are taken to imply the undescribed happenings he postulates between the selected episodes. Thus on his account hinc procul (666) emphasizes a big separation, corresponding to the long jump in time as Virgil nears the years of the late Republic with Catiline and the Younger Cato. I prefer to think of the separation implied by nec procul hinc and haud procul inde as no more than that between adjacent bands or panels of scenes on geometric or archaic art, such as, to name the first object that comes to mind, the François Vase. This is surely the natural way to take these phrases, and would seem to be so even in default of the formulaic use of nec procul hinc which also occurs (Aen. I 469) in the description of another artefact, the Temple of Juno at Carthage, where there is nothing to suggest that anything other than a continuous succession of scenes is in the poet's mind, be they thought of as murals or metopes. At VIII 666 hinc procul raises no difficulty once allowance is made for an idiomatic usage which sometimes passes unrecognized. Procul is a word of elastic connotation; the extent of the separation it implies varies with the context, in much the same way as does the length of time-interval denoted by nuper.[11] In appropriate contexts procul may amount to much the same as iuxta, as it clearly does e.g. at Aen. VI 10, procul secreta where Norden quotes Servius, who gives the right explanation but throws in a false etymology. Equally clear is VI 808, where

procul in the Parade of Heroes marks the transition from Augustus to Numa a transition made ineffective if these two figures are to be imagined at arms' length from each other. This use is, I think, confined to poetry: Conington has a short but sensible note on it at Aen. X. 835 but Orelli gives a fuller documentation in his note on Horace Satires II. 6, 105, citing inter alia, Terence Hec. 607 where procul hinc (our phrase) means prope.[12]

When procul is negatived, as it is at both 635 and 642, it keeps its familiar sense and the resulting negative phrases denote proximity; at 666, after an interval of 24 lines it is used positively and so can perfectly well bear the rarer, idiomatic sense of iuxta. Only if procul in its idiomatic use followed close upon a phrase such as nec procul (where it must have its normal force) would the shift in its meaning be a stylistic blemish. It is in any case desirable that these transition phrases whether expressed in the negative form (nec procul) or positively should reinforce each other and amount to the same thing So interpreted procul does not invalidate Eichholz' "dynamic" structure: the variation of tempo is still there for a percipient reader, being implicit in the content of the scenes as Virgil tells them and in the amount of space allotted to each.

For the fuller understanding of this approach, one must turn to details. These will become clear if the two passages, VI. 756 f. and VIII. 630 f. are set out in skeleton form side by side. Place names as well as those of human personalities may be relevant; references to Livy have been given where appropriate, and names which occur in both VI and VII have been underlined. Place names have been inset.

VI. 756 f.	VIII. 630 f
761 f. Silvius and Alba Longa (Livy 1.3.6)	
767 Procas (Livy 1,3.9)	
768 Capys (" ibid)	
Numitor(" I,3.10)	
769 Silvius Aeneas (id. I,3.7)	
773 Nomentum (Livy I,38.4)	
Gabii (" I,53.4)	
Fidenae (" I,14.4)	
774 Collatia (" I,38.1)	
775 Pometii (" I,53.2)	
Castrum Inui(" I,5.2)	
Bola (" IV,49.3)	
Cora (" II,16.8)	
778 Romulus (no mention of Remus) (Encomium of Rome)	630 Romulus and Remus; the she-wolf
789 f. Ceasar and Augustus (Encomium of Roman Empire; Golden Age)	
808 King Numa and Cures (811)	635 Sabine Women: Tatius (Livy I,10.1): Cures
812 f. Tullus, warrior king, in contrast to Numa	642 Mettus Fufetius and King Tullus

815 Ancus Martius	
817 Tarquins and Brutus	646 Tarquin and Porsenna
	650 Cocles (Livy II,10.2 f)
	651 Cloelia (Livy II 13.6-11)
824 The Decii: the Drusi. Torquatus Camillus	652 f. Manlius geese and defence of Capitol against Gauls (Livy V 47 f.)
826 f. Ceasar and Pompey	
836 f. L Mummius (and Aemilius Paullus) and conquest of Greece	
841 Elder Cato; Cossus	
842 The Gracchi· the Scipios	
844 Fabricius Serranus	
846 Q Fabius Maximum Cunctator	663 f. Salii Lupercalia ancilia procession of matrons.
	666 Tartareae sedes; Catiline and Younger Cato
847 f. The Roman Achievement	671 f. (marine background to artefact)
855-87 The Marcelli (climax in 867-886)	675-728 Octavian-Augustus and Actium: theomachy
	722 f. Triumphal parade of subject races.

From this synoptic view the technique of variatio employed in VIII to yield a complementary picture to the earlier passage in VI emerges clearly In VI the first 15 lines are occupied by figures from the misty prehistory of Rome, in keeping with the quasi-metaphysical sense of remoteness in time necessary for the effect of the conversation between father and son in the Underworld The very place-names--- not a matter for pictorial treatment--- are evocative: Alba Longa had for a sensitive Roman something of the emotional overtones which Glastonbury or Avalon have for us or the Rock of Cashel or the Hill of Tara have for an Irishman. Gabii on the other hand, though of no consequence later,[13] as well as Fidenae, had associations with Romulus, and with them Rome might seem to emerge from the penumbra of legend and take her place on the stage of history, much as English Constitutional History might not unreasonably be said to have been born on the islet of Runnymead. For his first episode on the Shield Virgil avoided sentimental effects and used the highly graphic motif of the Twins and the She-wolf, the pictorial symbol of Rome from antiquity down to the present day In VI Virgil places Romulus next to Caesar and Augustus, the latter being regarded as th second founder of Rome: if we may imagine Anchises as conducting Aeneas round a kind of expanded Roman house-atrium where the effigies of the distinguished members of a whole nation and not merely those of a single family are on view,[14] this anachronistic arrangement needs no explanation and the two encomia, on Rome (778 f.) and Augustus (789 f.), fall into place. Since on the Shield in VIII Augustus is to be portrayed in his militant aspect at Actium, in VI he is immediat followed by Numa who symbolizes the spiritual side of Rome and would have approve of the energy with which Augustus restored no fewer than 82 temples, as his own

statement on the Monumentum Ancyranum testifies (35,3). By the mention of Augustus early on, the ground is clear for the highly charged emotion of the Marcellus-passage, which forms the climax of the whole Parade. Father and nephew thus enframe the whole of the historical section.

On the Shield the scene of the Sabine Women (an incident which has appealed to artists in later ages) and the treaty which ensued suitably follow mention of Romulus and provide an event from the post-Romulean period for which there was no room in VI, where the two encomia need all the available space, if overall proportions are to be maintained. Tullus Hostilius' warlike character was as different as could be from the peaceable Numa's, and makes an effective contrast with the warrior following immediately on the priest-king. Over Ancus there seems to have been a difference of opinion in antiquity; bonus Ancus of Lucretius (III. 1025) and of Livy (I.32,2) is in Virgil qualified by the adjective iactantior (815). Whatever the explanation of the epithet, it leads on well to the stormy times of the proud Tarquins and the stern rigour of Brutus the Liberator, who ended their dynasty. In VIII the minor but frighteningly graphic episode of Mettus Fufetius' condemnation by Tullus and his gruesome punishment seems a strange choice, unless it suffices to say with Whitehead (p 464 top) that "to the manner of engaging in a treaty succeeds the punishment for breaking one". This is true, so far as it goes; a complete explanation may lie in a structural consideration, to be suggested presently.

In the list of historical names which come next in VI, it is noticeable that several are in the plural, the Decii, Drusi, Gracchi, the Scipios and lastly the Marcelli. Others in the singular such as Fabricius and Q. Fabius Maximus as well as Brutus himself are the names of eminent families whose bearers turn up time and time again in the history of the Republic; Fabricius later became a type-name for old-style patrician dignity, as twice in Juvenal (II. 154 and VI. 91). This family-motif tells in support of the concept of the house-atrium as an imagined setting for the Parade; it may be relevant to observe that the Elder Cato occurs in VI. 841 and the Younger in VIII. 670, as if further to emphasize this idea of the continuity of family tradition.

The Tarquins have their mention in VIII too, coupled with their ally the Etruscan Porsenna, which leads up to the struggle for libertas (648) sustained by the Sons of Aeneas. This may be regarded as an analogue to the part played by Brutus in the Liberation (VI. 817), but in VIII it is further developed by reference to Horatius Cocles and that stout swimmer the girl Cloelia. In consequence space is running short, so that the only episode from the whole of the early and middle period of the Republic represented on the Shield is the picturesque one of Manlius, the geese and the defence of the Capitol against the Gauls [15] In VI Torquatus and Camillus had sufficed for the Gallic danger; Manlius' defence of the Capitol not only provides opportunity for a brilliantly imaginative description (652-62), but offers an incidental link with VI, for not only was Torquatus (VI. 825) a member of a branch of the Manlii, but Virgil's Manlius was also an antagonist of Camillus (825) in some rather revolutionary measures which later historians interpreted as prefiguring those of the Gracchi.

This brings us to the puzzling passage about the Salii and other matters of Roman religious ceremonial (663-6). It is hardly enough to say that the Salii here owe their place to the earlier description in this book of their dance and hymn (285)f.), or to think, as Whitehead does (p. 470), of their hymn and dance as signifying nothing more than the celebration of victory over the Gauls. It is a counsel of despair to see in them an analogue to the encomium of Rome and the account of the Golden Age in VI. 789 f. Virgil may have been prompted to include them by no more than a recollection of the Choral Dance in Iliad XVIII 590-606; elsewhere however he shows a remarkable independence of the Homeric Shield. Certainly without this passage there would be nothing to suggest the religious side of Roman life on Aeneas' shield, but while this is true, it still leaves the particular place it occupies in the eightfold sequence unaccounted for. It has not been noticed, so far as I am aware, in this connection that in the crisis of the episode of Mettus Fufetius as Livy (I. 27,7) tells it, Tullus, seeing his army's flank exposed as a result of Mettus' treachery, vowed to institute twelve Salii (in addition to those already created by Numa) as well as temples to Pallor and Pavor; Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. By itself this link is too tenuous to carry any weight, but it acquires substance once account is taken of a feature of Virgilian composition whereby the second or third item in a longer series stands in a counterpart relation to the last-but-two or last-but-one as the case may be. We have only to think of the "chiastic" or if you will "pedimental" grouping of the Eclogues to see just this;[16] there Eclogues III and VII are both amoebic songs of shepherds' competition and are both in dramatic form while II and VIII both non-dramatic and, for matter of that I a IX (both again dramatic) similarly form balanced pairs. So here in a series of 8 items Mettus, as item (3) stands in the appropriate counterpart position to the Salii who are item (6). If this is right, Livy may have given us the hint that explains not only the choice of these two apparently unrelated scenes, but also their placing in relation to each other. We who enjoy our poetry through the eye on the printed page may not be much impressed by this kind of formal symmetry, and when it is pointed out may not feel our appreciation quickened thereby. There ar however too many such instances - and not only in Virgil, - in Latin for this to dismissed out of hand and it is a purblind criticism that refuses to make reasona allowances for such possibilities where, without entertaining them, a perplexity would otherwise remain unsolved.

From the ethereal religiosity of the Salii and the rest we come back to historical reality with Catiline and Cato. In VI Virgil had dealt with the painful matter of the Civil War with consummate tact (828 f.); such a stroke was unrepeatable, yet something was needed in VIII to bridge the long gap in historical time between the Gauls in 395 B.C. and Actium, over three and a half centuries later. Thus Catiline serves admirably as the evil genius foreshadowing the civil convulsions to come, while Cato the Younger, by his suicide a victim of those upheavals, makes an effective foil, and provides an incidental echo of the reference in VI (841) to his older and more famous forebear.

If an immediate link between the Salii and the after-world description involving Catiline and the Younger Cato is needed, Whitehead (p.471) may supply it. Stressing the protreptic implications of the word castae in 665 and quoting

Horace's Sixth Roman Ode (III. 6, 17-20) to show that "the violation of the marriage-bed is the bane of society and a disregard or negligence on that head the sure forerunner of the destruction of a state" he goes on: "as religion was necessary (to a Roman) to protect his state, so a doctrine of rewards and punishments was full (sic) as necessary to protect his religion... For which reason he is like a true legislator, with his hell for bad citizens and his Elysium for good." A homespun but entirely reputable morality from whose uncompromising terms the pseudo-moralists of a permissive age may uncomfortably flinch.

This brings us to the great climax of the Shield, the impressive picture of the carnage off Actium, showing Octavian-Augustus in action against Antony, Cleopatra and the embattled forces of the Orient, with their outlandish gods, Anubis and the rest. But it is more than a glorification of Augustus and the forces of civilization: it is the nearest that Virgil's chosen theme allowed him to come to that traditional feature of ancient epic, the Theomachy such as occurs in Iliad V and again in Iliad XXI. In Virgil against the barking Anubis and his monstrous kind are arrayed Neptune, Venus and Minerva, Olympian Pantheon against Pandemonium, and it is the bow of Apollo that finally stills Discord, Bellona and their fiendish crew (704). Thus Augustus in his triumph is seen as the instrument of destiny, and the institution of Empire is sanctified by the beneficence of the divine purpose. Against this background the review of subject-races which concludes the section (722 f.) needs no justification: short, crisp phrases with arresting and highly pictorial epithets (sagittiferi, discincti, bicornis (of the Rhine)) conjure up in parvo something of the majesty of that other great pictorial parade of the might of an earlier empire, carved high upon the cliffs of Behistun, overlooking the highway that ran between Ecbatana and Babylon.

By relating VI and VIII in this way, it becomes easier to take the point of some other cross-references at various places in the poem. The repetition of ex ordine which had occurred in the account of the sculptures of the Temple at Carthage at I. 456 and also at VIII. 629 is probably no more than the unconscious use of a phrase that had formulaic status in such contexts. In neither place need it indicate any more than that the scenes in question were both in the Temple and on the Shield, in correct (or at least reasonable) chronological order, as they are in each case. Again in Book I, Jupiter's prophecy not only links the name Iulus (Iuli progenies, VI. 789) with Ascanius (I.267) and gives an etymology (for what that is worth), but by its explicit promise of revenge on Greece in years to come for the sack of Troy (I.283 f.) it justifies the somewhat fulsome praise of the conquerors of Greece in VI. 838 f. What Virgil says there is not unsuitable for L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna in 168 B.C., but somewhat infelicitous in so far as it also covers the inglorious despoliation of Greece by L. Mummius Achaicus in that annus mirabilis, 146 B.C.

More might be said, but perhaps at the cost of blurring the main lines of the argument put forward. One question remains enigmatic and is likely to continue so. No evidence exists to show if any of the numerous similarities between Virgil's allusions and Livy's account of the early phase of Rome is due to literary associations between these two writers or to a common source. Discretion opts in such circumstances for the unadventurous answer, and for the purpose of this enquiry the

supposition of a common source suits well enough. But it is at least cause for reflection that both in VI and VIII the detailed descriptions are all of places or persons whose stories are told in the first pentad of Livy; the latest of these in time is the episode of Manlius and the Gauls, told in Livy V.47 f. In VI. after the mention of the Tarquins and Brutus, and in VIII after the description of Manlius, the tempo quickens or alters; thus in VI the entries after line 835 are very brief or little more than rhetorical enumeration (quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse relinquat?) while in VIII there is nothing directly historical between Manlius and Catiline, who is almost within living memory for Virgil. Those of a speculative or associative turn of mind will not be slow to recall that Livy's first five books were completed between 27 and 25 B.C. (for the internal evidence on which this rests, see R.M. Ogilvie, Livy I-V /1965/p.2) So long as the imaginative are content to say that nothing forbids the possibility that Virgil worked off Livy's account, I have no quarrel with them; what needs to be remembered is that there is no proof that he did.

J. G. GRIFFITH,
Jesus College, Oxford.

NOTES

1. This paper was read to the Oxford University Classical Society on 6 February 1968. It was prompted by reading the communication of Professor D.E. Eichholz on the Shield of Aeneas, as printed in an expanded form in these Proceedings, no. 6 (1967) pp. 45 f. I am very grateful to him for his kindness in replying so helpfully to a letter I wrote to him outlining the substance of what is suggested here, and for his encouragement to follow the line of thought further. I would also like to thank Mr. C.G. Hardie for his most welcome comments after reading a draft of this paper

2. Useful points are made in the rather diffuse essay of C. Becker in Wiener Studien 77 (1964) pp. 111 f. I find only incidental references to Aeneas' shield in W. Schadewaldt, Von Homers Welt und Werk (1959) pp 171 n. 5 and p. 378, and in K. Rheinhardt Die Ilias und ihr Dichter (1961) pp. 401. f.

3. So W. Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, 1917, pp. 103 f. developed by Miss J.R. Bacon in Cl.Rev. 53 (1939) pp. 97-104)

4. So Brooks Otis Virgil... 1963, pp. 341 f.

5. So D.L. Drew, The Allegory of the Aeneid. 1927 pp. 26 f.

6. In Proceedings of the Virgil Society 6 1967 pp. 45 f.

7. W. Whitehead, Appendix to volume III of Pitt's edition of Virgil of 1753 (see below)

8. See R.D. Williams in Cl. Qu. N.S. 10 (1960) pp. 145 f.

9. In fact it appears from Donatus that Virgil had committed no part of the Aeneid to writing before 26 B.C.

10. As pointed out by W.A. Camps in a short but important note in Cl. Qu. 48 (1954) pp. 214-5.

11. nuper when used of a short time previous may be reinforced by nunc, as it is at Plaut. Truc. 397 or Ter. Eun. 9. In Juvenal VIII. 120 it refers to an event of anything up to 20 years past, in Pliny Paneg. 8 to one of 31 years before.

12. Among other passages where this sense is required are Hor. Epp. I,7.32 or Virg. Ecl. VI. 16 (the garlands of the sleeping Silenus, capiti demissa, lie procul, close by).

13. So Hor. Epp. I,15.9; Juvenal III. 192, VII. 4 al.

14. I have been unable to trace the originator of this idea. Random ordering is a poet's prerogative where nothing turns on the sequence. Thus Norden in his commentary on Aeneid VI, p. 315 thought Virgil had probably assumed complete freedom, but called attention also to the paired arrangement: Decii-Drusi, Torquatus-Camillus, Caesar-Pompey Mummius-Paulus, Cato-Cossus Gracchi-Scipios, Fabricius-Sarranus. He suggested that this paired grouping gave Augustus the idea of placing statues of empire-builders (die Erweiterer des Imperiums cf. proferet imperium 795) round his forum. Possibly, but we can never know how Augustus' mind worked, and the paired grouping would suit a tour round an atrium just as well. It is a pity that so little survives of the twelfth book of Ennius' Annales, where there may have been something like a parade-section.

15. The inclusion of the thatched cottage of Romulus on the Capital (654) is a delicate and effective touch.

16. In establishing this symmetry it is of course necessary to leave aside Ecl. X explicitly announced as the extremum laborem in its opening line; it is a pendant-piece to round off the series formed by the other nine.

BOOK XII REVISITED

Epicurean Tension

Vergil is not entirely happy. His residual Epicureanism did not relish wars - or gods who intervene in human affairs. Aeneas is hardly the detached Stoic hero:

> terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem
> suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas. (498-9)

Glover called him the Happy Warrior but he scarcely seems so. As for the gods, Jupiter's apparent fear that Juno may catch cold hanging about the chill damp clouds (796) is matched by Juno's odd disappearance from the heavens altogether (842). The Fury is portrayed with a weird mixture of genuine grimness and ludicrous exaggeration. Her path to earth is first a swift spiral (turbine 855). Then comes the not very happy comparison with a Parthian arrow; then the transformation into a sedentary owl. Vergil is happier with humanity than with heroism or divinity.

Rare Usages

With a poet as careful as Vergil the use of rare words or even their coining represents some constraint; the language does not come naturally to him, and he has to force it into his mould.

7 latro unusual of a hunter, and the only appearance of the word in Vergil.

120 limus The only literary appearance of the word, authorized here by Servius. Aulus Gellius (12,3,3) attests it from Tiro.

121 pilata See also under Ambiguities. The meaning "dense" is attested from Ennius and Varro, but rare; "armed with javelins" is not found before Martial.

165 crispans Also 1,313 but otherwise not found earlier; the usage is curious, and Pöschl takes it to connote anxiety.

364 sternax not elsewhere before Silius; may be a coining of Vergil's.

375 bilix hapax legomenon.

389 latebra the sing. is not elsewhere in Vergil and is not found previously in verse.

451 sidus I take to mean "the sky", a usage not previously attested. The phrase is in any event unusual, even if we take it with Servius of a storm breaking or with R. D. Williams of the sun's light being cut off.

517 exosum twice in this book (cf. 818), also in 5,687, but not found before Vergil.

596 incessi the first appearance of the word.

605 floros So Servius: the word appears in Aulus Gellius 3,9,3 (though the reading is there uncertain) but nowhere else.

740 futtilis not elsewhere with this connotation.

818 exosa cf. 517.

Prolepsis

The Aeneid shows the past pregnant with the future; it is in fact a proleptic poem, and it is natural in this context for the poet to think and write proleptically. I noted the following examples:

44 quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe/dividit "so that he becomes sorrowful"

94 quassatque trementem (sc. hastam) "till it quivers" Then follows a gap of nearly 250 lines with no obvious example: this is the exchange of vows, and the whole point is that the truce is to be broken; prolepsis is inappropriate.

332 furentis/ ... immittit equos "driving them to rage"

338 fumantis sudore quatit (sc. equos) "till they steam"

362 huic comitem Asbyten ... mittit "to accompany him."

463 pulverulenta fuga Rutuli dant terga "so that they become dusty"

507 crudum if the meaning is "bloody" then proleptic.

618 arrectasque impulit auris/ ... sonus "and made them prick up"

755 morsuque elusus inani est "and made it vain"

788 olli sublimes armis animisque refecti "with arms and spirits restored so that they exulted"

841 mentem laetata retorsit perhaps "took pleasure in her changed purpose" i.e. "changed her purpose so that she felt pleasure."

Then comes a change; now Jupiter's purposes are being fulfilled; Vergil now absorbs us in the present in relation to the past, not the future; Turnus is killed for Pallas not Rome. So compare Juturna:

875 ne me terrete timentem which must mean "Don't scare me; I'm frightened already"

884 manisque deam demittat ad imos possibly "formerly a goddess"; at least "goddess though I am."

Ambiguity

The insights of William Empson's Seven Types of Ambiguity have been scantily applied to classical literature; W. B. Stanford's Ambiguity in Greek Literature is a notable exception. Even the best of poets may nod, but I take it as axiomatic

that an ambiguity will generally be deliberate and that though one meaning may be primary, it is nearly always wrong to assert one to the exclusion of the others. A concatenation of ambiguities, such as we have here represents an ambiguity of purpose. We have seen something of this. Vergil accepts Rome's supernatural destiny, but his divine machinery creaks; he accepts her mission to bring the world to peace (cf. E. 1,6; 4,17) but he is not really happy with battles. Further he must take sides with Aeneas against Turnus and the Trojans against the Rutulians. But running counter to this is the merging of the peoples; running counter to it also is his innate sense of pity, reinforced by early Epicurean teaching. I list the ambiguities I have noted, some of them trivial, some strong.

20 impensius punning with expendere in 21

46 aegrescit medendo a strong oxymoron

62 invisa .../lumina nec ... videbo. There is a bouble pun: one between videbo "I will see" and invisa "hateful" with a subsidiary ambiguity of "malicicious" (cf. 11,364); the other on lumina with the prime meaning of "the light of day (cf. Lucr. 3,524), but a secondary meaning of "eyes" or "power of sight."

67 violaverit with a cross-reference to violentia Turnis 45 cf. 9

74 Servius reckoned this one of the twelve intractable passages. There is a pun between mora and mortis, and a double structure "a delay of death is not free for i.e. open to Turnus" and "for Turnus delay is not free from death" (for the genitive cf. 10,154).

78-9 The writing is careful though forced. non Teucros agat in Rutulos is balanced by nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum, Teucrum arma by Rutuli (which must be the right reading rather than Rutulum). But the balance is, so to say, off balance. 78 refers to Aeneas and the Trojans; we expect 79 to refer to Turnus and the Rutulians, but dirimamus is ambiguous between plural for singular referring to Turnus and a genuine plural for Turnus and the intrusive Aeneas. The contrast between Teucrum arma and Rutuli is deliberate; he regards the Trojans as the aggressors.

100 A richly ironic line. Aeneas may use the curling-tongs, but his blade will be hot with Turnus's blood, and murra anticipates the death of Turnus's closest friend Murranus (529,639)

121 pilata "armed with javelins"; but Servius attests the meaning "close-packed" from Ennius and Varro. One wonders if there is not an additional play on "bald" by contrast with those who have wreathes of vervain.

123 exercitus ambiguous between noun and participle. The situation is itself ambiguous: they come for peace armed as for war.

180 torques with three dimensions of meaning: "brandish" like a spear; "whirl in a circle" so that now one side is uppermost, now the other; "put on the rack" "torture."

209 The imagery here falls into one of Empson's categories as the human image with hair and arms overlies that of the tree.

232 fatalesque manus. Heyne and Wagner gave this up. Both words are ambiguous: manus between "companies" and "hands"; fatales with three levels, "prophetic" in that the Etruscans were famed diviners, "superstitious" in that they controlled their actions by reference to oracles (cf. 8,499 ff), but with ironic overtones unintended by Juturna "deadly" in that Turnus's death is coming, though not from the Etruscans. Servius oddly and impossibly makes the phrase refer to the Trojans.

251 arrexere animos physically they pay keen attention, psychologically they are encouraged.

259 The quotation from Horace (Sat. 2,6,1) provides an ironical level of meaning, since Horace's prayers were modest.

309 ferreus cf. 10,745. Rich in reference. It is Homer's χάλκεον ὕπνον, Il. 11, 241; the change of metal is to be noted. There is a double oxymoron dura quies and ferreus somnus. The sleep of death is cruel and inflexible; it comes from an iron weapon; it is dark like Pluto's robes in Claudian (R. Pros. 2,275)

335 It is only a slight ambiguity, but it is not clear whether Iraeque Insidiaeque are additional to or in opposition to atrae Formidinis ora.

338 miserabile on the face of it with caesis but in a deeper sense also with insultans. Turnus is pitiable as well as the other victims.

344 paribus. A famous ambiguity. In 6,826 paribus ... armis means "identical armour." So Servius ut aequaliter dimicarent, aequaliter currerent. Alternatively "equally suitable for close-fighting or cavalry gallops" (cf. E. 7,5) As so often, we need not and indeed must not choose.

348 animo manibusque parentem. What is today called "a snide comment," apparently innocent and laudatory, but in fact Dolon was a boastful and ambitious fool who came to a sticky end; so does Eumedes. Cerda sees the irony.

352 aspirat with strong double meaning since he was no longer breathing.

398 acerba fremens groaning with his wound and raging at his inactivity.

400 lacrimis immobilis. Probably Aeneas rather than Iulus, though there might be something in the thought that Iulus, like his father, has come to the state mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes (4,449). But even with Aeneas, is it their tears or his own which fail to move him? In 4, 449, as the image of the oak too faithfully shows, it is primarily his own.

403 trepidat hurried but also fearful.

426 animos accendit in hostem. Whose? His own? Aeneas's? The company's in general? All; but the singular hostem, common enough with a plural meaning, also points Aeneas towards Turnus.

433 fusis ... armis ablative absolute "when his armour is put on" or instrumental with complectitur with a double derivation from arma and armus, as in 4,11.

444 caeco as usual complex, "blinding" but also "unseeing" "indiscriminate".

481 tortos legit obvius orbis "directs his whirling wheels" and chooses tortuous paths".

484 fugam he is testing alike Turnus's powers of flight and his own powers of pursuit.

507 crudum (a) "bloody" cf. cruor here proleptic (b) "cruel" cf. crudelis (c) "immature" brilliantly linked with fata celerrima in relation to Sucro (d) "immature" also because the blow should be reserved for Turnus.

527-8 Aeneas and Turnus are angry, their hearts are bursting with eagerness to conquer; but also any body which does not give way before them is smashed. They inflict wounds with all their power; they drive on with all their power regardless of wounds; but also, because it is impersonal and indefinite, Turnus drives on with all his power towards his eventual defeat.

538 Cretheu with heu in the name.

543 mortis ... metae. All metaphors by their nature introduce two levels of discourse; this is more complex. It represents the Homeric θανάτοιο τέλος, and the meaning "end" or "finishing-post" is perfectly good; the metaphor is singularly appropriate as the chariots tear over the plain. But meta is also the turning point; Aeolus here turns from life to death. Further, Vergil uses metae in the plural. One end of the course, from which he started, is Lyrnesus; the other is Laurentum; here he should turn to head back home, but this becomes for him the finishing-post. Finally there is an implicit contrast between his domus alta (the phrase is repeated), high on Ida, and his domus aeterna, which is also alta, deep below the soil.

591 caeco again; the sound (and its source) cannot be seen, but it is also unseeing, since the bees cannot see what is disturbing them. The writing is exceptionally bold; the smell is described as black, the noise as unseen. It is wholly justified in the result.

598 pugnae with certamine (cf. 11,780). But also closely with infelix; she is "cursed in the field of war." And by its position affecting iuvenem "the warlike young man."

617 caecis again.

626 prima Servius id est primum. But also "where Victory goes first" or "stands nearest"; and again "Victory who holds the primacy" or "who is our prime concern."

630 numero literally "numbers", metaphorically "prestige". pugnae probably genitive with inferior of the field of the inferiority possibly depending on numero or honore or both; just possibly a dative of disadvantage with recedes, though this is not paralleled; certainly ambiguous. recedes there may be an ironical allusion to death.

632 prima noun. fem. sing. or acc. neut. plur.

788 refecti a slight zeugma.

790 Three possible interpretations (apart from the variant reading certamine) (a) Martis gen. with certamina cf. ἔριδα Ἄρηος, Il. 5,861, anheli agreeing with Martis (b) Martis with certamina, anheli n. pl. (c) anheli n. pl. Martis gen. of cause with anheli cf. Sil. 15,721 longique laboris anhelos.

792 fulva. Pindar has ξανθὰ νεφέλα Ol. 7,49. It is the colour of gold (7,279), and appropriate to a throne. We have had it in this book of the golden eagle (12, 247), which links it with Jupiter-Juno, but also with fierceness. It is the colour of the lion, which suggests battle. As a cloud-colour it is slightly odd, and not I think found elsewhere, but at 7, 76 it is used of a smoky light; there can be slightly sinister associations. Further there may be a punning reference to Lucretius 6,461 furva nubes. The cloud is golden, like Olympus (cf. Val Fl. 7,158) but it recalls darkness.

795 "that he is owed to the sky and is being raised by destiny to the stars." But it is tempting to take caelo fatisque together, and treat as a double passive "is due to be raised by heaven and destiny to the stars."

797 mortalin both "deadly" and "inflicted by a mortal." The ambiguities are particularly strong in these ten lines.

812 inimica nom. fem. "as an enemy" acc. pl. neut., both "hateful battles" and "battles with their enemies."

815 contenderet a slight zeugma.

818 exosa She loathes the battle cf. 12,151; she also loathes leaving it.

825 viros at first sight just "men" or "soldiers" but with extra emphasis with vertere vestem; Trojan dress was regarded as effeminate.

846 Macrobius explains (1,3,15) quae non habet idoneum tempus rebus gerendis. Nox intempesta in Cicero means "dead of night." Here it gives an additional implication of monstrous, premature birth. Further at 3,587 nox intempesta clearly means "stormy," and at 10,184 Graviscae is described as intempestae i.e. "unhealthy." All these layers of meaning come together here.

852 bello looking both to meritas and territas.

873 durae "for all my toughness" but also "in my cruel abandonment of you. lucem morer "stop the passage of time" like Joshua but for the opposite reason; "hold on to life for you"; perhaps also "continue to offer help", a Ciceronian usage (e.g. Pro Leg. Man. 12,33)

881 umbras alike the darkness and the dead.

885 glauco appropriate to the water-nymph, but with a cross-reference to γλαυξ, the shape taken by the Fury.

930 humilis with supplex in Cic. Inv. 1,16,22 "humble," but also literal, since he is on the ground, and in both contrasting with sublimes (788).

Shape, sound and sense

Of all poets Vergil is the most careful to shape his writing to the sense, and it may be useful to analyse briefly some of his effects. There is a great deal of alliteration and many rhythmic effects which I have not commented on.

18 Spondees for the calming influence, and the archaic olli as the old man speaks.

20-1 The ms and ns express his hesitation.
omnis metuentem expendere casus: he is in the middle, fearing, weighing carefully, while misfortunes surround him.

26 Three word-accents and a long syllable elided in the last two feet: the effect is hesitant and gasping.

31 The hiatus well expresses the old man's gasping repentance.

34 A skilful line with the three successive offbeat spondees with their accent, so to say, striving against the rhythm of the line.

53 vanis sese occulat umbris: he is in the middle, the shadows surround him.

61 qui te cumque ... casus: again the misfortunes surround the situation, but the tmesis intensifies the effect: whatever they are they hold Turnus in their grip.

67-9 lilia multa/alba rosa: the mixture of the flowers exquisitely expressed by the word-order. The whole effect is rich and complex. The contrasting colours pick up the similar contrast in 36 (with calefacta 66 picking up recalent 35); violaverit puns on violentia (see Ambiguities); the unnaturally lengthened ebur expresses the unnaturality of the whole situation.

107 maternis saevus in armis: his mother's armour surrounds him. The phrase is more effective with the oxymoron maternis saevus, since Venus is goddess of love (cf. Lucr. 1).

123 variis exercitus armis: the same effect.

136 prospiciens tumulo campum aspectat: the chiasmus is neat, as is the movement from prospiciens to aspectat: the effect is - gaze ranging ... hill ... plain ... eyes suddenly focus: this is the art of the cinema.

138-40 A rhyming effect: sororem ... sonoris ... honorem cf. 146 dolorem. The sense is of a kind of incantation of inevitability.

149 It is not the young man per se that is surrounded by ineluctable destinies but his encounter.

172 illi sets up the sentence. Chiasmus follows, with a double contrast: vertical movement in a circle (of the sun), horizontal movement in a circle (of the people); the eyes described as "lights" (and gleaming as

the sun strikes them), the true light.

190 paribus se legibus: so the terms bind them.

219-220 Three double ss and a double p express the slow and halting character of Turnus's approach; suppliciter anticipates the moment when he will become truly supplex (930).

227 in medias dat sese acies: the effect is almost second nature.

236-8 Three successive lines with their final unaccented syllables rhyming. The effect is similar, though less strong, to 138-40: here it extends from speech to action. The spondees of 237 express his feeling of their indolence.

240 A menacing line, spondaic, with ipsi L___ at start and finish and the word of change athwart the very centre.

247 The bird is in the sky and the collocation of colours adds to the effect.

251-2 The cs express the cackling of the birds.

266-7 The ss express the hissing of the spear through the air.

268-9 The armies cackle like the birds.

284 A rhythmically curious line with clash between ictus and accent in tempestas, but not thereafter. The storm explodes, but then the hail of iron falls with a kind of structured regularity.

292 He is indeed tangled with the altar.

294-5 A remarkable effect: a spondaic line followed by a dactylic. The effect is of a "still" in the cinema as the spear towers over the suppliant, followed by flashing action.

302 Again the effect is cinematographic: hair-left hand-panic-grip tightens-it's an enemy!

304 rigido latus ense: the sword is projecting on both sides of the body.

306-7 securi ... reducta: the long delay as the axe is drawn back, back.

308 sparso ... cruore: as the blood is scattered so are the words.

316-7 Aeneas's intensity is well conveyed by the alliteration on f as well as the archaic form.

337 It is tempting to suggest that the word-order implies that whereas to the outward eye Turnus is in the middle of the battle, the real battle is within Turnus.

363 This is one of the only two instances in Vergil where que stands in a long

open syllable (cf. 3,91 liminaque laurusque). It is simply an imitation of Homer, for heroic purposes which are helped by the exotic, resonant names.

372-3 The bit is in the foaming mouth.

373 A leonine line. Again (cf. 172) ora sets the line up, and is followed by chiasmus. The effect is intensified by the rhyme and the alliterative ds; it expresses vividly the way he is bumped along.

381 A very ingenious line. At first appearance there is no gap between the helmet and the breastplate, but the postponed et creates the gap at the very edge despite the overlap.

406 The postponing of horror almost gives the hearer the picture of their hair slowly rising with fear!

419 odoriferam panaceam: offbeat rhythm just before the cure is complete and he settles into normalcy.

433 A difficult line: see also under Ambiguity. Aeneas is in the middle of his armour seeking to embrace the boy, but armour is clumsy, and Ascanius remains outside.

445 An exciting line with its expressive alliteration; the two short syllables of tremit add to the pace.

446 The mound is of course where Aeneas's field-hospital was set; Turnus is in the field; ab with venientis not vidit. It is a masterly line: Turnus's gaze takes in the whole field; included in it is the mound opposite; and within the picture of that mound he sees the Trojans detaching themselves.

462-3 The words are as entangled as the rout is disorderly.

482-3 per agmina magna/voce vocat. There is a curious effect here. The phrase is tied together by magna voce. There is assonance between agmina and magna and voce and vocat, but the length of vowel in magna draws out what has gone before, whereas vocat clips voce short. The effect is of a great sustained shout supervening upon light noise and followed by a light echo.

499 The metaphor is particularly powerful in context.

506 haud multa morantem: the words cause a slight delay.

507-8 crudum ... ensem: again the sword pierces right through (cf. 304)

517 The ms and ns express his hesitations.

537 The spear is in the middle of his head.

539-40 Beautifully conceived. Cupencus is enfolded by his gods, but so too is Aeneas, and the two are in proximity.

541 misero: he is outside the protection of the bronze shield. The synizesis at aerei powerfully represents the buckling of the shield.

552 The offbeat rhythm at the end for the effort and turmoil.

573 Vigorous alliteration.

579-80 Two successive spondaic lines breaking into dactyls as Aeneas passes from solemn affirmation to action.

600-1 Daring alliteration between cackling cs (if that is not too unkind to the queen), seven of them including the repeated -que, and stammering, moaning ms and ns, twelve in the two lines, at first mixed in with the cs and then taking over from them.

608-9 Two successive spondaic lines convey the depression.

619 The sound rises from the middle of the city.

638 ipse meos me: the line is decidedly self-centred.

648 A line without parallel in the hiatus, and the short final vowel of anima standing in a long syllable open. The explanation must be a long dramatic pause with a sigh which extends the syllable: the metrical irregularity is equivalent to a stage-direction.

699-700 The chiasmus in 699 expresses well his bundling inessentials together and bursting through to the far side of them. In the next line there is an elaborate oxymoron of Aeneas's joy and his ferocity, before the sentence emerges to its climactic armis, apparently colourless but in fact dreadful in its clinical objectivity.

702-3 Brilliant, for fremit ... gaudet ... attollens pick up the account of Turnus at 4,6,8.

718 ms and ns as often for uncertainty, with here the onomatopoeia of mooing.

720-2 The tempo is carefully controlled: the muscular striving of the spondees, the dactylic cornua as the horns click into place, followed by more spondees, and then the conflict runs away into dactyls.

729-30 Brilliant: the spondees represent the slow swing of the heavy sword up, the detached dactyl the swift downstroke.

753-4 The alliteration passes from f through v to h as the panting becomes more desperate.

777-9 The sentence moves nicely, with a slight pun, from Faune, precor to fecere profanos, from his religiosity to the Trojans' blasphemy.

802 dulci tristes: an excellent oxymoron.

824-5 biting alliteration on v.

833 The effective monosyllables have often been noted.

837 An interesting line with the repeated sound adiciam faciamque omnis reinforcing the promise, the slight oxymoron of omnis uno, and the elision of a long vowel at the end of the fourth foot before the same vowel cementing the bond.

851 A harsh ending, but plague is harsh.

886-8 The structure is devious and contorted like the methods of the Parthians. This sentence is almost worthy of Henry James.

859 celeris, at first hearing odd with umbras, prepares us for the descent of the Fury. Motion is relative, and as she swoops down the clouds do appear to be darting past. There is an interesting movement. Celer is applied first to the Fury (853), then to her swirling movement (855), then, as we identify with her, to the things she passes. The proximity of celeris and incognita is deliberate: the very speed defies recognition.

863 culminibus desertis an effective change of rhythm, the fifth-foot spondee slowing the pace from the headlong rush of the Fury to the unmoving owl, the offbeat rhythm producing sinister unnatural overtones.

868 comae et a harsh elision for a harsh moment.

879 A kind of oxymoron. "To what end has he given me life without end?"

901-2 ille ... heros. The holding up of heros to the end is powerful. The phrase is from Il. 5,308 but Vergil has used it in his own way.

903-4 A strong rhyming effect as he moves to his climax, leonine in the first line, chiasmic in the second:

..... currentem ..... euntem
tollentem ..... moventem

Again the sense is of a gloomy inevitability.

912-5 The alliteration is noteworthy. In 912 the basic pattern is s-v-v-v-s, but there are subtle subsidiary effects with r and c. After this the predominant effects are quick couplings quacumque; viam virtute; dea dira; sensus; vertuntur varii. The effect of the double consonants in successum should also not be missed. The result is that each particular effect is reinforced.

916 ms and ns of hesitation coupled with tremulous ts.

928 Seven us in the line and two immediately before represent the groans, and recall the sound of the owl (863-4)

936-8 Maguinness has well remarked how the pause in these lines moves from the second foot to the third to the fourth with "increasing earnestness and pathos."

Glory

Of course there is glory. There is no need, after Viktor Pöschl, Michael Putnam and others, to go again over the imagery. But we may pick out four moments. The identification of Turnus with Dido at the beginning of the book (5 cf. 4,1) is a dramatic masterstroke. Reminiscences of book 4 recur throughout: 37:4, 595; 54:4,1 etc.; 55:4,415; 56:4,314; 99:4,215; 400:4,449; 604 ff: 4,665 ff; 703:4,445; 868:4,280; 871:4,673 and point the effect. Aeneas's anguish at the broken truce is another moment quo ruitis? quaeve ista repens discordia surgit? (313). The echo of Horace Epod. 7,1 quo quo scelesti ruitis only makes it more poignant. Again, the prayers of Juno and promises of Jupiter are magnificently memorable:

> sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
> sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago:
> occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia. (826-8)

And the ending is superb: Turnus's defiance non me tua fervida terrent/dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis (894-5); the brilliant dream-sequence; the skilful way in which the poet draws together the dramatic necessity for Turnus's death and the concept of a hero who pities by attributing the final killing to the spirit of Pallas. And who else would end an epic of national glory on the piteous passing of an enemy?

JOHN FERGUSON
University of Minnesota

BOOK REVIEWS

LATIN READINGS: VOLUME 1, PROSE, VERSE and DRAMA (DCL 1201), 38/- (or 30/- to J.A.C.T. members), and VOX ROMANA - six passages from Virgil (DCL 503), 15/-. One copy of the text is supplied with each disc by the producers, Discourses Ltd., 10a High Street, Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

LATIN POETRY in VERSE TRANSLATION from the BEGINNINGS to the RENAISSANCE, ed. by L.R. Lind. Oxford University Press (Paperbacks series), 1967. 16/-.

VERGIL: EPIC and ANTHROPOLOGY, by W.F. Jackson Knight (John D. Christie - editor). George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1967. 55/-.

THE STORY OF AENEAS, by Kenneth McLeish. HERITAGE of LITERATURE series. Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1968.

To the ancients the sound of what they wrote mattered greatly, a fact which we tend too often to overlook; our pupils usually make contact with Latin and Greek as written languages only. This situation the J.A.C.T. along with their publishers, Discourses Ltd., have set out to correct, and their recorded series of readings (by an excellent team of readers) is consequently to be welcomed very much. The attempt

has been made to recreate "something of the literary character of verse and prose of different periods and styles." Volume 1 contains passages from Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Tacitus, Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Catullus. Virgil, Horace the Archipoet and L.P. Wilkinson (a Cambridge oration upon the presentation of Henry Moore, the sculptor, for an honorary degree). The Virgil passages on the second disc are all well chosen - Eclogue iv, 4-21; Georgics ii, 136-157; Georgics iv. 485-503; Aeneid v, 843-871; Aeneid vi, 450-471; Aeneid xii, 926-952.
The pronunciation advocated by W.S. Allen in his "Vox Latina (C.U.P., 1965) has been followed. How authentic this is we shall probably never know, but there are certainly some delightful sound patterns in these recordings. Otto Skutsch's rendering of part of the Archipoeta's Confessio is particularly memorable for its sepulchral resonance. It would have to be a very stolid class that would not happily respond to this kind of thing!

Professor Lind's anthology goes from Ennius to Richard Crashaw and a seventeen century anonymous hymn, "O Deus, ego amo te" translated by Gerard Hopkins, by way o Ovid, Janus Vitalis Panormitanus and Politician. There is a useful introduction, and the book is rounded off with notes and a bibliography of the principal relevant works in English. Lind has made no fetish of modern translations, including versi by Lovelace, Jonson or Marvell etc. wherever they seemed not too quaint for modern taste. The present reviewer found especially impressive the verse translations of Propertius by Frances Fletcher (of whom we should like to know more). There is unfortunately, no room for a representative quotation. The book is aimed chiefly at the student of modern languages or the general amateur, but there is much in it claim the classicist's attention.

J.D. Christie of Glasgow University has brought out for Allen & Unwin a revise edition of W.F. Jackson Knight's studies, Vergil's Troy" (on the second book of th Aeneid), "Cumaean Gates" and "The Holy City of the East". The product of an inger ious mind, they contain much that is speculative, much that is controversial and mu that is interestingly suggestive. The publishers and Mr Christie deserve our thanks for thus making available these three fascinating essays.

Kenneth McLeish's "The Story of Aeneas" in "The Heritage of Literature" series of Longmans, Green and Co. is a workmanlike prose abridgment of the Latin poem. The author will be happy if pupils will read it as a novel. His wish should in al probability be granted.

H. MacL. Currie

Queen Mary College,
University of London.

Charles Rowan Beye: THE ILIAD, THE ODYSSEY AND THE EPIC TRADITION,
Macmillan, London, 1968. Pp. viii-263. 25/-

It is regrettably but inescapably true that only a small proportion of the English-speaking world has any knowledge of Greek, but encouraging that so many of the remainder are willing to attempt the difficulties of appreciating the alien world of the Homeric epic. For these Greekless readers, Professor Beye's work, which first appeared in 1966 in the United States, provides a useful and helpful introduction. He explains to his readers the peculiar nature of oral poetic composition, outlines the background of Mycenean culture, and elucidates some of

striking forms of Homeric narration before proceeding to an extended criticism of the Iliad and the Odyssey; he continues with a brief and sketchy chapter on the Aeneid and closes with a guide to an English bibliography of Homeric scholarship.

The author has set himself the task of treating the two Homeric epics as poems and this task is not lightened by the existence of two main strands of Homeric scholarship, with which he deals in succession. In following one, we are concerned, as was Milman Parry, with the process of composition - the definition of the poet's own setting; in tracing the second, we consider the Iliad and the Odyssey in their effect on the contemporary reader. No happy resolution of the resulting dichotomy has yet been achieved, and it is much to Beye's credit that, in a work intended for the beginner, he does not attempt to gloss over the hiatus; a discerning student will surely ask himself whether the background to the poems has any appreciable effect upon Beye's criticisms of them.

In this book, the central doctrine of formulaic technique is laid out better than one would have thought possible without resort to the use of Greek. Nevertheless, the author does not seem to be very comfortable when describing the phenomena of the Greek language and several peripheral defects must alarm the linguist and prove misleading to a student learning Greek. His grasp of the difference between the syllabary of Linear B and the classical alphabet is marred by an inexact assessment of the merits of these two forms of writing. He gives a dangerous impression that Mycenean is the ancestor-dialect of the classical Greek dialects. He states, as if it were typical, that a noun in Greek could appear in fourteen different forms: in the mixed dialect of the Homeric epic, the declension of naus does show such variation, but it is exceptional. These imprecisions sap confidence but do not materially lessen the usefulness of his exposition to the English reader.

When however he does cite allegedly Greek forms, the authority of the printed page may overwhelm the student with little Greek: "thetes", for example, is not an accurate representation of θῆς; and the wayward use of the mark of length is sufficiently apparent in the three forms, of frequent occurrence, "Athene", "Aretē" (the wife of Alkinoos), and "aretē" ('excellence').

It is however the exegesis of the Iliad and the Odyssey, which Beye rightly acknowledges to be the works of different poets, which both shows the author at his best and will be found most relevant by the student of comparative literature for whom he principally writes. Whatever his intention, the modern reader must approach these epics with a mind already prejudiced, consciously and unconsciously, by his knowledge of later literature, and it is particularly clear that this must be so for the reader of translations. His interest can best be nursed to full and independent life by drawing his attention to these facets of the Homeric epic which minimise the strangeness of the literary form. Beye therefore treats the Iliad rather as if it were a novel about the psychology of young men at war, albeit the warfare is rather strange to us, and he brings out the individuality of the principal personages, especially that of Diomedes, as the real determinants of the course of the epic. The very different ethos of the Odyssey is expounded as 'man's archetypal confrontation of woman's, and once more the criticism will have a direct appeal to those more familiar with contemporary literature.

These are Beye's principal themes, although he does not confine himself to these: he does make clear the great difference in narrative technique and the handling of time-sequence in the Odyssey as opposed to the Iliad, and shows an awareness of the probable presence of folk-tale elements in the Odyssey He appears to under-estimate the importance of these folk-tale elements, partly becaus an over-emphasis would detract from the supremacy of the individual intelligence of the poet, active at all stages of the narrative; partly also, I suspect because the modern student is less likely to find the folkloristic approach sympathetic.

One may well question the advisability of suggesting that this exegesis is a true consideration of the epics as poems: it is clear that the nature of the verse cannot be fully rendered in English, and that Beye, who is content to use rather prosaic translations of the passages he quotes, has in effect treated them as works of prose literature. The inevitable inherent incompleteness of any consideration of poetry in translation requires strong emphasis. It is also particularly important that references accompanying translated passages, where the original is not given, should be accurate: I note the following errors: p. 46 for Il. 14. 361ff" read "Il.15.361ff"; p. 76, for "Il.2.48ff." read "Il. 2.488ff.".

When Beye turns his attention to the Aeneid, it would appear that he has despaired of his students' willingness to read the text for themselves, in Latin or English. It is an unworthy sequel to his work on Homer - an imprecise encapsulation of knowledge for the lazy, on which it would be unfair to comment further than to remark that it will have no interest for readers of these Proceedings.

D.W. Black

Queen Mary College,
University of London

OBITUARY

With the death of Mr. W.J. Moloney in February of this year the Virgil Society has lost a valued friend and supporter. He belonged to a generation which regarded a grounding in the Classics as a liberal education for life - not, as in our age of specialization, a training for a job. His career was in journalism; it began at the bottom of the ladder, and culminated in his appointment as Joint General Manager of Reuters, a post which he held during the darkest years of the Second World War. Throughout this career, and throughout his retirement, Latin poetry was never his business, but always his pleasure; in recent years he wrote a number of poems in elegiacs, and some in accentual verse, which were published in The Times at Christmas. On the occasion of his removing from a house called "Green Park" to one called "Wren" his friends received a change-of-address postcard as follows:

Dilecto viridi prato campoque relicto
exiguae nidum nunc habitamus avis!

Along with his deep love of humanity there went a very lively Irish wit; this combination of humanitas and urbanitas divided his loyalties (about equally) between the Virgilians and the Horatians; but he gave vigorous support to all organizations supporting the Classics, and will be greatly missed by them all.

J.G.L.

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